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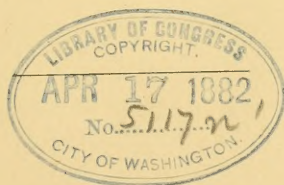
THE HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT BRITONS
AND
THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BY

✓
THOMAS W. POWELL,

AUTHOR OF

"ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN LAW" and "THE LAW OF APPELLATE
PROCEEDINGS."



T. C. O'KANE,
DELAWARE, OHIO.
1882.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

The author desires to notify his friends and the public that this history was written during the years 1875, '76 and '77; that during 1878 and '79 he endeavored in various ways to procure its publication in vain; and that in 1880 he so far lost his eye-sight that he was unable to read any book or paper, and no optician or optical glass was able to give him any aid. Though he was still able to write letters by merely being able to see his paper and pen—all else was the result of habit and guess, and such letters were sent off without reading or correction, as of necessity. In the fall of 1880 arrangements were made with the publishers for the printing and publication of the History at the responsibility of the author. Since then it has been slowly going through the press, and is now in the process of binding and publication. While going through the press the author was unable, on account of his defective vision, to correct the proof, except what he was able to do by hearing it read. The proof sheets were corrected by some friends who volunteered their services to do so, to whom he feels himself greatly obliged. He is happy to think that the book is tolerably free from typographical errors, and now only wishes to notice the following:

1st. Page 51, first column, figure 2 is omitted between the words "China" and "It was from," &c.

2d. Page 116, second column, for marshes read marches

3d. Page 130, second column, for wishes read virtues.

4th. Page 206, first column, for Andredes Carter read Andredes Caster.

5th. Page 330, second column, for Edward III read Edward I.

6th. Page 461, second column, for Constantine Chlorus read Constantius Chlorus.

DELAWARE, OHIO, February 22, 1882.



Conflict between the Romans and the Saxons.

NOTE.—The above picture is an exact copy of one I received as a frontispiece in a copy of Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, sent me from Liverpool. It is inscribed, "Conflict between the Romans and the Saxons," while it is truly the well known picture of the conflict between the Romans and Ancient Britons, at Cæsar's first landing in Britain, five hundred years before the Saxons came to Britain. It is a true picture of Cæsar's landing. There is Cæsar on the deck of his ship directing the

landing and conflict; there also is the standard bearer of the tenth legion leaping into the sea and calling upon his men to follow. I do not charge this piece of falsehood upon Mr. Palgrave, but it is chargeable upon some one connected with the publication of the book. And it is in character with the misrepresentations constantly making to impress upon the rising English generation that there is nothing in British history but what is due to the SAXONS.

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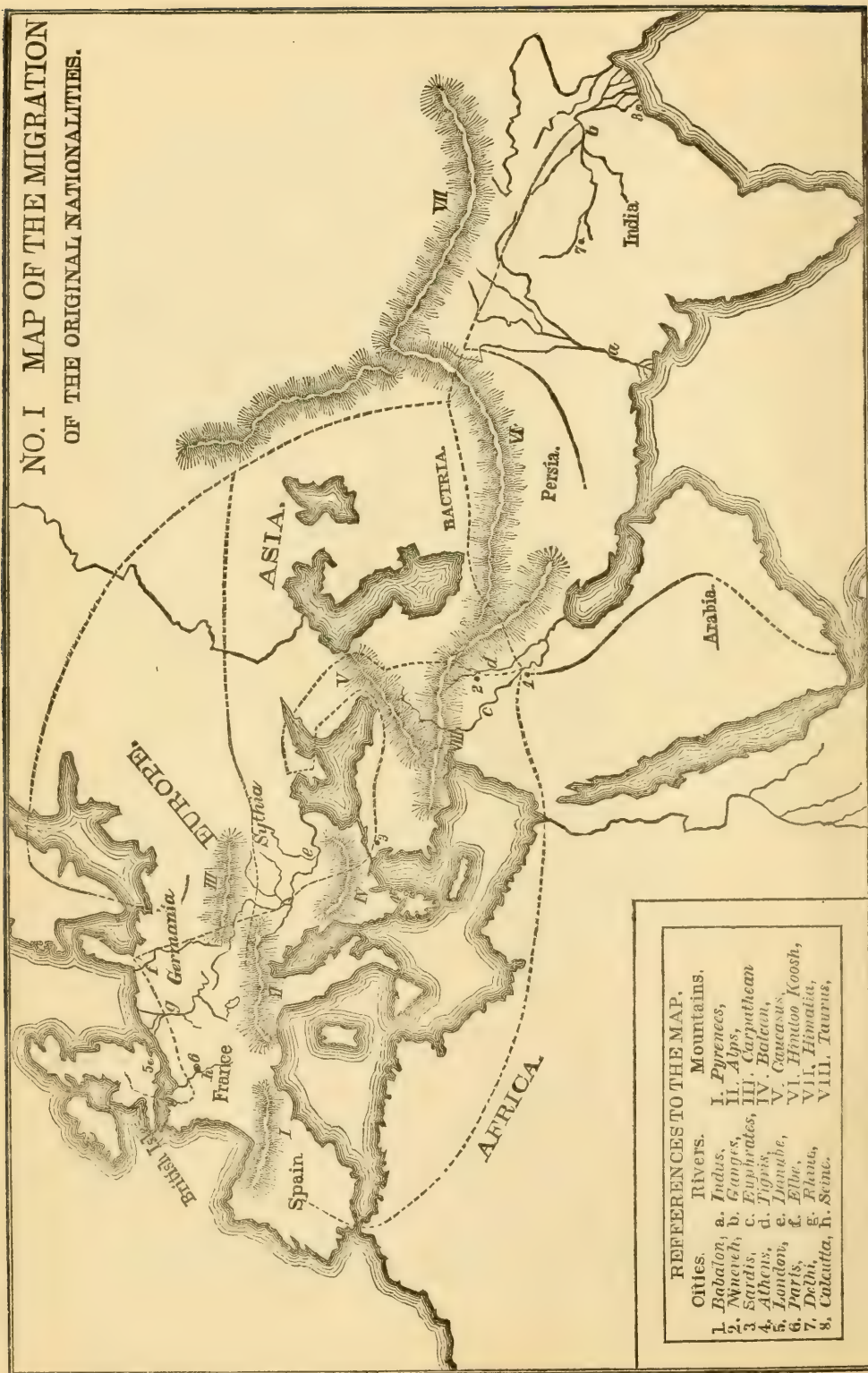
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NO. I MAP OF THE MIGRATION OF THE ORIGINAL NATIONALITIES.



Reference to Foregoing Map.

Map No. 1 is intended to aid the reader in tracing the routes taken by the several branches of the Aryan race in their migrations from their original and primitive home, to where we now find them located and fixed. This would be easier understood if it had been done on a map of a larger scale, with fewer names omitted. But this will be plain to most readers, with only ordinary knowledge of geography; and any desired assistance can almost anywhere be obtained.

Our history assumes to treat of this Aryan migration from the cradle to the several places where their descendants are now nationally located.

Now, we have assumed that the Aryan race had its primitive home in the valley watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris; in the upper part of that interesting valley, while the Hamitic and Shemitic races occupied the lower part, immediately above the head of the Persian Gulf. There the residue of the Aryans had been fixed for many centuries, until their civilization and language had been cultivated to that extent, that it is traced in their descendants to this day. What was the cause of their emigration is not known to history, but it is more than probable that it was an attack by the southern people on the Aryans of the north. Whatever may have been the cause, it seems that they departed thence in three different streams, to settle and cultivate other portions of the world. The first of these departed directly to the west, and occupied Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; and have been generally denominated the Javan or Pelagean family, and more recently, the Greek and Latin races. The *second* stream is that which has been denominated the descendants of Gomer, who went north, and fixed their residence on the northern shores of the Euxine sea, near the mouth of the river Tyrus, now in Southern Russia, and near the city of Odessa, where they were known to the Greeks as Cimmarians; and everywhere claimed to have been the progenitors of all the Celtic people; and it is there, on the shores of the Euxine or Black sea, we will leave them for the present.

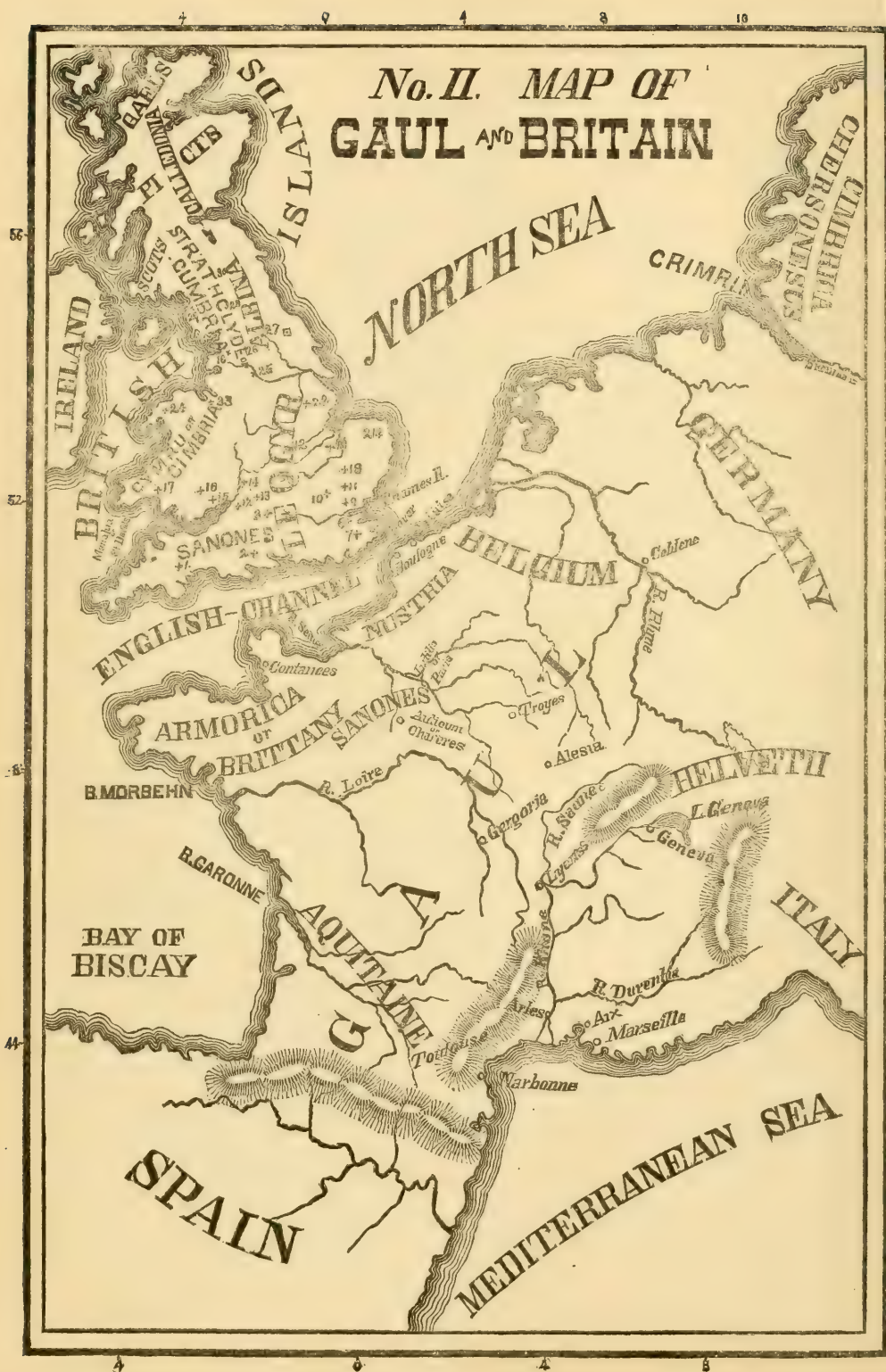
The *third* stream passed off to the east, along the northern declivity of the mountains which separate the valley of the Caspian sea from those of the great valley of

Persia, until they arrived in Bactria, where they fixed their residence, for a considerable time. But, sometime in early history, we know not when, these residents of Bactria separated into two divisions; the one to the south, and the other to the northwest. That which went to the south passed over that extremely elevated pass, known as Hindoo-Koosh, to the valley at the headwaters of the Indus, in which Cabul now stands. Here they again divided, and one division went west, and became known as the Persians; while the other went to the valleys of the Indus and Ganges, and became known as the Brahman and their language was Sanskrit of India.¹ Those who departed from Bactria to the northwest, again divided, one taking the most northern route through Russia, crossing the northern extremity of the Baltic sea into Scandinavia; and then the main body of the Baltic into Germany: this was known as the Gothic line. The other passed on, directly west, into Germany; and this line was known as the Teutonic.

We will now turn our attention to the descendants of Gomer, known to the Greeks, as the Cimmarians; whom we left settled on the northern banks of the Euxine. From time to time these had sent out colonies by the way of the Danube to northeastern Italy,—known as Umbria, and to France, then known as Gaul. About seven hundred years before the Christian era the remainder of the Cimmarians remaining in their original home, were driven thence by a Scythian horde, to the east; and followed around the eastern extremity of the Euxine sea, and took possession of a large and much civilized country in Asia Minor, Lydia. There they remained sixty or eighty years, when they were driven out by the united efforts of the kings of Lydia and that of Neneveh. They crossed the Dardanelles, and went to the Danube, and then to the Elbe, and down that river to its mouth; and were there known to the Romans, as the Cimbri. The main body still passed on along the sea shore, through Gaul to Armorica, and from thence to Britain. This line may be traced from their home in Cimmamia, to their final settlement in Britain, and is known as the Cymric line. And here it is to be observed that the Cimmarians of the Greeks are the progenitors of all the Celtic race; whether known as Celts, Gauls, Gaels or Cymry, French, Welsh, Scots, Irish, or Britons. When the reader has traced these several lines on the map, he will be prepared to duly appreciate what is said in my history on this subject. (See pp. 20, 29, 31, 41; also pp. 44 and 46.)

1. Ten Great Religions, p. 87.

No. II. MAP OF
GAUL AND BRITAIN



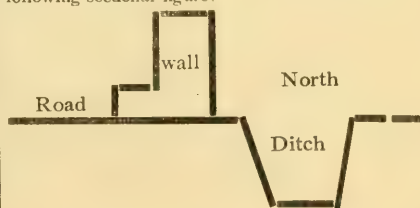
References to the Foregoing Map.

Roman Names	Modern Names	British Names
1. Isca	Exeter	Caerwysg or Caerfynydd
2. Durinum	Dorchester	Caerdor
3. Sorbiodunum	Old Sarum	
4. Venta Belgarum	Winchester	Caerwynt
5. Vindonum	Near Andover (Egbury Camp, probably)	
6. Durobrivæ	Rochester	Caergraig
7. Cantiorpolis	Canterbury	Caergaint
8. Rhutupis	Richborough, Kent	Porth, Rhwydon
9. Londinium	London	Llundain
10. Verulamium		
11. Camalodunum	Colchester	Caercolden
12. Thermae	Bath	Caerbaddon
13. Corinium	Cirencester	Caercerri
14. Glevum	Gloucester	Caerlyw
15. Venta Silurum	Caer Gwent, Mon.	Same
16. Isca Silurum	Caerleon on Usk	Caerlleon ar Wysg
17. Maridunum	Cærmearthen	Caerfyrddin
18. Camboricum	Cambridge	Caergrawnt
19. Duromagus	Castor-on-Neve, or Water Newton	
20. Ragae	Leicester	Caerleirion
21. Venta Icenî	Caistor or Norwich	Caercynan
22. Lindum	Lincoln	Caerllytcoed
23. Deva	Chester	Caerlleon Gawr
24. Segontium	Caer Sciont, Cærnarvon	Caernarfon
25. Cambodunum	Slack, Yorkshire	
26. Coccium	Ribchester, Lancashire	
27. Eboracum	Eboracum, York	Caerefrog
28. Catarracton	Catterick, Yorkshire	

This map represents Britain and Gaul during the Roman period and the commencement of the Saxon period. The above list of names of cities and great towns in Britain at the advent of the Saxons, which refer to their appropriate figure on the map for their respective location. These were numerous in South Britain, and extending north as far as Dumbarton in Scotland. For a more special account of these cities the reader is referred to our history, pages 153, 178 and 280. Many of these cities were destroyed by the Saxons in their barbarous progress in their conquest. Others were left to exist, as they were to be rebuilt in the course of modern improvements. This was specially the case with London, (which the Saxons never possessed in their hostilities) York, Winchester, Exeter, Caerleon on the Usk, and others, which were then known as the great cities of the land, as

they are at this day. The British—Cymric—names of these cities are given above, as well as the Roman and modern names. Many of these, with their British names, were known before the Roman period, and their names given in Greek by the geographer, Ptolemy.¹

¹ Besides the ruins of some of these great cities, with Avebury and Stonehenge, as the antiquities of Britain, there should be noticed also the great walls of Severus and Antonius across the island, built to restrain the invasion of the northern people; see on pages 138 and 139. These are now in utter ruins. Severus wall was an astonishing work, about 74 miles long, consisting of a great stone wall with numerous towers, a deep foss on the north side, and a military road on the south. It is represented by the following sectional figure:



NO. III. MAP OF THE
BRITISH ISLANDS.
UNITED KINGDOM
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND.



References to the Foregoing Map.

COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND.

1. Berwick
2. Roxburgh
3. Dumfries
4. Kirkcudbright
5. Wigton
6. Ayr
7. Lanark
8. Peeblee
9. Selkirk
10. Haddington
11. Edinburgh
12. Linlithgow
13. Stirling
14. Dumbarton
15. Renfrew
16. Bute
17. Clackmannan
18. Kinross
19. Fife
20. Argyle
21. Perth
22. Forfar
23. Kincardine
24. Aberdeen
25. Dundee
26. Moray
27. Nairn
28. Inverness
29. Ross
30. Orkney & Shetland Isles
31. Sutherland
32. Caithness

COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

1. Northumberland
2. Cumberland
3. Westmoreland
4. Durham
5. York.
6. Lancaster
7. Chester
8. Derby

9. Nottingham
10. Lincoln
11. Rutland
12. Leicester
13. Stafford
14. Shropshire
15. Hereford
16. Worcester
17. Warwick
18. Northampton
19. Huntingdon
20. Cambridge
21. Norfolk
22. Suffolk
23. Essex
24. Hertford
25. Bedford
26. Buckingham
27. Oxford
28. Gloucester
29. Monmouth
30. Wilts
31. Berkshire
32. Middlesex
33. Kent
34. Surry
35. Sussex
36. Hants or Hampshire
37. Dorset
38. Somerset
39. Devon
40. Cornwall

COUNTIES OF WALES.

1. Flint
2. Denbigh
3. Cærnarvon
4. Anglesea
5. Merioneth
6. Montgomery
7. Cardigan
8. Radnor
9. Brecknock

10. Glamorgan
11. Cærmarthen
12. Pembroke

COUNTIES OF IRELAND.

Province of Leinster

1. Dublin
2. Wicklow
3. Wexford
4. Kilkenny
5. Carlow
6. Kildare
7. Queens Co.
8. Kings Co.
9. Westmeath
10. Eastmeath
11. Lowth
12. Longford

Province of Munster.

13. Waterford
14. Tipperary
15. Cork
16. Kerry
17. Limerick
18. Clare

Province of Connaught.

19. Galway
20. Roscommon
21. Mayo
22. Sligo
23. Leitrim

Province of Ulster

24. Donegal.
25. Fermanagh
26. Tyrone
27. Londonderry
28. Antrim
29. Down
30. Armagh
31. Monaghan
32. Cavan

This map represents the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as it was at the accession of Queen Victoria. The counties are referred to by figures, and the names of all the important cities and places are given on the map. More numerous names and references are given on the map found on page xi and the opposite page to it containing reference, copied from Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography.

Great Britain is, from the Isle of Wight to the northern extremity of Scotland, 608 miles long, and from the northeast extremity of Norfolk to the Lands End in Cornwall it is 330 miles wide. From the same place in Norfolk to the western extremity of the island of Anglesea it is about 300

miles wide, its average breadth not exceeding 200; while between the mouth of the Tyne and the Solway Firth, on the line of Severus' wall, it is only 74 miles wide, and on the wall of Antonius, from the Firth of Forth to that of the Clyde, it is only 40 miles, and its average breadth about 200, which gives to Great Britain an area of about 89,600 square miles. Ireland is in an oval form, 250 miles long and 150 broad, with an area of 32,518 square miles. For population see page 380.

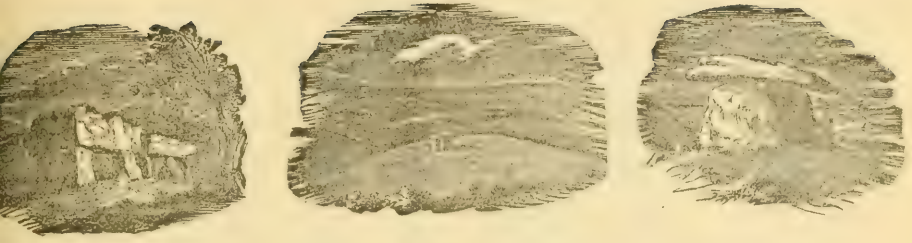
The population is still increasing, so that for the whole kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the year 1872 it was 31,817,108.

MAP OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.



ENGLAND.							
1. Ailwick	85. Norwich	169. Battle	24. Fiscard	68. North Berwick	53. Longford		
2. Rothbury	86. Reepham	170. E Grinstead	25. St. David's	69. Dunbar	54. Moynalty		
3. Morpeth	87. E. Dereham	171. Reigate	26. Pembroke	70. Berwick	55. Carrickma-		
4. Blyth	88. Diss	172. Horsham	27. Caernarthen	71. Kelsoe	cross		
5. Newcastle	89. Thetford	173. Brighton	28. Cwyrgrug	72. Jedburgh	56. Dunleer		
6. Hexham	90. Ely	174. Arundel	29. Brecon	73. Hawick	57. Drogheda		
7. Billingham	91. March	175. Pulborough	30. Monmouth	74. Ashkirk	58. Balbriggan		
8. Carlisle	92. Peterborough	176. Guildford	31. Uske	75. Biggar	59. Dublin		
9. Cockermouth	93. Oundle	177. Godalming	32. Chepstow	76. Moffat	60. Screen		
10. Egremont	94. Stamford	178. Petworth	33. Newport	77. Sanquhar	61. Trim		
11. Ravenglass	95. Harborough	179. Chichester	34. Cardiff	78. Lanark	62. Maynooth		
12. Ulverston	96. Leicester	180. Portsmouth	35. Landaff	79. Kilmarnock	63. Naas		
13. Kendal	97. Coventry	181. Southampton	36. Llantrissant	80. Ayr	64. Tullamore		
14. Keswick	98. Tamworth	182. Whitchurch	37. Swansea	81. Girvan	65. Mullingar		
15. Penrith	99. Lichfield	183. Andover	<i>Rivers.</i>	82. Ballintrae	66. Athlone		
16. Appleby	100. Birmingham	184. Salisbury	a Towey	83. Stranraer	67. Eyrecourt		
17. Aldstone	101. Bridgenorth	185. Lymington	b Tievy	84. Port Patrick	68. Ballyforan		
18. Darlington	102. Shrewsbury	186. Poole	c Dee	85. Wigton	69. Newton Bel-		
19. Durham	103. Plymliam	187. Shaftesbury	SCOTLAND	86. Kircudbright	lew		
20. Sunderland	104. Ludlow	188. Bath	1. Durness	87. New Galloway	70. Loughrea		
21. Stockton	105. Tenbury	189. Uxbridge	2. Tongue	88. Monihive	71. Ormrore		
22. Stokesly	106. Leominster	190. Wells	3. Reay	89. Dumfries	72. Oungtra		
23. Guisborough	107. Bromford	191. Glastonbury	4. Thurso	90. Langholm	73. Galway		
24. Whitby	108. Tewkesbury	192. Ilchester	5. Wick	91. Annan	74. Gort		
25. Pickering	109. Worcester	193. Taunton	6. Dunbeath	<i>Rivers</i>	75. Innistymon		
26. Thirsk	110. Alcester	194. Portlock	7. Helmsdale	a Spey	76. Kilrush		
27. N. Allerton	111. Warwick	195. South Barn-	8. Dornoch	b Don	77. Clare		
28. Hawes	112. Evesham	staple	9. Tain	c Dee	78. Ennis		
29. Ripon	113. Towcester	196. Bideford	10. Portinleik	d Tay	79. Limerick		
30. Kendal	114. Northampton	197. Torrington	11. Ullapool	e Clyde	80. Portumna		
31. Lancaster	115. Wellingbor-	198. Launceston	12. Poolew	f Ken	81. Nenagh		
32. Garstang	ough	199. Bodmin	13. Torridon	g Nith	82. Killalee		
33. Poulton	116. Thrapston	200. St. Agnes	14. Loch Carron	h Annan	83. Thurlies		
34. Bradford	117. Huntingdon	201. Penzance	15. Dingwall	i Tweed	84. Roscrea		
35. Skipton	118. Bedford	202. Falmouth	16. Beaulieu	IRELAND	85. Durrow		
36. Knaresboro'	119. Cambridge	203. Tregony	17. Inverness	1. Belfast	86. Ath		
37. Leeds	120. Mildenhall	204. Tavistock	18. Grantown	2. Antrim	87. Kildare		
38. York	121. Bury St. Ed-	205. Plymouth	19. Nairu	3. Larne	88. Carlow		
39. New Malton	munds	206. Modbury	20. Elgin	4. Glenarm	89. Tullow		
40. Billington	122. Framlingham	207. Dartmouth	21. Inveraven	5. Ballycastle	90. Baltinglass		
41. Scarborough	123. Aldborough	208. Ashburton	22. Cullen	6. Ballymoney	91. Blessington		
42. GreatDriffield	124. Ipswich	209. Chumleigh	23. Banff	7. Coleraine	92. Togher		
43. Hornsea	125. Sudbury	210. Tiverton	24. Huntley	8. Tubbermore	93. Wicklow		
44. Hedon	126. Harwich	211. Exeter	25. Turreff	9. Strabane	94. Gorey		
45. Kingston on	127. Colchester	212. Sidmouth	26. Frasersburgh	10. Londonderry	95. Ballycanoe		
Hull	128. Coggeshall	213. Lynton	27. Peterhead	11. White Castle	96. Enniscorthy		
46. Barton	129. Royston	214. Lyme Regis	28. Newburgh	12. Raphoe	97. Wexford		
47. Grimsby	130. Bishop's	215. Dorchester	29. Aberdeen	13. Lifford	98. Fethard		
48. Ravendale	Stortford	216. Weymouth	30. Stonehaven	14. Letterkenny	99. Waterford		
49. Saltfleet	131. Hertford	<i>Rivers</i>	31. Bervie	15. Killybegs	100. Thomas Town		
50. Thedliethorpe	132. St. Albans	a Tyne	32. Tulloch	16. Donegal	101. Kilkenny		
51. Boston	133. Aylesbury	b Tees	33. Braemar	17. Ballybogy	102. Carrick on		
52. Alford	134. Winslow	c Derwent	34. Fort Augustus	18. Omagh	Suire		
53. Horncastle	135. Buckingham	d Swale	35. Glenzie	19. Pomeroy	103. Clonmel		
54. Lincoln	136. Woodstock	e Wharfe	36. Arasaig	20. Clogher	104. Ballyporeen		
55. Gainsborough	137. Burford	f Aire	37. Appin	21. Dungannon	105. Tipperary		
56. Ashby	138. Gloucester	g Don	38. Fort William	22. Armagh	106. Kilmallock		
57. Doncaster	139. Hereford	h Trent	39. Perth	23. Lurgan	107. Askeaton		
58. Sheffield	140. Ross	i Ouse	40. Dunkeld	24. Donaghadee	108. Ballylongford		
59. Pontefract	141. Cotford	j Thames	41. Blair Athol	25. Portaferry	109. Tralee		
60. Manchester	142. Bristol	k Avon	42. Brechin	26. Downpatrick	110. Castle Ford		
61. Preston	143. Melksham	l Severn	43. Montrose	27. Strevoy	111. Killarney		
62. Liverpool	144. Malmesbury	m Dee	44. Forfar	28. Newry	112. Kenmare		
63. Chester	145. Cirencester	WALES.	45. Arbroath	29. Dundalk	113. Castletown		
64. Newcastle	146. Swindon	1. Flint	46. Dundee	30. Monaghan	114. Bantry		
65. Newport	147. Hungerford	2. St. Asaph	47. St. Andrews	31. Cavan	115. Castletown		
66. Stafford	148. Kennet	3. Denbigh	48. Anstruther	32. Callahill	116. Kinsale		
67. Burton	149. Abingdon	4. Aberconway	49. Kinross	33. Enniskillen	117. Cork		
68. Derby	150. Oxford	5. Bangor	50. Inverkeithing	34. Churchill	118. Killady		
69. Ashbourn	151. Wallingford	6. Beaumaris	51. Clackannan	35. Sligo	119. Tugheela		
70. Chesterfield	152. Thame	7. Holyhead	52. Muthill	36. Drumeirn	120. Mallow		
71. Mansfield	153. Windsor	8. Caernarvon	53. Stirling	37. Ballymore	121. Rathcormuck		
72. Alfreton	154. Uxbridge	9. Llan Haearn	54. Inverary	38. Coloneoy	122. Kildorey		
73. Nottingham	155. Kingston	10. St. Mary's	55. Oban	39. Ballina	123. Lismore		
74. Melton Mow-	156. Crowdon	11. Hurlech	56. Dumbarton	40. Killala	124. Youghall		
bray	157. Greenwich	12. Bala	57. Greenock	41. Ballyglass	125. Dungarvan		
75. Grantham	158. London	13. Corwen	58. Paisley	42. Clagran	126. Tramore		
76. Newark	159. Chelmsford	14. Montgomery	59. Irvine	43. Newport	<i>Rivers</i>		
77. Sleaford	160. Maldon	15. Dinasowd	60. Hamilton	44. Westport	a Ban		
78. Spalding	161. Maidstone	16. Towyn	61. Glasgow	45. Kumor	b Carlingsford		
79. Lynn Regis	162. Canterbury	17. Aberystwith	62. Falkirk	46. Ballinrobe	c Boyne		
80. Wells	163. Margate	18. Rhaidner	63. Linthgow	47. Castle Barr	d Barrow		
81. Cromer	164. Ramsgate	19. Bault	64. Whitburn	48. Kilcolman	e Nore		
82. Yarmouth	165. Dover	20. Tiegarron	65. Peebles	49. Tuam	f Suire		
83. Beccles	166. Rye	21. Llanbeir	66. Edinburgh	50. Elphin	g Blackwater		
84. Harleston	167. Hastings	22. Clardigan	67. Haddington	51. Roscommon	h Shannon		
	168. Seaford	23. Newport		52. Lettrim	i Suck		

PLATE NO. II.



THREE CELEBRATED CROMLECHS.



CIRCLES AND STANDING STONES.



ABARIS.

DRUID.

ARCH DRUID.



ANCIENT ARTICLES TAKEN FROM THE
MOUNDS.



VERY ANCIENT MONEY.



THREE STATUES REPRESENTING CELTIC
DRESS.

Notes and Explanations to Plates 1, 2 and 3.

Plate 1 represents Stonehenge and Avebury, which remain as wonders among the relics of antiquity, and as the great works of ancient times, to be classed with the temples and Cyclopean walls of Greece and the Pyramids of Egypt. The ruins of Avebury are unquestionably the oldest, more rude, and in construction more like that of Carnac in Armorica. It is on the head waters of the Thames, on a plain watered by one of the southwest branches. Stonehenge is a few miles farther south on the Southern Avon. For a description of these antiquities see our history, pages 57, 99, 113 and 118.

Plate No. 2 represents at the head of it three celebrated Cromlechs: The one at the left upper corner is a very large one found in Cornwall; the next is a celebrated one found in Kent, called Kits-Cotty House; and that on the right being that immense Cromlech at Plass Newydd in the isle of Anglesea. These monuments are all to be classed with those of Avebury and Stonehenge, and are scattered over the same region. The figures in the center of the plate are representations of standing stones and circles, and are undoubtedly the works of the same people. Page 113.

Then comes the representation of three interesting figures: The first is that of an Arch Druid in his canonicals; the next is that of a Druid¹ while addressing his people upon what is contained in their Triads, as morality, law and justice. The last figure is Abaris,² whose memory is commemorated by Herodotus and other Gre-

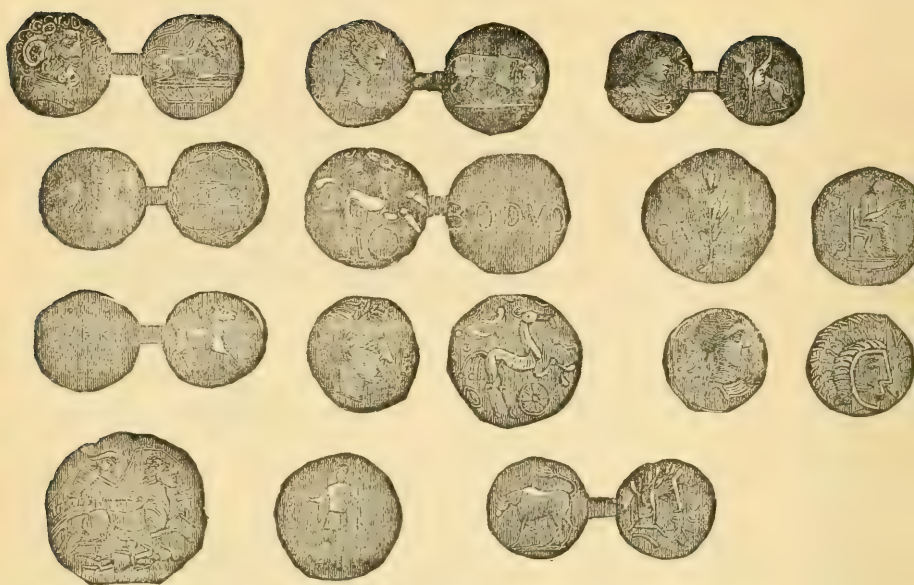
cian writers. From the description given of him there can be no question that he was a British Druid from the two wing temple at Avebury. Herodotus represents him as traveling through Greece on an arrow given him at the temple at home by Apollo. The arrow was an allusion to the long staff common among the Ancient Britons. When asked by the Greeks what was his name, he may have replied Ab Harris, and they took it to be and wrote it Abaris; and if so, Harris is an older name than Herodotus. Gen. Harrison, the late President, claimed his name was originally Ab Harris, but in Cromwell's time changed to Harrison.

The upper collection on plate 3 represents very ancient articles taken from the mounds, now collected in the British Museum, of which these represent but a very small part. They consist of tools of various kinds, of bronze, iron and stone, of various articles of potter's ware, of ornaments of various kinds, as necklaces, brooches, buttons, &c.; but the most curious and interesting article is that numbered 38, which is said to be the Druids' golden hook, with which they gathered the mistletoe. The middle figure represents a collection of very ancient coined ring money, very different from the more recent British coined money as on the next plate. This money is like the Egyptian ancient money, and was probably brought to Britain by the Phœnicians.

The three figures below are taken from Roman statues, representing ancient Celtic dress, so very different from that of the Romans. Its greatest peculiarity is that it uniformly had the trowsers. The cap on the central figure is the Celtic cap, so celebrated in the French revolution as the Cap of Liberty.

¹ See Druids.

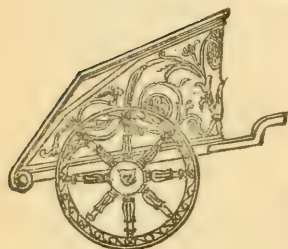
² See Abaris.



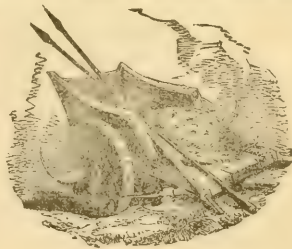
ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.



GROUP OF VESSELS.—From Specimens found in Roman Burial Places in Britain.



ORNAMENTED CHARIOT.



BRITISH CHARIOT.



ASIATIC CHARIOT.



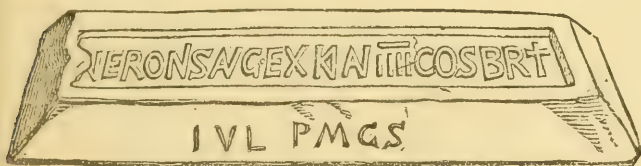
The earliest figure of Britannia on a Roman Coin, from a Copper Coin of Antoninus Pius, in the British Museum.



Coin of Canaan.



ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENT.



Roman Pig of Lead, from Hampshire.

PHENECIAN PIG OF TIN.



Greek and British Coins.

Notes and Explanations to Plates Nos. 4 and 5.

On the upper part of plate 4 are representations of ancient British coins, coined before the Roman period. They are very numerous, far more so than here represented. They are somewhat rude, but certainly show great progress in arts and civilization for that day: Some of them having devices showing the inside of a house with chairs and furniture far in advance of that age in Western Europe. The next figure represents potter's ware, executed after Roman patterns, but undoubtedly manufactured in Britain during Roman times. Then comes representations of chariots: The middle one is that of an ancient British chariot. It is not deemed to be a very fair one, for the wheels are solid, while the chariots recently exhumed from British graves show spokes and tire. But every one will at once recognize its exact resemblance to the Asiatic, Lydian Chariot.

Plate 5. Here we have first a copy of a Roman coin of the time of Antonius, representing Britannia. This is probably the oldest device of the kind, though the name of Britannia was familiar to Aristotle.¹ The curious instrument just below, supposed to be an astronomical instrument of British or Irish antiquities, is supposed to have belonged to the Druids, who paid much attention to astronomy. Then comes next two of the coins of Carausius, selected out

of many hundreds.²

The next are representations of two pigs of metal, one of lead—a Roman—and the other of tin—a Phœneccian. What is peculiarly interesting in these is the sign of a cross at the end of the inscription on the Roman pig. This inscription would make it of the time of Nero, but it may have been a few years later. I insist that this which represents the cross at the end of the inscription is the actual sign of the cross, and not a Roman T. Admitting this pig was made in the time of Nero, if not later, there were at least seventeen years between the time that Caractacus appeared before Claudius and his interview with St. Paul and conversion to Christianity. It is universally contended by the Ancient Britons that he and his family became Christians under the influence of St. Paul and returned to Britain. Paul frequently speaks in his epistle of the cross as a well known ensign, and his interview with Caractacus' family was towards the very close of his life. Either from these Christians or from some others the sign of the cross may have been taken to Britain and placed upon this pig. This matter is noticed here more with a view of further investigation than evidence of a positive fact.

Next are representations of Grecian and British coins, showing how intimate were the relations of the two people, evidence of which often occurs in ancient history.

¹ See page —

² See History, p. 141 and note 2.

INTRODUCTION.

The sentiment of reverence and regard of intelligent people for the memory and history of their ancestors is natural and patriotic. It is cherished by all people, both barbarous and civilized, in proportion to their intelligence. Whatever may be the *true* history of our ancestors, it is right and proper that it should be revered and cherished, just as it really was in truth. "Paint me just as I am," said Cromwell to his painter,—“Paint me just as I am, with all my scars and blemishes,” was an honorable and just sentiment, personally, as it would also be in national history. History should be true, just as it really existed, in order to constitute its real virtues; or history sinks to the low grade of fables and romance. All people are entitled to the history and character of their ancestors, just as they really were, and not otherwise.

The Arab, whom all early history represents as having had his hand against every man, and every man against him, has no right to claim his ancestors to belong to the brotherhood of peace and good-will; nor, when the mother was an Egyptian slave, to claim that they were of the pure blood of Heber, though “Abraham was their father.” The truth should prevail; and a people should stand up to that, whatever subsequent reformation and progress it may have made, aided by other civilization and humanity.

These thoughts originated and produced the following history under peculiar circumstances—for the author left his native land and came to America now eighty years since, and, during that long life, has ever lived on the verge of a new country, and a new people, who have always been generous and kind to him; still, he never lost

his love for his native land; nor regard for the history of his ancestors—the ancient Britons. During that time, in the midst of circumstances adverse to the study of literature and history; and engaged in the profession of the law, with a view to an active practice, and its study as a science, he did not neglect to devote what leisure hours he could to the study of history; and especially that of his native land and people. Towards the close of a long life thus devoted, in the midst of the duties of an arduous profession, and more than the ordinary struggles and conflicts in the battle of life, he resolved to put into the form of the following history the ideas he had collected upon the subject in his former hours of leisure or amusement; but still under circumstances not very favorable to the production of history, nor easy reference to historical authorities.

In the course of these studies, two ideas particularly engaged his attention, as not well developed in British history, though still subjects in which every true Briton must be deeply interested. These were:—

First, The origin of the Ancient Britons:—whence and when they came to Britain? and, —

Secondly, What connection and part had the Ancient Britons in the formation of the people who now constitute the nationality of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland?

Upon both of these subjects there has been great mystification, prejudice, and misrepresentation manifested; which, in some instances, have developed into bitter and unjust conflict.

I. As to the origin of the Ancient Britons, history furnishes us two or three cog-

fictitious accounts. Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and¹ Richard of Cirencester, as they gathered their history of the origin of the ancient Britons from ancient legends or traditions derived their origin from the east; either connecting it with the classic story of Æneas' flight from the destruction of Troy, and Brutus' settlement in Western Europe, or as being a part of the great emigration from the east, which settled its western shores.

The destruction of Troy was the great event in history, and happened comparatively recent before the emigration of the ancestors of the Britons from Asia, and was the great and most interesting event in their traditions; and their acquaintance with the Roman classics induced those historians to connect the history of the settlement of Britain with that of Italy; and mingled it with the story of Æneas, Brutus, and Troy.

The Cymric Britons avoided this story, and alleged in their Triads that their ancestors came from the summer country in the neighborhood of Constantinople; and came by the way of the Blue Sea, or the German Ocean. This agrees with the more recent English and European histories,² which assert that the Cymry undoubtedly were a part of the ancient Cimbric who were once settled north of the mouth of the Elbe, and gave name to the *Cimbrica Chersonesus* of Roman history. This was strongly supported by the name and historical facts. But from whence they came, and when they came to Jutland, was left an open question; only that they were supposed to be in some measure connected with the *Cimmerians* of Greek history; but how, or in what manner, was left to conjecture. The most interesting suggestion upon the subject was found in the very learned and valuable notes of Prof. George Rawlinson's late edition of Herodotus, in these words:—"When these questions have been settled, it will be interesting to trace the history

and migrations of a people which has an antiquity of above twenty-five hundred years, and has spread from the steppes of the Ukraina to the mountains of Wales."³ Inspired by this suggestion, and the hope of securing ultimate truth by searching for historical facts and circumstances, in illustration of the subject, this book has been produced in the faith that the question is demonstrated.

II. The second subject referred to, as attracting the attention of the author in writing this history, is the treatment that the history of the ancient Britons has received at the hands of some English historians. In this respect these must be divided into two classes; while, one, with ample liberality and truthfulness, do full justice in their history to the ancient Britons, their history, and character, the other misses no opportunity to misrepresent, or falsify; and what could not be thus treated, was either ignored or traduced. Thus everything in the history of the ancient Britons which gave them any credit for their intelligence and progress in arts and civilization, was either denied or controverted—and what they could not thus treat, it was then claimed that the vast population of the British Islands, who were, by all fair evidence of history, proved to be the descendants of the ancient Britons, were not such descendants, but emigrants subsequent to the Saxon conquest, so as to sever all the population from any connection or interest in their ancient history. This was so done by that minor portion of the English people, who supposed that they were themselves of a pure Saxon descent; that they could not forego their prejudice and hatred to everything that was Celtic;—though it is impossible to find an Englishman who has not more or less Celtic blood in his veins. Even the present British Queen, and all the Georges, only held their position as sovereign of the British Government by virtue of their descent from the Celtic Tudors and Stuarts,—so mixed up or directly connected with the

¹ See the *Historia Regum Britannie*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. by Richard of Cirencester, vol. I, p. 10, and the *Historia Britannie*, by Nennius, ed. by the same, vol. I, p. 10.

² See the *Historia Britannie*, ed. by the same, vol. I, p. 10, and the *Historia Britannie*, ed. by the same, vol. I, p. 10.

³ See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. III, p. 152, Es. 1, p. 152, and the *History of the Cimmerians*, ed. by the same, vol. I, p. 152, and the *History of the Cimmerians*, ed. by the same, vol. I, p. 152.

blood of the Celtic family are all the population of the British Islands, now constituting the United Kingdom.

While engaged, in his leisure hours, in studying British history under so unfavorable circumstances, the author could not help observing the striking difference between two classes of English historians, in the treatment they gave to the history of the ancient Britons, and their descendants. The one giving it a fair, just, and liberal exposition; while the other class took every opportunity either to ignore, falsify, or traduce the subject of that history. This is plainly to be seen when we compare such historians as Sharon Turner, Whitaker, Prof. M. Arnold, Thierry, and others, as constituting the first class, when compared with such historians as Macaulay, Green, Wright, and others as constituting the other class. These latter, falsely imagining themselves to be of a pure Saxon descent, take pleasure in misrepresenting, traducing, and calumniating their Celtic fellow-subjects, and countrymen, and, indeed, the whole Celtic race.

It would be curious, as well as interesting, to trace to its origin this prejudice and injustice done to the Celtic race, who constitute so great a portion of the British people; and upon whom depends so much of British glory and renown. England, indeed, can neither spare it, nor part with it. Celtic genius has added to English literature; Celtic eloquence and patriotism have shed fame and renown upon the British parliament, and greatly aided in the development of its parliamentary rules and laws. No battle since the Roman conquest has occurred, adding renown to her name, in which the Celts took not a prominent part. It was Robert Clive that established her empire in India; and Sir W. Jones developed to the English world its literature and civilization; and made India interesting to the British people. Sir T. Picton was called the right arm of Wellington, and Bishop Coke the right arm of John Wesley, and a Celtic Stanley cut his way and made a path through Africa, never to be forgotten. Men who have so co-operated together should never be sep-

arated by prejudice and hatred; and by the great body of the English people they are not; that is left to another class of them, who have that unreasonable Saxon proclivity of supposing that they are endowed with pure Saxon blood, uncontaminated with that of the Celt. Macaulay is open in his expression of hatred to the Celtic people, though his Saxon origin is doubtful; and his connection in ancestry to the Highland Scotch is certain; but then his antipathies may have aided him to his peerage, and upon the score of interest, rather than truth, he may be excused.⁴ But Green, in his "Short History of the English People," developed his antipathy by denying all participation of the English people with the ancient Britons, and endeavored to show that the ancient Britons were all slaughtered, or fled before the Saxons, so that they had a new country, freed from the ancient inhabitants, to raise a new nationality freed from all connection with the original inhabitants. This assertion had been frequently made before by this class of historians; but Mr. Green was determined to give the idea a new force; he says: "For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself;" "for old English society." "The one country now called Sleswick." And that was a small district then called Anglia, and probably so called from its being on the northwestern *angle* of the Baltic Sea. But the name, England, and also, Anglo-Saxon, were names of a very recent invention, long after the Saxon conquest, and not long before the Normans came. But when a new name for that part of Britain was wanted for the Saxon Heptarchy, the name of Anglia for the first time furnished the means of procuring an acceptable name for England, about four hundred years after the Saxon conquest. It is London, and not Anglia, that is the cradle of everything that gives origin to the English

⁴ See a severe pamphlet written by Hugh Miller against Macaulay, on the account of his conduct and antipathy to the Celtic people. He shows that Macaulay derived his origin from a Celtic family from the Scottish Islands. This is not an uncommon manifestation of antipathy in unpatriotically denying their own origin.

language and people;—her language and civilization, even that which is falsely called Anglo-Saxon instead of Anglo-Briton, which was the production of her soil. Little or nothing that came with the Saxon survived the conquest an hundred years, but all passed off, and changed like their pagan wooden religion, and became new on British soil, and with British influences. Saxon laws and customs became gradually changed or modified by what was found on the land in the cities of Britain:—and this is proved by the opinion of the best British writers on the subject of the origin of English laws, as Coke, Blackstone, Cressey, Crabb, and Spence, all of whom bear testimony to the change and modification that the old British laws have wrought upon the present laws of England; and made them so different from anything found on the Continent.

Green, in language of triumph over what, if true, would be the horrors of history, denies all this, and asserts:—"Massacre which followed the battle [of Aylesford] indicated at once the merciless nature of the struggle which has begun. While the wealthier land-owners fled in panic over sea, the poorer Britons took refuge in hill and forest, till hunger drove them from their lurking places to be cut down or enslaved by their conquerors."⁵ This theory of Mr. Green has been adopted by others, some of whom claimed that the Britons were so completely exterminated that the Saxons had a new, unoccupied country in Britain to build up their own institutions. But in truth the Saxons came as warriors, with few or no females with them, encountering hard-fought battles at every step of their progress, taking wives from the British females, and occupying the country with their new-found families; leaving the Britons generally in possession of the towns, as under stipendi-

aries to furnish to the rude visitors such stipulated articles as they stood in need of. Thus the population were amalgamated, and assimilated into a new population, since demominated the Anglo-Saxon (instead as it should have been—Anglo Britons), forming a new state of society, entirely different from that left on the Continent; as the Danes (a kindred race), differed from the Anglo-Saxons. These retaining many of their rude institutions, their love of war and battle, and especially their language, in a very modified and improved form,—with their domestic relation and household affairs, and social characteristics, changed and improved by what they found in the previous civilization of Britain. And then, as now, they were constantly taking additions to their numbers from the Celtic population that surrounded them, and their intercourse with them; as we have ample evidence in the case of the important alliance of Cadwallon with Penda, the king of Mercia; the intercourse of Alfred the great with Asser, the learned Cymro; and of that of Geoffrey, of Monmouth, who probably had as great and lasting an influence on English literature as any man who ever lived, previous to the time of the Tudors. This intercourse between the Saxons and the Britons, when the hard-fought battle was over, is the only possible way, consistent with facts of history, to account for the improvement made in the people of England as Saxons, from the time of their conquest to that of the Norman, which has since received the appellation of Anglo-Saxon, which refers wholly to the progress made in Britain, and none at all to that on the Continent. The Saxons in this respect were slow and stolid; possessed of no literature, or of any of the arts of civilization beyond the merest barbarians. Their principal implement of use was their battle-axe; and war, piracy, and plunder their vocation. Their original residence may be placed north or south of the Elbe, or anywhere, says Latham, but wherever they be found "they are always pirates." To make such a people the origin of English civilization and improve

⁵ See Green's Short History of the English People, p. 46, ch. I, sec. 11. Similar language is used in other English history; though abundantly controverted by Sharon Turner in his History of the Saxon Conquest, B. III, ch. v, p. 219, where he says: "But the Anglo-Saxons did not, as some have fancied, exterminate the Britons. There can be no doubt that a majority of the British population was preserved to be useful to their conquerors."

ment, is a violation of history and nature; but rather make it the growth of British soil, and London its cradle, by means of the civilization left there by the Romans, among the Ancient Britons, and their amalgamation with them.

In opposition to this theory of Mr. Green and others,—that the Saxons utterly exterminated the Ancient Britons, and, therefore, their descendants can form no part of the English people,—is the theory of Mr. Wright in his history of the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon:—that the inhabitants of Cornwall and Wales are not descendants of the Ancient Britons, but that of an immigration from Brittany (*Armorica*), who came there about the same time with the Saxon settlement in Britain. "Thus," says he, "I myself feel very strongly the belief that the Welshmen of the present day are not the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of our Island, but a later Celtic colony from *Armorica*."⁶

The object of both Green and Wright is to cut off the Welsh people from all claim of participation in the formation of the population of England. But they do this by theories that are utterly hostile, and inconsistent with each other. Green claims that the Ancient Britons were entirely destroyed, so that there were none, or next to none, of them left to be assimilated or consolidated with the Saxons, so that the English people are free from any connection with the Ancient Britons, in blood or civilization. But Mr. Wright denies the relation upon an entirely different state of facts. He claims that the Welsh are not the descendants of the Ancient Britons, but that the Ancient Britons were Roman citizens who were consolidated with the Saxons, and aided in forming a new people and a new civilization; and constituted a large portion of the English people. He goes on to establish the proportion by various facts and

arguments—which are unquestionably true—that the Ancient British people continued to reside in the country after the Saxon conquest, by mutual consent; thus says he:—"The Teutonic settlers established themselves in the country, where they retained all their national feelings. We know that they were averse to being in towns, and, from a superstitious feeling, which led them to believe that the houses built by other people might be rendered dangerous for them by means of charms and magic, they preferred houses built by themselves. Moreover, the country villages of the Romans, and the smaller and unfortunate towns, had been mostly burnt, or overthrown, and their place and construction were not those to which the Saxons were accustomed."⁷

"The few historical facts relating to the condition of our towns during the Saxon period, preserved by the older annualists, exhibited them in a state of importance and independence, which they hardly could have reached, had it not been derived from municipal constitutions already existing when the Saxons settled the country, and which is observed most distinctly in those places which are known to have occupied the sites of the most powerful Roman towns"⁸

"In the absence of all contemporary information on the state of the Roman towns in Britain after they had fallen under the subjection of the Saxons, it is only by these traces of their condition at a subsequent period that we can perceive how the Roman elements of civilization were preserved in them. They hold a very important place in the history of social development, inasmuch as, while the country itself underwent so many violent revolutions—while Britons and Saxons, and Normans alternately gained possession of the soil—the population of the towns continued to exist without any further alteration than that gradual infusion of foreign blood which must necessarily take place in the course of ages, and to which we owe that due mixture of Saxon and Roman that forms the basis of modern civilization."⁹

⁶ Wright's History of the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon; (London, ed., 1875) p. 219. See also pp. 451, 491, 505, 510, 513, 522, and 525, which fully develop Mr. Wright's theory—that the great body of the Ancient Britons remained after the Saxon conquest, and became combined with the Saxons, and formed what eventually was called the Anglo-Saxon people.

⁷ Wright, p. 507.

⁸ Wright, *ut supra*, p. 510

⁹ Wright, *Ibid.*, p. 522

This theory of Mr. Wright, that the great body of the ancient Britons, after the Saxon conquest and within the territory by them acquired, remained in the country, and eventually became mixed and amalgamated with them; and at a subsequent period formed what was denominated the Anglo-Saxon people, is unquestionably true, and perfectly consistent with all history. There is no other way to account for the subsequent change and improvement in the people, who so greatly differed and distinguish the Anglo-Saxon from their Saxon, and Teutonic ancestors;—and which has rendered the modern Englishman in his physical and moral nature so much more like the Celtic descendant in the western counties of England and Wales; and so very different from the characteristics of the Teuton, now living north and east of the Rhine.

This theory of Mr. Wright annihilates that of Mr. Green:—and it is hoped that the reader of our history will bear in mind these facts and views of Mr. Wright, and observe how entirely his theory of the formation of the English people, and our history concur. It is the same theory which all historians, and all reasoning on the facts and circumstances tend to prove as inevitable. Equally clear is it that the present inhabitants of Wales are the descendants of the ancient Britons, who possessed all South Britain from the time of Julius Cæsar until the Saxon conquest, who are called by Mr. Wright—the Roman Britons. This is fully admitted by Mr. Green. They were the Cymry who occupied all the north-west of Gaul, and the south of Britain. They were the fellow-countrymen and followers of Caractacus, Boadicea, Arthur, Cadwallon and Llewellyn, and their brave and patriotic contemporaries; continued over a space of more than a thousand years of the most unquestionable, interesting and eventful history:—equally supported by classic, Saxon, and British historians; who demonstrate these people to be a continuation of the same race and nationality,—one and the same people; as much so as were the Romans from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of

Constantine the Great; and it would be just as reasonable and truthful to deny the one as the other.

This is all admitted in Green's theory; but he cannot bear the idea that the blood of the ancient Britons should constitute any part of that of the English people; and, therefore, has them "massacred," or expelled from the country:—while Wright on the other hand, seeing that it was impossible (historically) to deny the union of the Britons and Anglo-Saxons, admits it in its most ample terms, with the facts and circumstances upon which it depends. But then his hatred of the Welsh and Celtic people will no more than that of Green permit him to admit that the Welsh are of the same race and nationality with what he calls the Roman Britons, who furnished so large a portion of the English blood. He, therefore, assumes—contrary to all history—that the Welsh are not of the blood of the Ancient Britons, but an emigration from Armorica at the time of the Saxon conquest.

The theories of Messrs. Green and Wright are irreconcilable and inconsistent with each other; and each the most flagrant violation and falsification of history to be anywhere found. That the Ancient Britons were an immigration from Armorica is very true; but instead of its having taken place about the time of the Saxon conquest, it was about 500 B. C. This will fully appear in the course of our history. The Cymry first settled the north-west of Gaul and the south of Britain; and in Cæsar's time the people of Armorica and South Britain were one and the same race; and this was the pretext for Cæsar attacking the latter. The people of the south of Scotland, afterwards known to the Romans as Picts, and those of the north of Ireland in the same manner denominated Scots, were Cymry who fled from the Roman conquest, and subsequently united with the Picts in Scotland, and by that union formed the latter kingdom.¹⁰ So that long before the Sax-

¹⁰ See a very fair article on this subject in Chambers' Encyclopedia, Amer. ed., vol. vii, p. 528, article PICTS.

ons came, the Celtic Cymry were in possession of all England, all Scotland except the Highland, and the south of Ireland; and these Celtic Cymry, with the Celtic Gaels of the Highland, and the south of Ireland, were the ancestors of the great body of the people who now constitute the inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Why the Celt should be so much the special object of Saxon hatred and malignity, as to cause them to deny or pervert every possible fact in history, that the former may claim to their credit; and subject them to misrepresentation, and calumny, would be unaccountable, if we did not know, that it was very natural for those who were conscious of the fact to hate and calumniate the descendants of those whom they supposed their own ancestors had robbed and injured. But one would suppose that any person, even of such strong Saxon proclivities, might in the present day withhold his hatred; and doubt as to whom his ancestors were; and query whether he could trace his ancestry so far as to be at all conscious that he was responsible for the conduct of the offending party:—for the blood of the English people has been so often mixed, and “melted down,” that it is almost impossible in any case to tell whose blood prevails, of the several races who have occupied England in succession;—as the Ancient Briton, the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, and still later immigration. By most Englishmen this is frankly admitted, and no such hatred or enmity exists, but a most cordial friendship of a fellow-citizen of a common country prevails. This now should especially be the case, since that glorious revolution which is of the highest honor to humanity,—the Union,—which has rendered the whole British lands one common country, and nationality;—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

This Union was brought about by the united efforts of the kind and friendly feelings of the great body of the English people, uniting with those of Scotland, Wales and Ireland; which transferred their des-

ignation from a provincial name to that of Britain; by which the people have become the British people, the government the British Government, the parliament the British Parliament, and the sovereign the British Sovereign; which has conferred upon all the people the right of enjoyment and protection of a common nationality and country; which enabled Lord Palmerston to announce in Parliament, with great applause, that the rights of every British subject were put on the same ground as the Old Roman citizen,—if he was a subject of the Union, he was protected as a Briton, and no one should injure him with impunity.

But then, notwithstanding this kind and hopeful disposition on the part of the great body of the English people to restore peace and good will among all the people of the United Kingdom, still there are a few who claim themselves, par excellence, the descendant of the Saxons, without knowing the blood of which race courses in their veins,—who continue to hate and abuse any and every thing claimed to be Celtic. Of these Mr. Pinkerton,¹¹ a citizen of London, about a hundred years since, was among the first to commit his hatred to English literature; and Messrs. Green and Wright are among his followers. But every true Celt will—with conscious pride of his true history and character—consider these but an exception in the great mass of English people; and with common charity look upon these instances of hatred and enmity as the natural conformation of such persons which they can help, no more than the insane can help his insanity. And then there are many English historians who do ample justice to the history and character of the Celt,—as Sharon Turner, Whitaker, Leigh Hunt, Francis Thackeray, Prof. M. Arnold, and numerous others,—whose generous views and sentiments are fast acquiring the

¹¹ See Chambers's Encyclopedia, vol. vii, p. 550, Amer. ed., article PINKERTON; in which it is said: “In 1757, appeared his once notable *Dissertation* on the origin and progress of the Saxthians or Goths, in which, for the first time, appeared that grotesque and virulent hatred of the Britanno-Celtic race,—Saxon, Highlanders, Welsh, and Irish,—that reached its climax in his inquiry into the history of Scotland,” &c.

ascendant, and their opponents consigned to the character of fanatics and the superstitious. It is the Southern Irish who are made the butt of this hatred, without considering that they have been the subject of a crushing oppression for more than six hundred years,—which would have crushed any other people into the earth,—from the time of Strongbow to Lord Strafford, and to Cromwell, and to William III, and to the rebellion of 1798. During that long period, time after time were they crushed by their foreign invaders, who came only to plunder them;—to take from them their land and property; and bestow them on court favorites, and foreign speculators, who took from the country all that its fertility produced, leaving to the producers and toiling masses the insufficient necessities of life. Between the foreign land proprietor, and his bailiffs, the country was robbed of its native riches, and its toiling population left in poverty and want, without the means of improvement, education or progress. Between these upper and nether mill-stones the people are ground to powder. No other race could stand their oppression better. When they emigrate to other countries where a fair chance is given them, they are found amongst the most prosperous;—they flourish in all countries except in their own native land. In France, Spain, South America, Mexico, and the United States, the Irish or his descendant have risen to the highest social and political position in the gift of the country. The generous reader is besought before he condemns the poor and oppressed Irish Celt, to contumely and hatred, that he will consider the helpless condition in which he has been placed for generations past, and what he has been able to accomplish under other circumstances.

All this is fully appreciated by a large portion of the English people, who sympathize for the unhappy condition of Ireland, as they have for other countries, and are anxious to restore to it the benefit of its rich production for the good of its own people. When this is accomplished, when the Celtic Irish shall enjoy the fruit of their own soil and industry, as they do when emigrants to other countries,—when the curse

of their oppression, which has borne them down as slaves for centuries, shall be taken off, and liberty restored to her rights,—to the enjoyment of the fruit of their labor,—to education and improvement, and its concomitant progress,—then the poor Irish, with his native wit, his vivacity, and his endurance for labor and exertion, will be restored to the position that Providence intended he should occupy,—commensurate with the beauty and fertility of his Island. Such a restoration will be a greater boon than a hostile independence. Let it be attained within the Union, by the native force, justice and humanity, and “the genius of universal emancipation.”

As to the character and position of the Scots, who are principally the descendants of the ancient British Scots and Picts, and have never been conquered, nothing need be said in vindication of them. Their position and great progress are too elevated and palpable to the whole world to require it. Their character and Celtic origin have been fully vindicated by Sir Walter Scott, Hugh Miller and others, and do not need it here. Their progress in the arts, sciences, and in every thing that interests humanity is equally evident as it is an exalted example to the rest of the world. But our friends in Wales must still submit to take a good deal of the Celtic abuse and hatred, against which we have protested. They may, however, console themselves, that while they are anathematized by those few who claim special Saxon descent, the great mass of the English people are their good friends and sympathizers. We have sufficient evidence of this to cover over and bury all the late abuse and misrepresentations they have endured. They can well pass by all that Cæsar and Tacitus, and the ancient classics, have said in favor of their ancient ancestors, and come at once to the commendations of modern Englishmen. Repeatedly have the English Lord Presidents of Wales certified to the character of the people of the Principality as the true representative of the Ancient Britons, as remarkably good and peaceful subjects, when well treated. One Lord President, three hundred years since, after many years' experience in the govern-

ment, said of them: "A better people to govern, or better subjects Europe holdeth not," which rendered Wales "a happy place of government."¹² In the same spirit of truth and justice, Ben Jonson was induced to remark: "The country has always been fruitful of loyal hearts, and of honest minds and men. What hights of learning has Wales sent forth for your schools! What industrious students of your laws! What able ministers of your justice! Whence hath the crown in all times better servitors, more liberal of their lives and fortunes?"¹³ Since the days of these men, a different spirit has been introduced by Pinkerton, and his followers, for the purpose of cultivating enmity and hatred, where there should be fellowship and good will. All those from abroad, who have visited these people, and become acquainted with them—their honest hearts and minds,—from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to the present day, have been uniform in their praise; while their enemies calumniate them, or ignore their merits. S. Turner and Prof. M. Arnold express their surprise at the neglect that the ancient Cymric literature, with its great merits, has received by these opponents; while they and Wadsworth and Southey are warm in its commendation. Mrs. Hemans, Mr. Roscoe, Miss Castelo, and others who have visited them, and become acquainted with them, have committed to writing in fervent terms of prose and poetry their sympathy, confidence and admiration for these descendants of the Ancient Britons;—and Leigh Hunt, also, with enthusiasm expresses the same sentiment in these admirable lines:—

"I used to think of thee and thine,
As one of an old faded line,
Still living in thy hills apart,
Whose pride I know, but not his heart;
But now that I have seen thy face,
Thy fields and ever youthful race,

And woman's lips of rosiest words,
(So rich they open,) and have heard
The harp still leaping in thy halls,
Quenchless as the waterfalls;
I know thee full of pride, as strong
As the Ocean's most ancient song,
And of a sympathy as wide."

With these commendations in their favor, the people of the Principality may—with complacency—hold in contempt their calumniators and traducers, as found in the histories of such men as Woodward, the pretended historian of Wales, and Green and Wright, and pass them by as the "idle wind." There may be instances of such expression of hatred and vituperation, which the warmth of the occasion would excuse;—as the seething language of Lord Nelson, expressed to his men on the eve of the battle of Trafalgar, against the Celtic French:—and for that there is ample excuse, for then he was at war with them, and just upon the eve of a deadly battle. But what excuse is there for these modern men of our day, who claim a Saxon origin,—though perhaps they cannot tell at all, how much their blood may be mixed with that of the Celt,—for hating and calumniating their fellow-subjects, neighbors and fellow-citizens? Is it consistent with patriotism, civilization or justice? In time of war there may be an excuse for this enmity; and opponents may hold their enemies,—as Jefferson said in the Declaration of Independence,—“as they hold the rest of mankind; enemies in war, in peace, friends” And since the Union,—since the United Kingdom has made them nationally one people, there should be peace and good will between all of its inhabitants. Mr. Pitt ardently felt this, and with the good sense of a true patriot labored faithfully for the UNION for the common good of all;—and the union of the hearts of its people for a common country;—and for common justice and equality.

And now, if the writer was as much an Englishman, as at heart he is a Briton, he would pray Providence to bring about that national peace and good will; and give to the whole Union a common and equal justice; so that all might feel a hearty interest in a common prosperity and happiness; and a common destiny.

¹² Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President. See Miss Williams' History of Wales, and her authorities; Chap. xxvi.

¹³ Ibidem. See also in Motley's United Netherlands, where we might the least expect to find it—his glowing commendation of Welshmen under the names of Roger Williams, Morgan and others, for their loyalty, honesty, bravery and talent, which distinguished them even in a foreign service.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

BOOK I.—THE BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE INHABITANTS OF WESTERN EUROPE.

§ 1.—*The Cradle and Commencement of the Human Race.*

The facts and circumstances constituting history may be grouped together in one or the other of two points of view; either it may be the history of the country, with whatever people that may have occupied it; or it may be of the people, without a particular reference to the country in which, at certain periods, they may have been established. The one is the history of the stage, upon which various actors have performed their several parts; the other is more properly the biography of the actors, without being confined to any particular stages upon which they may have performed. The one is the history of a country; the other is more properly the history of a people.

It is proposed in the following pages to give a concise history of the Ancient Britons and their descendants; commencing with the earliest account of their origin, founded upon authentic facts; and tracing their progress down a long vista of ages,—from the cradle of their race, in a remote age and country,—passing through Europe from the far east to the west, until they establish themselves in Britain, there encountering the arts and power of Rome, and receiving the benefits of her improvements and civilization; there encountering the shock that overwhelmed all Europe during the dark ages, in the Saxon and Danish invasions; succeeded by the Norman conquest—these gradually uniting and assimilating with the more recent people of Britain; and finally spreading themselves into

every country, and imparting to it their courage, perseverance, and moral character, wherever Britain has carried her arts and civilization.

But the history of the Ancient Britons is so intimately connected with that of the inhabitants of Western Europe, it becomes proper, if not necessary, to consider, first, who the inhabitants of Western Europe are, whence they came, and the relation that their various races and countries bear to each other.

Assuming, for reasons which will appear in our progress, that the human family had a common origin, and that the Creator placed their cradle in some delightful place in the border of that great and fertile valley in Western Asia, watered by those rivers, so well known in connection with whatever is most venerable in antiquity,—the Tigris and Euphrates¹; an effort shall be made to trace the migration of the ancestors of the

British nation. That place in Eastern Asia, so well known in history, is, it is said, "Revelation," and the indications derivable from geography and comparative philology, agree in pointing to this southwestern region as the cradle of the human race. The soil, climate, and natural productions, in such a region, have suited man in his progress. Here, and in the adjoining parts of Africa, large communities were first formed, cities built, and government established. Here was the birthplace of agriculture and the arts, and here trade and commerce first acquired any considerable development. Numerous streams, a rich soil, abundant and most valuable natural productions, among which the first place must be assigned to the wheat plant, here alone indigenous, rendered this portion of the earth's surface better fitted than, perhaps, any other for propagating and promoting civilization. Here, accordingly, civil history commenced, the earliest kingdoms and states being, all of them, in this quarter."²—*Man, Anc. Hist.*, 28.

So also, J. D. Dana (Text book of Geology, 240) also says: "No place of origin better accords with the conditions requisite for the species in its original state, and for the commencement of its development than that region in Western Asia, which is a central point of radiation for the three great Oriental races, Asia, Europe, and Africa, where the Bible places His creation."

See also Guyot's "Earth and Man," Lecture xi, p. 100, 101.

various inhabitants of Western Europe from thence to the countries in which they are now found.

The ancient and venerable writing found in Genesis asserts the separation and dispersion of mankind from this common center, and forming distinct families and variety of people in different directions; which wonderfully agrees with, and is corroborated by, what is known as profane or secular history. Although the Bible is to be relied upon, as a sacred revelation as to things spiritual and religious,—as to our knowledge of the true and living God, our duty to Him, and to ourselves, and to each other,—yet it was not intended, nor is it to be relied upon, to teach us science, geology, or chronology, or other things which are strictly secular matters.² But even in these matters it is as much to be relied upon as any secular writing which next follows it. It teaches us that the inhabitants of the earth have descended from Noah and his three sons, and their families. These were Shem, Ham, and Japheth,³ from whom it is supposed that the various nations and races of men have proceeded. The descendants of the two first mentioned became known as the Shemitic and Hamitic races, and proceeded to possess the southern part of Asia and all Africa; while the descendants of Japheth are known as the Japhetic race, who have occupied the northwestern part of Asia and all Europe.

The Book of Genesis gives the names of the seven sons of Japheth as Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras, and Javan. "Gomer personifies the families originally established on the northern coast of the Euxine [Black sea] and north of Greece. From these were, in due course of time, to spring a people well known to the Greek and Roman historians, as Cimmerians, Cimbri, Cymry, who were for ages the terror of Asia and Europe, and who even made Rome tremble at the summit of her power. Three sons of Gomer are men-

tioned: Ashkenaz, whose name seems composed of Gothic roots *As aheenis*, 'the race of Ases,' and which represents the Germanic and Scandinavian nations not yet separated, and inhabiting a limited district to the northwest of the Black Sea; Riphath, that is, the group of Celts or Gauls, then established in their first European settlement on the Riphæan mountains,—the present Carpathian, before entering on their last migration towards the France of our day; and lastly, Togarmah, in whom tradition has always recognized the Armenians.⁴

It has ever been claimed that the Cymry were descendants of Gomer; and that Cimmeri or Cimneri were derived from Gomer or Gimeri by mere change of sound in the initial letter. These Gomerians or Cimmerians are considered as undoubtedly of the Japhetic race, and occupied, when first noticed in history, the most westwardly position on the north side of the Euxine Sea, where they have conferred their name on many objects there, as Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Old Crim, on the Tauric Cherson-

⁴ See Lenormant and Chevallier, *Ancient History*, B. i, ch. iv, sec. 3, p. 61; also, vol. 2, p. 3; also, *A Manual of Ancient History*, by George Rawlinson, B. i, pt. 1, p. 39.

⁵ See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. 3, Appendix to B. i, Essay 1, 150, "Cimmerians" (Gimirrai); see 1 *Lenor. An. Hist.*, 105; 2 *Ibid.*, 70. *Cyclopædia of Brit. Theo. and Eccles. Literature*, vol. iii, 710, Art. GALATIA; see a very interesting article,—"Galatia, *Galatia* is the same word with *Keltai*, Celtic; and the Galatians were, in their origin, a stream of that great Celtic torrent (apparently Cymry, and Gael), which poured into Macedonia about B. C. 280 (Strabo IV. 187; VII. 694; Livy XXXV. 41; Flor. II. 1; Justin XXV. 2; Appian, Sup. XXXII, 22). Some of these invaders moved into Thrace, and appeared on the shores of the Hellespont and Bosphorus, where Nicomedes I., king of Bithynia, being then engaged in a civil war, invited them across into Asia Minor, to assist him against his brother, Zibithes; B. C. Cir. 270. Having accomplished this object, they were unwilling to retrace their steps; and, strengthened by the accession of fresh hordes from Europe, they overran the neighboring countries. The Galatians were still settled in their three tribes, the Tectosages, the Tolistobogii, and the Trocmi, the first of which is identical in name with a tribe familiar to us in the history of Gaul, as distributed over the Cevennes near Toulouse (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 24; Comp. Jablousky, *De lingua Lyronica*, p. 23). The three capitals were respectively Tavium, Pessinus, and Ancyra. The last of these (the modern Angora) was the center of the district, and may be regarded as the metropolis of the Galatians. These eastern Gauls preserved much of their ancient character, and something of their ancient language. At least Jerome says that in his day the same language might be heard at Ancyra as at Treves; and he is a good witness, for he himself had been at Treves."

² Genesis, ch. x. 1. Rawl. Herodotus, 527, 549.

³ See H. Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*, sec. 3, pp. 141, 150; Bacon's *Novum Organum* "V Causes of Error in Philosophy." Miller's *Foot-prints of the Creator*, 332.

esus.⁶ Next east were the Scythians, another Japhetic race,⁷ and usually assigned as the descendants of Magog. Still east and south of these were the descendants of Madai, who occupied Media, Persia, Bactria, Hindoo Kush, and extending even into India. These have generally been denominated the Aryans proper, an appellation applied in common with that of Japhetic, and Indo-European races, to all the descendants of Japheth, found settled in various countries from India to the British Islands. The children of Tubal and Meshech peopled the country on the east and southeast of the Euxine. The descendants of Tiras and Javan proceeded west, occupying Asia Minor and southeastern Europe; the first taking possession of the eastern and northern part of Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia; and the latter—the descendants of Javan—taking possession of the southwestern part of Asia Minor, adjoining the Ægean Sea, known as Ionia, and still proceeding west over the last-named sea, and occupying Greece.

In connection with, and as part of, these people should be noticed the Pelasgians, a people much noticed in ancient history, and were undoubtedly of the same origin as those who are considered the descendants of Javan. They found a material, if not the larger, portion of the original inhabitants of Athens and other portions of Greece; and probably they were also the first settlers of Italy.⁸

Taking, then, the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates to have been the cradle of the human race, and that the prominent and civilized part of it is represented by the three families known in history as the Japhetic, Shemitic and Hamitic races, who had their origin there, we are to trace thence the peo-

ple whose descendants now occupy Western Europe. We may well suppose that for a long time Noah and his family resided there, in their original home,⁹ until their increasing population would require them to separate and emigrate. It seems that the Shemitic and Hamitic races were more united and harmonized with each other than with the Japhetic. The Hamitic took the lead in population, however, and civilization. They built great cities on the lower Euphrates and along the Persian Gulf—the Erythæan Sea, where they promoted commerce and navigation, and where they first became known in history as the Chaldæans. At an early period in their history they sent a colony to Egypt, a country much like their own, upon the lower Euphrates,—very fertile,—promoting a rapid increase of population and civilization. Subsequently another colony passed from them, who had become acquainted with navigation and commerce upon the Erythæan Sea, and planted themselves upon the borders of the Mediterranean Sea; and there became celebrated as the Phœnicians.¹⁰

The Shemitic race became distinguished in their descendants as the Hebrews and the Arabs; and developed a great nationality in Assyria, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.

In the meantime the Japhetic race were forming their nationality higher up the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates; and there establishing a language, customs and habits which subsequently identified their descendants in different families as the Japhetic, or Aryan, or Indo-European races.¹¹ But amidst all people there are a portion

⁶ Herod., B. iv, ch. 12.

⁷ The Scythians, as known in history, may be distinguished as two separate races;—the first and oldest were Turanians; but second; those who passed west to Europe were Aryans.

⁸ See Rawlinson's Herodotus, B. iv, App., Essay ii. See also *ibid.* B. i, ch. 50; and also, Rawl. Herodo., 150, Essay i, n. 1. Josephus identifies Gomer and the Celts thus: "For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galatians [Galls], but were then called Gomerites; Magog founded those that from him were named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians." Ant. Jews, B. i, ch. iv.

⁹ Rawl. Herod., 461, where it is said: "The great fertile tract at the foot of the Zagros ranges, abundantly watered by Tigris, the Euphrates, and the rivers descending from Zagros, and enclosed by the Arabian and Syrian deserts on the west, the Armenian mountains upon the north, and Zagros upon the east, was divided from very ancient times into three principal countries, all nearly equally favored by nature, and each in its turn the seat of a powerful monarchy:—Assyria, Susiana, and Babylonia. The high lands overlooking this region upon the east and north being occupied by three principal races, were likewise regarded as forming three great countries:—Armenia, Media and Persia."

¹⁰ Rawl. Herod., 117.

¹¹ See the article, "Aryan," in Chamber's Encyclopedia, vol. i, p. 459.

of mankind who are always disposed to be erratic, to avoid the aggregation of population, to seek the solitude of the wilderness or plains rather than the restraints of society, and their civilizing influences. Such as were thus disposed soon separated from the three original families, in various directions, and became the Nomads, and the savage of the wilderness. These became a numerous people outside of the civilizing influences of the aggregation of the original family in their improving and cultivating homes. These outsiders, becoming more and more savage, and dissimilar from their brethren of the original families, became known to history as the "Turanian" race. These soon traversed the eastern world in various directions; and we may well conceive that, at an early day in their existence, they wandered to Western Europe, and became settled in France and Britain. Especially the valley of the Somme became an enticing home for them, and their necessities compelled them to construct implements of flint in large numbers. The funa of the former and last geological period had not yet disappeared, and afforded a rich harvest for the hunter, and great increase of population, and consequently a very rapid production of those implements, for hunting, for defence, and for domestic uses. In the course of time at that day the shores of France arose above their former level, just as we find it to have been the case in Scotland, Norway, and other parts of the world. Then the Somme would have to change its bed, and form new channels and gravel beds, into which the implements of the inhabitants along its banks would be imbedded, together with the bones of the animals, relics of a former age, upon which, perhaps, the inhabitants had been feeding. This may have happened a thousand years after the time of Japhet, and 2,500 years or more B. C. This would give sufficient time for all the appearances at present represented as found in the valley of the Somme and elsewhere, and more probable than that it transpired many thousand years before, as some geologists pretend to believe. This may be accepted as a reasonable and prob-

able theory of the question, until facts are so developed as will otherwise establish the truth beyond all question.

The Japhetic family remained in the upper valley of the Tigro-Euphrates, while the Hamitic and Shemitic races occupied the lower part, and there cultivated a fixed language; cultivated agriculture, and the necessary arts of primitive life.¹² But the time came at length when they were all—at least the Japhetic portion of them—driven hence, and radiated from there in various directions, as already indicated, in various families or tribes, known by one set of names as derived from Moses and Josephus, and by another, as designated by modern historians and ethnologists. These have denominated the northernmost family as the descendants of Javan or the Pelargi,¹³—the ancestors of the Greeks and Italians; and the northern families as the Celts,—the ancestors of the inhabitants of France and the British Islands,—the descendants of Gomer, Cimmerians, Cimbri and Cymry; and these were followed by the Teutons,—the ancestors of the Ger-

¹² It was here, rather than in Bactria, where the ancestors of the Aryan race, before their separation and dispersion east and west, the one towards Bactria and the other towards Europe, that the original family of the race were established long enough to establish and fix as common to the whole race, words and terms which have distinguished and identified them as the Hindo-European, or Aryan race. In his interesting essay, Professor Max Muller on Comparative Mythology has represented the Aryan family, while yet one and undivided, in which their language and habits as to religion, domestic affairs and civilization are made the foundation of that of the whole race. "The same name for an object or nation being found as common in the wide-spread members of the family is justly claimed that such names must have been familiarly used by them, while yet residing together in their parental home. Such similarity or identity of names is found in the various branches of the race as to all objects of domestic relation, of agriculture and of building of houses and towns. "It should be observed," he says, "that most of the terms connected with chase and warfare differ in each of the Aryan dialects, while words connected with more peaceful occupations belong generally to the common heirloom of the Aryan language." "This shows that all the Aryan nations had led a long life of peace before the separation of the Aryan language acquired individuality and nationality as each colony started in search of new homes—new generations forming new terms connected with the warlike and adventurous life of their onward migrations. Hence it is that not only Greek and Latin, but all Aryan languages, have their peaceful words in common; and hence it is that they all differ so strangely in their warlike expressions. Thus the domestic animals are generally known by the same name in England and in India, while the wild beasts have different names, even in the Greek and Latin."

¹³ See Leornant, *Ancient History*, 61.

mans and Scandinavians; and also by the Slaves,—the representatives of the ancient Normatians and Scythians, and also the eastern family, as the Aryans, who include the Medes, Persians, and the northern Hindoo. All these have received the appellation of the Aryan, and the Indo-European in common with that of the Japhetic race; and occupying a zone through Asia and Europe from the Ganges to the British Islands.

What was the cause of their expulsion from their original birthplace, and emigration east and west,¹⁴ is only left to conjecture; but probably it was an hostile invasion of one or both of the original families, under the name of Assyrians or Chaldeans.

All these names and divisions of the human race admirably agree with that given by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis, as well as that given by Josephus, and confirmed by all history. It must therefore be true that there were originally such three families as those of Shem, Ham and Japheth, or Moses had discovered this division of mankind, and invented the story of these three persons to agree with the evident division of the human race. The former hypothesis is not only the most natural, but harmonizes well with what is

known in history. But either hypothesis may be received as the true one, and that those three celebrated names may be received as those of the three original races.

When in the course of time the origin of the present human family commenced, must, in a great measure, be left to conjecture. There are no facts, disclosed by history or monuments, which are conclusive upon the subject. Ancient history discloses facts, and especially inscriptions recently found in ruined cities of Assyria and Babylonia, inscribed upon monuments, bricks, and tiles, discovered amidst those ruins, afford us means of a rational conjecture. The most reliable materials furnished us for ancient history and chronology are those given us by Moses, commencing with the tenth chapter of Genesis, and schedule of dynasties given us by Berosus in his history of Babylonia and Chaldaea, as presented to us in mere fragments in Josephus, and later historians. These aid us so much in establishing the commencement of the human family and chronology, that we must take them as the most reliable materials upon the subject. The scheme of chronology founded upon Berosus, as corrected and confirmed by other historians, and inscriptions above referred to, give us a tablet upon the subject, which may be thus repeated:

	<i>Dynasty.</i>	<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Probable Time B. C.</i>
BEROSUS	Chaldaean	86	34,080	about
	Median ^a	8	224	" 2,458 to 2,234
	Chaldaean ^b	11	258	" 2,234 to 1,976
	Chaldaean ^c	49	458	" 1,976 to 1,518 ¹
	Arabian	9	245	" 1,518 to 1,273 ²
	Assyrian	45	526	" 1,573 to 747
PTOLEMY	Lower Assyrian.	8	122	" 747 to 625
	Babylonians	6	87	" 655 to 568 ³
Total		136	1,920	in all 1,920 years.

¹⁴ In Winchell's Sketch of Creation, p. 10, it is said, "In all the literature of the east, from the earliest times, there is evidence of a continuous migration from the direction of the West to the East. The earliest population of the East, being the Semites, in modern times, the Aryans, have been eastward in regions to the east of the Orient. The westward wave overflowed Europe, and in latter times reached the Atlantic. The most populated Tartary and China, and as may be predicted, America, were not reached until the westward wave from Europe, the Semite population, had been established."

north to south. The primeval inhabitants of North America were Asiatics in their features, their language, and their arts, and tradition speaks of them as moving from the direction of Asia. These movements of human population, like radiating streams, from the western part of Asia, certainly would be a proof that the only possible cause of movement we have neither history, tradition, nor buried monuments, proceeded also from the direction of the Orient." "It seems reasonable to suppose that the Iberian tribe and the savage Ligurians, subjugated by the Romans, and described by Caesar as dwelling in caves, may have been the southern representative of the primitive race, while the Etruscan and Ligurian, as Winchell says

The Chaldæan dynasty thus given by Berosus, containing 86 kings and embracing 34,080 years, is a mere myth, and fabulous. It undoubtedly consisted of a dynasty of its own people, from their origin; and may include Ham himself as the first. No facts known in history would warrant 34,080 years to any dynasty of 86 kings. Taking the residue of the column (excluding the 86), it gives 136 kings in 1,920 years, or an average of 15 years to each. To give the same average to the 86 kings, would give 1,290 years; which, added to the 1,920 years above given, would give 3,210 years as the duration of the whole dynasties, which, added to the date of the last year (538 B. C.), would give 3,748 B. C. as the more probable date of the commencement of the Ham or Hamitic dynasty in Chaldæa; and the more probable commencement of the present human race, than any other date at which we can arrive. As this, too, harmonizes well with

gests, may be the modern and more northern representatives of the same folk." That is, the Turanians who first emigrated and peopled Europe. As to the age of man on earth, see *Sketches of Cre.*, 368.

¹ This includes the time of Abraham and of Chedor-Laomer, 1 Rawl. Herodotus, 356; Rawl. Man. of Anc. History, 61; 1 Lenor. History of the East, 82; also 362.

² Exodus about the commencement of 14th C. Lenor. History of the East, 114. On these dates authors differ about 200 years.

³ See as to this tablet, 1 Rawl. Hero., 345. As to Egyptian chronology, see Rawl. Hero., 289. G. Rawlinson, in his *Manual of History*, p. 77, gets the commencement of Egyptian history,—under Moses, their first king and dynasty, at 2,700 B. C. We are compelled to accept the dates here given as the probable ones for Egypt, and 3,500 as that for the commencement of the human race, or admit that previous thereto there must have been the Deluge or some other calamity that swept from the face of the earth all antecedent inhabitants. If the evidences derived from the gravel pits on the Somme, or the caves in the south of France, or those of Belgium, furnish conclusive facts to establish the existence of a pre-existing race, that must be received as the strongest evidence derived from natural history (and perhaps the only one) of the Deluge. A class of scientific men have been in the habit of deducing evidence of too great antiquity from facts, without making due allowance, that changes were more rapid at an earlier period in the present geological age; as those observations made at Niagara or the delta of the Nile. About 625 B. C. the city of Nineveh, the great, was utterly destroyed by the Medes. About 220 years afterwards Xenophon, in his retreat with the 10,000 Greeks, passed over the place without ever noticing it; because of its utter ruin in that lapse of time. So in ancient times the city of Miletus, in Ionia (Asia Minor), was a seaport on a bay 25 miles long by 5 wide, at the mouth of the Mæander river. Since those ancient times there has been a gradual but an astonishing change in the situation of the city. "The soil brought

all other facts deducible from history or antiquities.

The last date given is the earliest that can be admitted as the commencement of the present human race, as in any wise consistent with the known facts of history. It cannot be placed further back in antiquity than between 3500 and 4000 B. C., without incurring insurmountable objections arising from the well known increase of population, and progress of civilization. It is a well established fact, that the human family is capable of increasing, and doubling its numbers every twenty-five years; and under favorable circumstance this ratio may be greatly accelerated.¹⁵ Progress in civilization does not tend to increase this ratio, but rather to diminish it. All that is wanted to promote the most extreme increase of population is sufficient subsistence, and the absence of absolute restraints. These restraints may be either physical or moral; as the want of food or clothing, or the restraints of a higher state of civilization. All we know of geology and history assures us, that the human family was not put upon the earth, by its Great Creator, until it was well prepared for him; and all the great geological changes had gone by. It may be true that some of the animals,—the fauna and flora, of the former age, may have for some time remained upon the earth, and

down by the Mæander has filled up the gulf, so that Miletus now stands on the outskirts of a great alluvial plain, which extends even beyond Miletus four or five miles seaward." (See 1 Rawl. Herod., 217.) If the like calculation should be made as to Nineveh or Miletus, based upon the accumulation of soil upon and around them, it is to be expected they would put the dates of those cities at about 10,000 B. C.

^a This Median dynasty was a Turanian race, probably of the Scythian race, and not the true Medes of the Aryan race; but called Medes for the reason they came from the country afterward called Media. The Medes did not make their appearance until long afterwards, about 690 B. C., and only about 155 years before the Aryan race (Medes and Persians), under Cyrus, conquered Babylon.—1 Rawl. Hero., 389, and 11, 7, 341, 345.

^b This second Chaldæan dynasty was probably a return of power to their own people.

^c This third Chaldæan dynasty was probably that of the Elamite or Surianian people, a kindred race, and to which Chedor-Laomer belonged. See 1 Rawl. Hero., 352-356, &c.

¹⁵ This is the ordinary increase of the population of the United States. That of the descendants of Jacob, and of the Mutineers of the Bounty of Pitcairn Island, exceeded this ratio. The increase may be much greater than double every twenty-five years. See Grey's *Enigma of Life*, p. 77.

have afforded to the first inhabitants additional facilities for food, and the skins and fur of the animals, clothing. These facilities, and the absence of restraints, may, in that age, have greatly facilitated the ordinary increase of its population.

Arithmetical calculation will show that the family of Noah, upon the basis just suggested, may have so increased, that in 500 years there may have been a population of fifteen hundred thousand, and this may have been about 3000 B. C. To put the origin of the human family at a greatly earlier period, would have so increased the population of the earth as to interfere, irreconcilably, with what is known in ancient history.

If we should carry back the commencement of the human family to a period so remote as contended for by some antiquarians and geologists, the earth would have been filled with people long before the time that Europe became peopled. From a period of about 3500 B. C. the earth has been gradually and constantly filling up with a population, until now it has reached the sum of 1300 millions. It is true that war has often retarded, and sometimes diminished this increase, and even exterminated some particular race or nationality, but never has it exterminated both the victors and the vanquished together. The earth has gradually and perpetually become filled with its present people, notwithstanding it has sometimes been retarded by war, pestilence or famine. We must place the commencement of the present race of man with Noah and his family; but if we place that commencement, as some pretend to do, some 10,000 B. C., then we should have found the earth as densely peopled at the very earliest period in history as it is at present.¹⁶ On

the contrary we are led from history to believe that in Abraham's time Syria was new and but sparsely peopled; and that from that time to that of Moses, there was in Egypt a very great increase of people and of civilization, and the whole population of those countries between Egypt and the Upper Euphrates wonderfully increased. It is always the case as population becomes more dense and concentrated, they seek a municipal life, and make progress in civilization and refinement. This is the order of Providence, and the instinct of the human race. It is the conclusion we draw from ancient history; and the information we obtain from the histories of the Mexicans, Peruvians, Tahitians, and other people of the New World. In these respects a constant improvement and progress have been made, from the time of the earliest history and evidence of man's existence on the Euphrates to the present. These are to be traced in their development from thence to every country, and especially to Western Europe. From the earliest, every five hundred years has produced a marked if not an entire change in every race, which may be noticed as a period or epoch in their history, and in almost every instance survives one or more dynasty. Each of these periods marks a progress in the condition, manners and civilization of every people. Thus the first before 3000 B. C. witnessed the commencement of the present race of man in a single family, and its increase to a nation and numerous people. The next period¹⁷

world had its existence in its present state." Man was placed here at comparatively a very recent period: not until the great geological changes had passed, and the earth prepared to receive him. If man had existed on the earth one "six thousand years" before the time of the three great patriarchs of the human race, the world would have been filled with people before their advent or that of their race; and tradition, and history, and antiquities would have preserved greater evidence of their existence, and of the war and conflict that this race would have had with them, in acquiring a foot-hold, than is in any manner disclosed that they have ever had upon the earth. There is so little evidence of a pre-existing race, that we are forced to believe the tradition of Ham, Shem and Japheth to be the ancestors of the race, or their names invented to correspond with the history of the three great races of the human family; and that if any previous race existed, they must have been by some dire calamity wept from the face of the earth.

¹⁷ From 3000 to 2500 B. C.

¹⁶ Giles, in his History of the Ancient Britons, vol. i. p. 1, says: "The writings of Moses carry us back no further into the past than the space of about six thousand years, whereas there is the most conclusive evidence that the world has existed in its present state more than six times that limited period. It appears, therefore, that our knowledge of the past is confined to a very narrow compass, compared with the infinite duration of time which has elapsed." This must be assented to by every well informed and candid mind. But the question when man became an inhabitant of this world is a very different question, from that, as to when "this

witnessed their dispersion;—those who were well disposed to civilization, to Egypt and other nationality; while those who were indisposed to social life, departed to various parts of the surrounding world to become and to be known as the Turanian race. In the eastern world, this would be probably the stone age. In the next period¹⁸ great progress was made;—great cities had their commencement and their foundation laid, along the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates and that of the Nile; and was probably the age of metal, bronze and iron. The next period, (commencing with 2000 B. C.), would include the time from Abraham to Moses, and produce many of the facts now known in ancient history;—the rise of the Phœnician cities on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and the extension of their commerce to the western world. The next of such period of time would include¹⁹ the exodus of the Jews, the destruction of Troy, and the establishment of the great kingdom of Judah under David and Solomon. With in the next would be comprehended some of the great events of history;²⁰—the great conquests and empires of Assyria and Egypt; the appearance of the Medes and Persians as great conquering powers; the utter destruction of the great city of Nineveh; the supremacy of Babylon the great; and the building of Carthage and Rome. Then comes the last period before the Christian era,²¹ in which occurred some of the greatest events of history: as the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, under Cyrus; the attempted conquest of Greece by Darius and Xerxes and the events that culminated in the battles of Marathon and Salamis; the conquest of the civilized world by Alexander; the astonishing rise and success of the Roman empire, and its greatest splendor under Augustus. Then great and new events commences with the Christian era;—the

establishment of the Christian religion; the subjection of Britain to Roman arms; the great development of the Roman empire under Constantine the Great; and the events approaching the reign of Justinian. Then in the next period transpired the darkest and gloomiest times in the history of man;²² when the civilization of Europe was entirely subverted by the northern barbarians, and properly called “the dark ages,” when civilization, and the progress of humanity were turned back at least a thousand years. Then commences a period of new events,²³ beginning with the Norman Conquest of England; the crusades against the infidels of the Holy Land; the establishment of the English Constitution, and especially of the English Parliament; the war of the Roses; and the union of Wales with England. Then lastly comes the present period; the most wonderful in the history of man, and entirely beyond his conception until developed by actual realities; as the discovery and settlement of America; the invention of the printing press; the establishment of the protestant religion, the independence of the United States, the French revolution, the steam engine, the rail-road and the telegraph. These have revolutionized the work and the destiny of the human race.

These periods follow each other, and in such progressive improvement, as appear to be the design and order of Providence. They appear to admit and require no earlier commencement of the human race than the one stated, between the 35th and 40th centuries B. C. To place the beginning of these events at an earlier period would absolutely interfere with the regular progress of events and the established facts of history. They require no greater period of time, and seem absolutely to exclude any earlier period than that which has been given; and if any facts establish a pre-existing race, then it must have been one, which had been entirely swept off the face of the earth, before the period which we

18 From 2500 to 2000 B. C.

19 From 1500 to 1000 B. C.

20 From 1000 to 500 B. C.

21 From 500 to 0 B. C. This period includes the existence of the great conquerors of the world, as Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Alexander, Hannibal and Caesar.

22 From 500 to 1000 A. D.

23 From 1000 to 1500 A. D.

have assigned as the commencement of the Japhetic race.

Antiquarians and geologists have divided historical periods, as evidence of the age in which they severally existed, into the age of stone, of bronze, and of iron. This division of time into periods of the progress of civilization in the history of a country, may assist in establishing the priority of one period or event, to that of another; but chronologically it affords no aid in fixing when in the course of time a particular event did happen. It may have transpired in antiquity, or in our own day. This depends upon the progress that civilization has made in any given country; and not upon the time when it commenced. It is a fact that in 1850 a tribe of Indians was found in California who were, in every particular, in the stone age, whose only implements consisted of stone, wood and bone. Elsewhere the age of stone exists at the present day. On the other hand, we have historical evidence proving that the Chaldeans, at Ur on the Euphrates, from the earliest times, were acquainted with the art of working metals, gold, bronze, lead and iron.²⁴ On the walls of Karnak in Egypt are inscriptions of Thothmes III. (about 1600 B. C.), showing that wine, wheat, cattle, honey, and *iron*, are mentioned among the tributes paid by Cush to Egypt.²⁵ In those countries the age of stone had passed by, and the age of iron existed at the earliest account we have of them; when perhaps the age of *iron* did not exist in Western Europe until more than a thousand years later.

Nor do these distinctions of the stone and metallic ages, of themselves, at all aid us in establishing a prehistoric age, which takes us back to an age far anterior to that which has been fixed upon, as the origin of the present human race? They may aid in fixing the relative age of civilization in any given country; but not as to the degree of civilization in any other country, or the period of time in chronology.²⁶

Whether the evidences of a stone age carries us back to a time anterior to the commencement of the Japhetic race, depends upon other, and surrounding circumstances, which establishes the position beyond a doubt; and is capable of refuting our present assumptions. But, on the contrary, we find that in Western Europe, where the Turanian race had first settled and continued the longest, as in France and Britain, we find the greatest evidence and development of the stone age, while in Greece and in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, there is but little of such evidences to be found; for the reason that the period of time between man's origin and the metallic age was too short for that purpose.

It has been suggested that the Turanian race were the descendants of those who early left the original family of man, preferring a wandering, savage life to social restraints. These left the home of their parents at an early day, for the woods, the prairie, and the steppe. Each of the original families furnished its quota; Ham (the sunburnt) furnished the colored race, and through Cush (the black) furnished those who, under the appellation of the Ethiopian and the Negro, peopled the south part of Asia, and the east and south of Africa; and perhaps furnished also the red and yellow races who emigrated to Northwestern Asia, as the Tartar and Mongolian, and thence to America. Shem sent forth the wild Arab of the desert; and from Japheth descended those who early peopled the north and the west of Europe, as the Iberians, the Finns, the Lapps, the Hungarians, and the older Scythians. These departed from the original family and stock, upon the path which led to their various destiny, and then in the infancy of their race, more readily took on the peculiarity that their wild and savage life

Evans' *Anc. Stone Impl. of Great Britain*, 127. "When we attempt any chronological arrangement of the various forms, we find ourselves also obliged immediately at first, from the number of objects found, we may, indeed, say, that they represent the lapse of no inconsiderable interval of time, but how great we know not."

27 See Guyot's *Earth and Man*, 207. "At the time, when the human race in their infancy had still the flexible and plastic nature of the child."

24 Lenor. *History of the East*, 350. Results of Col. Taylor's excavation of the tombs at Ur.

25 Lenor. *Hist. East*, 233.

26 Lenor. *Anc. Hist. East*, 24, 25, 30. See also,

and exposures were inclined to impose upon them.² These exposures produced varieties, and the variety became fixed in the race; as in the Ethiopian, until the sun and sands of Africa had burned upon him his color, and the exposure and hardship he endured had imposed upon him the characteristics of the Negro.

Thus we are led to believe, that before the arrival of the Celt and Teuton in Western Europe, the Turanian races above mentioned had preceded them, and were by the Celts either expelled, or amalgamated with them, or forced to occupy particular places by themselves, as the Iberians (or Basques) occupying the northwest part of Spain, in the Pyrennees, and the southwest of France or Aquitania; and the Finns and Laps in the north of Europe.

Before proceeding to notice more particularly the people of Western Europe, we must first notice another theory of their cradle and origin; and that is, that they were placed by Providence, not in the beautiful and noted valley of the Tigris-Euphrates, but in the remote Bactria; or Hindo Koosh. If this were true, we would be led to wonder at the choice of Providence, and question His wisdom. In addition to what has already been said as pointing out that extraordinary valley as the cradle of mankind, we may again refer to its extraordinary fertility and its approach to the sea,—affording such great facilities for the promotion of commerce and civilization, when compared with the narrow valleys, and extensive deserts of Bactria, and its vast distance from the sea. We must still insist that the cradle of mankind was placed where we have indicated, and that the Aryans were that part of the Japhetic family who departed east and proceeded to Bactria, rather than the races of Western Europe came there from Bactria. What is common in the language of the Eastern and Western Aryans is that which was acquired and cultivated while they were together in the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates before their separation,—one to the east and the other to the west. The whole theory of the Aryan being the mother language of the whole Japhetic

race, is built up on the fact that Sir William Jones, about 1787, while in India, discovered the connection between the Sanscrit and the European languages, which has been traced to Bactria, and from thence to the Medes and Persians; and as a common name to the language, it was called the Aryan; because that “Asiatic district was specially called Aria.”²⁸ When it was discovered that this Aryan language possessed so many things in common with the German language it was called the Indo-German; but when it was discovered that the Celtic and almost all the European languages had the same connection and relation, it was denominated the Indo-European or Aryan family of language; and admitted to be equally entitled to be denominated the Japhetic language. The appellation of Indo-European or Aryan was wholly because at that late day it was discovered that there was the relation of a sister language subsisting between all those languages from India to Western Europe; and thence concluded that it all originated in Aria, as the mother country of the common languages. This would be just as rational a conclusion, as it would be, at some future period, when it would be forgotten where the English language originated, but it was discovered that a dialect of it existed in Australia, in Hindostan, in Malta, in Gibraltar, in Britain, and in America, to conclude it originated in Australia, because that was the point furthest east at which it was found.

These considerations not only render the supposition, that Bactria was the birth-place of the race, improbable; but there are others which positively impugn it. After the first settlement of the original Aryans in Bactria, the history and inscriptions of Nineveh and Babylonia furnish no evidence of any communication between a people from Bactria and the valley of the Euphrates until about 880 B. C., when an Assyrian monarch in an expedition to the east first met the Medes emigrating west;²⁹

²⁸ 2 Lenor. *Anc. Hist. of the East*, 2.

²⁹ See 1 Rawl. Herodotus, 317. Essay III; also, *Ibid.* 310, 324; *Ibid.* 356, n. 7; also, 323. The Median dynasty mentioned by Berosus as having taken place in Babylon 1500 years before this date was

and the inscriptions of Nineveh assert that in their eastern expeditions were the first notice they had of the Aryan race; and that in a subsequent expedition of Esarhaddon into Media, it is said he had penetrated to a land, "of which the kings, his fathers, had never heard the name." *The Median power under Cyaxares was of a sudden growth, like that of Attila and Genghis Khan, at the head of an eastern horde, who about 625 B. C. attacked and destroyed Nineveh. It was until about 540 B. C. that the Persians (the principal Aryan race) under Cyrus entered the valley of the Euphrates and conquered the Babylonian empire. These historical facts and dates exclude the idea that the Celts, who must have entered France as early as from a 1000 to 1600 B. C., could have been an emigration from Bactria.

Besides these considerations, there is also the further one, that the Turanian Scythians occupied a line of country due north from the waters of the Tigris, and presented a noted separation between the two divisions of the Aryan races,—those who proceeded east toward Bactria, and those who proceeded west toward Western Europe, from their original home, the most renowned valley of the world, watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. That these Turanian races occupied this position and separated the two kindred branches of the Aryan or Japhetic races, is one of the most observable facts in history. "If Cyaxares was, as we have supposed," says Rawlinson, "the successful leader who, at the head of a great emigration from the east, first established an Aryan supremacy over the country known in history as Media, he must have been engaged during the early part of his reign in a struggle with the Scythians. Scythic races occupied Media and the whole chain of Zagros until this period, and it was only by their

being subdued or expelled that the Aryans could obtain possession."³⁰

§ 2. *The Races Who Settled Western Europe.*

The most ancient historical allusion to the people of Western Europe, is that given by Herodotus, who refers to them and their country as a people but little known, and in a country new and remote from the then civilized world. What information he had of them must have been gathered previous to 450 B. C. He calls them the Celts, and says they "live beyond the pillars of Hercules, and border on the Cynesians, who dwell at the extreme west of Europe," and that the Ister (the Danube) "has its source in the country of the Celts."¹ Whatever is ancient and venerable in connection with Western Europe is Celtic; and Genesis, Josephus, Herodotus, and all history assure us that they were the first of the Japhetic race who emigrated to Western Europe; and that their first resting-place, after leaving their parental home, was on the Euxine, or the Black Sea.

When this emigration first took place must, in a great measure, be left as a matter of conjecture. But history will warrant us in saying that some of the Celtic race must have arrived in France (or Gaul) previous to 1600 B. C., and gradually spread themselves over the whole of it, from the Cimbric Chersonesus to Spain and Italy,² and from the Alps and the Rhine to Britain and Ireland.

The great nationalities of North and Western Europe are these: 1. The Celts, occupying Western Europe, west of the Rhine, and a line drawn from its head to the head of the Adriatic; and the heart of the nationality may be placed in the center of France; 2. The Teutons, who occupy the country north and east of the Rhine, south of the Baltic, and west of the Vistula and a line from its head to the Adriatic; and the heart of the nationality may

probably a Median and not an Aryan race. 1 Rawl. Herod. 349, 350. "There is every reason to believe," says Rawlinson, "that the Medes of history had not reached Media Major fifteen hundred years after the time when the Medes of Persians probably a different race, conquered Babylon." Ut supra. "Upon the whole there are strong grounds for believing that the great Median kingdom was first established by Cyaxares, about the year B. C. 633." Ibid. 324.

30 1 Rawl. Herod. 320.

1 Herod. B. 2, c. 33, and B. 4, c. 19. 2 Rawlinson Herod., 44.

2 Michelet's Hist. France, ch. 1. Godwin's Hist. France, 19, &c.

be placed in the centre of Germany. 3. The Slavonians east of the Vistula and north of what was formerly included as part of Greece; and now principally included in the Russian dominion; and 4. The Scandinavians on the north of the Baltic. These nationalities have held and occupied their several positions from the earliest times known in history, and amidst every conflict of war and revolution have maintained their characteristics as the basis of the people to the present day. In the midst of these there are here and there other isolated nationality, as the Turanians already spoken of; the Italians in southern Italy; the Grecian in Greece; the Turks in Thrace and Macedonia; the Hungarians in eastern Germany; the Slavonians along the southern borders of the Baltic from the Vistula to the lower Elbe in northern Germany; the Northmen and Franks in France, and the Saxons and Danes in Britain. But almost in all instances the invading people become more or less absorbed and assimilated in the original nationality, and more like the original and surrounding people than their own forefathers.³

³ The general character of the inhabitants of Western Europe is well summed up in the *New Amer. Cyclo.* (vol. 7, 335.) Art. Europe; thus:—"The inhabitants of Europe are a mixture of many different tribes, the most of whom belonging to the great Indo-Germanic or Teutonic stock of the Caucasian race. Of the origins of Europe nothing is known with any degree of certainty, although scientific researches have led to discoveries upon which the most singular theories have been based." . . . "We find that in the west of Europe the Iberians appear as the original inhabitants, [in Spain], of whom the Basques are believed to be the only extant remains. At a very early epoch these aborigines were intruded upon by people of the Gallic or Celtic stock, who acquired possession of all France, Britain, Ireland, Spain, and the north of Italy (Gallia Cisalpina). Afterwards another kindred people, speaking a different language, the Celts, or Cambrie, or Cambrian race, conquered the north of France south and east of Britain, and the north-western shores of Germany. These three races, Iberians, (Basques), Celts, and Cymry, are found in possession of the east and south-west of Europe at the dawn of history. In the east and northwest, the Ugrians (Mongolian) races, (perhaps the Scythians of the Bible), of whom the Lapps, Finns, Samoyeds, and the Magyars are the present remains, seem to have been the original inhabitants. At an early period the Sarmatians (Slavi) settled in the countries north of the Black sea, and pressing northwest, gradually dispossessed the Ugrians of their country. Between the Ugrians and Sarmatian races of the east and the Celts and Cymry of the west, the Germanic races are found at the earliest period of traditional history pressing north to conquer Scandinavia and south against France and Italy." That article in the *N. America Cyclopaedia* is well worthy of the readers attention.

At the earliest period in authentic history, as supported by evidence arising from reliable tradition and the monuments of antiquity, we find Northern and Western Europe, occupied by two contending and opposing races of men; each claiming to be the descendants of Japheth, and equally admitted to be properly classed with the Caucasian and Indo-European race of the human family. These were distinguished by the generic names of the Celtic, and the Teutonic races of the European people; whose descendants at this day give a decided difference of character to the people of the several portions of Europe inhabited by them. In the west the Celtic prevail;⁴ in all the central parts, the Teutonic. At the present day as we proceed west from the Rhine, however much we find the people intermingled and amalgamated, we discover the Celtic race and characteristics more or less prevailing, as we find east of it—the Teutonic; until the Vistula is reached, when another race prevails, known as the Slavonian race, descendants of the ancient Sarmatians, and belonging to the Indo-European family. In receding from these celebrated rivers, either east or west, the distinguishing characteristic of these three races of men become more and more striking; placing the heart of the Celt in Britain and France; that of the Teuton in Germany, and the Slave in Russia.

It is with the Celt and Teuton, that the history of Britain, as a people, has principally to deal. It is strange that these two races, each possessing many of the finest characteristics of the human family, occupying the first rank in the world, and possessing so many things in common, should still have been foes to each other from the earliest period in their history. Both came in the earliest period from their original home in Western Asia: the Celt first, being crowded by their enemies and the pressure of increasing population, sought relief in an emigration to the west; to find a more hospitable home in a new country found in the then Western Europe. During this struggle to settle the west, the

⁴ Herodotus, B. iv, c. 93. Caesar's Com., B. 1, c. 1.

Teuton constantly pressed and encroached on the Celt; each facing the other until the farthest limits of Europe was attained.

But so far as Britain and Ireland (or the British Islands) were concerned, until after the commencement of the Christian era, all the people are to be included in one general denomination, and that is the Celtic race. The people whom the Greeks called Celts and the country Celtica, the Romans called the inhabitants *Galli* and the country *Gallia*;⁵ which included all the country within the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrennees and the Atlantic or British channel. Cæsar says that in their own tongue they were called Celts; but it must be that both names, Celts and Gauls, were common to them. It is claimed that both names are derived from the same root; and to this day a branch of the same people in the northwest of Scotland and Ireland are called Gaels, a word derived from the same source.⁶ It must be that at an early day, the inhabitants of Gaul on the shores of the Strait of Dover, observing the tall white cliffs on the opposite shore, were tempted to cross over, and gradually

took possession of the most tempting parts of Great Britain and Ireland. At how early a day this took place, can hardly be conjectured, but it must have been many centuries before the coming of Cæsar; and before the advent of the Cymry. It is also probable that the Turanians had preceded them, who have left marks of their existence there, in graves and mounds of peculiar formation, but who soon entirely disappeared.

In the earliest historical account we have, both in Gaul and Britain, the people were divided up into a multitude of independent tribes or states, under their several and respective chiefs and government, still we have but very little of that which would afford us any correct notion of any ethnical distinction between them; and only leave us impressed with the belief, that the whole of the great body of the people were Celts. Cæsar says:—"The whole country of Gaul is divided into three parts: of which the Belgians inhabit one; the Aquitanians another; and a people calling themselves in their own language Celts, in ours Gauls, the third. These all differ from each other in their language, customs and laws. The Gauls are divided from the Aquitanians by the river Garonne, and by the Marne and the Seine from the Belgians. Of all these nations the Belgians are the most warlike. . . . They are also situated next to the Germans, who inhabit beyond the Rhine, with whom they are constantly engaged in war."⁷ The Britons he represents as being distinguished, those in the interior as being natives of the soil; but the sea coast was peopled by Belgians, who were drawn over by the love of war and plunder; and settling in the country,—retaining the several states from whence they descended.⁸

⁵ Cæsar's Com. B. I. c. i. 1. Godwin's Hist. of France, 14; Anthon's Class. Dictionary; Vaughan's Revue of English History, 6. 3 Rev. Herod. 159. "Niebuhr's conclusion, after an elaborate analysis is, that the two nations, Cymry and Gael, may be properly comprised under the common name of Celts." Also, Prichard's Physical Hist. Mankind, ch. 3, § 8. Michelet (1 Hist. France, 19), after identifying the language of all these countries, says: "A French root, found in these distant countries, now so distant from France, must be due to a period in which Gaul, Great Britain, and Ireland were still sisters, in which there was between them identity of race, religion, and language, and in which the union of the Celtic world was still unbroken."

⁶ Anthon in his Classical Dictionary says:—"As far back as we can penetrate into the history of the West, we find the race of the Gauls occupying that part of the continent, . . . as well as the two great Islands, opposite, situate to the northwest. Of these two Islands, the one nearest to the continent was called Albion, 'White Islands,' (Alb signifying 'high' and 'white'; and inn contracted from 'innis,' which means island). The other island bore the name of Eri-ia, 'Island of the West,' (from Eir or Iar, the West.) The continental territory received the special appellation of *Gællatich*, 'land of the Gauls.' The term *Gællatich*, or, more correctly, *Gællatichland*, is still applied to the highlands of Scotland. From the words the Greeks formed *Galatia* (*Galatia*) and from it the generic name of *Palastra* The Romans called the inhabitants by one general name, *Galli*, while the Greeks styled them Celts. The Greeks called the country itself *Celtica*, *Celtica* (*Keltiké*), and Celto-Galata; the last for distinction's sake from Galatia in Asia Minor." Anthon's Class. Dict., 308-9. Title *Galli*, See also a very able and interesting article in the Introduction to Webster's Dictionary, § 9.

⁷ Cæsar's Com., B. I. c. i.

⁸ Com., B. v, chap. x. Cyclopædia of British Theo. and Eccles. Literature, vol. iii, p. 710, Art. GALATIA; see a very interesting article,—*Galatia*, *Παλαιστίνη* is the same word with *Κελται*, Celtica; and the Galatians were, in their origin, a stream of that great Celtic torrent (apparently Cymry, and Gael), which poured into Macedonia about B. C. 280 (Strabo IV, 177; VII, 308; Livy XXXVIII, 42; Plin. II, 11; Justin XXV, 2; Appian, Syr., XXXII, 42). Some of these invaders moved into Thracia, and appeared on the shores of the Hellespont and Bosporus, where Nicomedes I. king

That the Aquitanians south of the Garonne, were a people greatly differing from the rest of Gaul, is very true, for they were principally made up of Iberians, emigrants from Spain. But the Belgians were also Celts and were not to be distinguished in this respect from the rest of the Gaul.⁹ And it also must be very evident that the great mass of the people in South Britain were Celts, though formerly residents of Belgium, as we shall hereafter more fully notice. But it may well be remarked here, that all we can gather from the most authentic history of that day, especially what we can gather from Cæsar and Tacitus, demonstrate that the Britons, as found by Cæsar from his landing in Kent, and his war with them the whole way until he had crossed the Thames into Middlesex and abandoned further pursuit of them, were but one people; and that he saw nothing but what was indicative of one nationality, in their mode of warfare, and in their costumes and habits, and their intercourse with one another. The same may be said of all that was observed there by Agricola. The battles with Cæsar on the Thames,

of Bithmar, being then engaged in a civil war, invited them across into Asia Minor, to assist him against his brother, Zebates, B. C. Cæsar, 270. Having accomplished this, they were unwilling to retrace their steps; and, strengthened by the accession of fresh bodies from Europe, they overran the neighbouring countries. The Galatians were still settled in their three tribes, the Tectosages, the Tolistobogii, and the Trocmi, the first of which is identical in name with a tribe familiar to us in the history of Gaul, as distributed over the Cevennes near Toulouse (Cæsar, Bell. Gall. iv. 24; Comp. Jablousky, De lingua Lyraonica, p. 23). The three capitals were respectively Tavium, Pessinus, and Ancyra. The last of these (the modern Angora) was the center of the district, and may be regarded as the metropolis of the Galatians. These eastern Gauls preserved much of their ancient character, and something of their ancient language. At least Jerome says that in his day the same language might be heard at Ancyra as at Treves; and he is a good witness, for he himself had been at Treves.¹⁰

⁹ See Godwin's France, 16; part § 20, n. 5, Anthon's Cl. Dict. Art. Gallia, 538. Also Vaughn's Revolutions in Ancient History, 9, who says:—"To know the race of the Belgic Gauls in the time of Cæsar, is to know the race of the British at that time. The common opinion is, that the Belgic were a branch of the great Celtic family. Nine-tenths of our most competent authorities are of this judgment, and nine-tenths of the evidence on the case is with them. That the Germans and Celts bordered upon each other, and mixed in some degree together upon the territory now known as the Low Countries, may be admitted. But that circumstance is consistent with the fact that the language of all the known communities of Britain was found to be Celtic, and not German. The language of Wales is not the language of German."¹⁰

the battles of Agricola with Caractacus in the west, and with Galgacus in the north at the foot of the Grampian Hills, were all alike as characteristic of one people and one general nationality,—in their chariots and mode of battle; and in their general union in their own defence. All these views assert that ethnically they were one people; and that all which appertain to their history and character, demonstrated that unity, and rendered it peculiarly British;—no where else met with in Western Europe.

Notwithstanding that great ethnic unity in the ancient people of Gaul and the British Islands, they were still divided into two great families of one origin:—the elder and the youngest branches of the Celtic races. These two branches are: 1. the Gauls, *Galli, Gael*; and 2. Cymri, *Cymry, Cimbri*. The language of the first called Gallic and Gaelic, and that of the second, Cymraeg or Cymric. Both agreeing as one family of language and people; but decidedly differ from the rest of Western Europe.¹⁰

The first branch of the Celtic race, must have arrived in Gaul at a very early period, as has been already suggested, but at various times and in different emigration. Their route has been pointed out by some historians, as that from their original home, (after leaving the cradle of the race), on the north side of the Euxine or Black sea; thence by the Carpathian mountains, the Danube, the foot of the Alps, and through Helvetia to Southern Gaul. Others by the valley of the Po, where some of their kindred remained and in after times known to the Romans as Cisalpine Gaul. Along these routes, they left various names of places, rivers and mountains in their language, giving sure indication who these people were. It must have been in one of these movements, but at a later period, that occurred the incident narrated by Herodotus. He represents that the Scythians of Asia being driven west by the Massagotæ, entered the land of the Cimmerians. "For the land

¹⁰ On this subject see Bishop Percy's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

which is now inhabited by the Scythians," says Herodotus, "was formerly the country of the Cimmerians. On their coming, the natives, who heard how numerous the invading army was, held a council. At this meeting opinion was divided, and both parties stiffly maintained their own view; but the counsel of the Royal tribe was the bravest. For the others urged that the best thing to be done was to leave the country and avoid a contest with so vast a host; but the Royal tribe advised remaining and fighting for the soil to the last. As neither party chose to give way, the one determined to retire without a blow and yield their land to the invaders; but the other, remembering the good things which they had enjoyed in their homes, and picturing to themselves the evils which they had to expect if they gave them up, resolved not to flee, but rather to die and at least be buried in the fatherland. Having thus divided, they drew apart in two bodies, the one as numerous as the other, and fought together. All of the Royal tribe were slain, and the people buried them near the river Tyras, where their grave is still to be seen. Then the rest of the Cimmerians departed, and the Scythians, on their coming, took possession of a deserted land."¹¹

How often history repeats itself. This interesting story of Herodotus reminds us of that of Cromwell and his party at an early period in the English great revolution, having embarked on shipboard, determined to leave their distracted country and go to their brethren who had preceded them in the new world. But the Royal party declared they should not go; and they were compelled or consented to yield, and did not depart. Not so however with the Cimmerians. They were then on the river Tyras, now the Dniester, in the north-western angle of the Black Sea; and the survivors departed on the same route pursued by their brethren in their prior emigration to Western Europe.

Such were the emigrants from the north-western shores of the Euxine, who peopled the west of Europe and became known to

history as the Celts. These became what we have denominated the elder branch of that race. But the second or younger branch came at a later date and were received in Gaul and Britain as friends and brethren. They were permitted to settle down in the midst of the old Celts in both countries; and became known to history as the Cymry, and as the Cymric branch of the Celtic family. At the time of the Romans, these occupied in Britain, the greater part from its southern shore to the Murray Firth in the far north; and in Gaul they possessed the country within the lines commencing at the mouth of the Garonne, and thence in a north-eastern direction to Troges on the headwaters of the Seine, and thence in the direction of Coblenz on the Rhine. This includes not only the Cymri, proper, but also Belgians whom we consider as, ethnically, all one people. This includes all of the northwest of Gaul. That portion of it which was peculiarly Cymric was south of the Seine, and denominated by the Romans—*Armorica*; a name derived from two Cymric words, "Ar," on or by, and "Mor," sea; which at this day are well known Welsh words.¹²

Of the Cymric Celts who have specially retained their identity to our present day, are the Welsh and the people of Cornwall in the west of England, and the people in the northeast of Scotland, in Great Britain; and the people of *Armorica*, now Brittany in France. These people still retain a fond remembrance of their ancestors, and maintain an elevated notion of their own character for honesty and faithfulness.

¹¹ See Godwin, (ii. 15) who has well studied his subject, says, "The Kymric division of the Kymris, or the Armoricans, as they may be also called, dwelt on the sea shore to one west of the Gauls, from the mouth of the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, and principally in the rude, pastoral or Britany, where they made themselves skillful and daring sailors. Among their leading tribes were the Pictones, the Lemovices, the Santones, the Namnetes, the Carnutes, whose capital, Autricum (Chartres), the reputed centre of Gaul, was the headquarters of Druidism, and whose second city, Genabum, was a place of considerable commerce; and the Lingons, Cenomans and Senones, whom we shall hereafter meet in Italy."

"The Belgic Gauls, whose native name, Belgaiidd, is derived from the Kymric root *belg*, signifying warlike, dwelt between the Seine, the Vosges, the Rhine, and the ocean," and are represented as a ruder people than the Gauls, "because, as Caesar says complacently, of their distance from the Roman province."

¹² Herodotus, B. iv. c. ii. — Rawl. Herod., Sand ii. 7.

§3.—*The Cymry.*

Now it becomes an interesting question: Who were this Cymric race, who, in the midst of their brethren with whom they agree in language and ethnical designations, differed so much from the same race, as to maintain characteristics so distinct as to endure to the present day? Evidently the same people and from the same origin, how comes it that they have become so distinguished from the rest of their kindred,—the Celtic race? We think this question is satisfactorily answered, by circumstantial evidence drawn from undoubted facts and circumstances, developed in history. In judicial matters a satisfactory determination is often produced from circumstantial evidence, and such evidence is as convincing, when only dependent upon foot-prints, marks and other collateral circumstances, as when sustained by direct and positive evidence; and the same is the case in history. It is so in relation to the question put in regard to the history of the ancient Cymry. When all the evidence as to the facts and foot-prints in relation to the matter in issue are collected, it leaves room only for one conviction; and it is now proposed to produce such circumstantial evidence, and to show what is its rational conclusion.

It seems that when the Scythians attacked the Cimmerians, who were at the north-western angle of the Black Sea on the river Tyras, and were driven thence to the west, there was another branch of the same people a great distance further east, on the waters of the *Palus Macotis*, now the sea of Azof; who, some time afterwards, were also attacked by the Scythians, and driven further east. Herodotus represents that these Scythians drove and pursued these Cimmerians into Asia, around the east end of the Euxine;² and further says:—"In the reign of Ardys (king of Lydia) the Cimmerians, driven from their home by the nomades of Scythia, entered Asia, and captured Sardis, all but the citadel. He reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son, Sadyattes, who reigned

twelve years. At his death, his son, Alyattes, mounted the throne. This prince (the grandson of Ardys) drove the Cimmerians out of Asia."³ This is about all the information to be derived on the subject from Herodotus, except in another place he says: "The horde of Scythians burst into Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians whom they had driven out of Europe, and entered the Median territory."⁴ And again say: "The Scythians, it is plain, pursued them, [from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Palus Macotis], and missing their road, poured into Media. For the Cimmerians kept the line which led along the sea-shore, but the Scythians in their pursuit held the Caucasus upon their right, thus proceeding inland, and falling upon Media. This account is one which is common both to Greeks and barbarians."⁴

This account leaves no doubt that this body of Cimmerians, who had taken Sardis and were so long in Asia Minor, entered it from the east and came there around the east end of the Black Sea. How long they were in Asia Minor is not very easy to determine, from the different data given by various authors. But to take those given by Herodotus and Rawlinson, they entered that country and remained there during the parts of three reigns, and to judge from Rawlinson, we might put the time between 680 and 620 B. C. The length of time that they remained there is somewhat doubtful, but it is generally admitted to have been from fifty to seventy years.

But Lenormant, in his *History of the East*, who assumes to be aided in his facts by matters recently disclosed by the inscriptions found on monuments and tile in the ruins of Nineveh, tells a somewhat different story as to this invasion of Asia Minor. He states the invasion of the Cimmerians to have been in the reign of

² Herodotus B. i., ch. 15 and 16; 1 Rawl. Herod., 127. See also Rawlinson's Essay I. to Herod. B. i., in 3 vol. 150.

³ Herod., B. i., ch. 103; 1 Rawl. Herod., 180, 289. N. B.—The north-western angle of the Black Sea is in Europe; Media is in Asia.

⁴ Herod., B. iv., ch. 12. It is probable that the passage of these people was not by the sea, but through the Caucasian Gate; after passing which the Scythians kept to the left into Media, while the Cimmerians kept to their right into Asia Minor.

¹ Herodotus B. i., ch. 12. 1 Rawl. Herod., 9

Gyges, the father of Ardys. Asshurbanipal, king of Nineveh, having previously aided Gyges in his war with the Cimmerians, to punish a recent revolt of Gyges, summoned the Cimmerians to invade the kingdom of Gyges in Lydia again. "Gyges was killed in this invasion; his son, Ardys, who succeeded him, hastened to make his submission to Asshurbanipal, who then persuaded the Cimmerians to depart."⁵ This concurs in the general fact as to the invasion of Asia Minor by the Cimmerians, as stated by Herodotus, but it deranges dates and the reigns of the Lydian monarchs in which it occurred; and puts back the date of the first invasion into the eighth century B. C., and the expulsion about 625,⁶ which would make it probable that the expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia Minor was previous to 650 B. C., after they had been in that country between fifty and seventy years.

Lenormant further says that Lydia at that time had two enemies to contend with: "the Greeks who had established themselves on the coast, and cut off the access to the sea; and also the Cimmerians, a last remnant of the Celts, who remained after the migration of the others of their race, and who, driven to the Caucasus by the Scythians, passed its defiles from time to time, and rushed, like a devastating torrent, into Asia Minor. For a long period these people kept the Lydians in constant terror by their sudden invasions."⁷ "The Cimmerian Bosphorus derived its name from its Celto-Cimmerian population, who were settled there for some time, and, as we have already said, made incursion into Asia Minor."⁸

These "Celto-Cimmerians" about 650 B. C. departed from Lydia, (Sardis), and the question is, Where did they go to? They did not return east, for that would bring them in conflict with the Scythians and

the Assyrians of Nineveh, who had done so much to oppose and expel them. The answer must be, that they crossed the Hellespont, or the Thracian Bosphorus, on their way to their brethren in Western Europe. We claim that this was so, and we shall proceed to adduce facts and circumstances to demonstrate it; and to prove that these were the true ancestors of the Cymry.

When the Cimmerians were expelled from Asia Minor, they proceeded through Thrace to the Danube, and up that river to some place near where Vienna or Lintz has since been built; and there crossed and left the path pursued by their former brethren, and took a less mountainous way over to the Elbe and down that river to its mouth; where they fixed their residence for some time, and became known to the Romans by the name of Cimbri, instead of the Greek appellation of Cimmerians. Here they conferred upon the country of their residence the name in ancient geography of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. On their way they left a colony between the Elbe and the Baltic long afterwards noticed as being there by Tacitus, by the name of Cæstii,⁹ and who, he affirmed, spoke the same language as the Britons. The main body of the Cimbri, however, did not long remain there, but leaving a colony there passed south, seeking a warmer and more genial climate, to which they had been accustomed. They proceeded, through Belgium, where they left a belligerent but less cultivated portion of their people, to the south of the Seine and to Armorica, (Brittany);¹⁰ where a large portion of their people became permanently fixed; but the main body of them, carrying with them the most striking part of their characteris-

⁵ Tacitus De Mor. Germ. Tacitus says if this be true, the Cæstii must have been a Kimmerian tribe. See Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i, chap. ii, where much is found in support of this view of the history of the Cymry.

¹⁰ "From the north" says Michelet in his Hist. France, vol. i, p. 66, "sweep down in good time the obstinate Cymry, the ancestors of the Bretons and of the Welsh. They have no mind to pass over the earth and be forgotten. Their progress must be marked by monuments. They rear the needles of the Maria Pier and tower the lines of Carnac." This emigration of the Cymry he puts about 600 B. C.

⁵ 1 Lenor. Hist. of the East, 409.

⁶ Rawlinson states this date upon the best authorities followed: Gyges, B. C. 727 to 686; Ardys, 686 to 646. See 1 Rawl. Herod. 278.

⁷ 2 Lenor. Hist. of the East, 79.

⁸ Ibid., 135.

tics, learning and improvements, to Britain; especially retaining with them their institution of the Druids, and their chariots.

This accords with every thing known in history, and not impugned by a single fact. All candid historians have over and over again admitted the fact, that the Cymry of Britain were the descendants of the ancient Cimbri.¹¹ This is in conformity with the claim that the Cymry themselves have ever set up,—that their ancestors came from the far east, “the country of summer near Constantinople, and were led by Hu the Great, through the hazy ocean to the island of Britain and to Llydaw (Armorica or Brittania) where they have ever remained.”¹²

Without at present referring to all the ancient authorities which would aid us in our position, we may say in general terms, that almost all history, both ancient and modern, in addition to what the Cymry claim for themselves, shows that the Cimmerians of the Greek, and the Cimbri of the Romans were one and the same people; and that they were Celts. The first home of the race, after their ancestors left the cradle of mankind, was on the north side of the Euxine Sea, where they were known to exist before the time of Homer, for he mentions them. The next we find them in the possession of almost all Western Europe, under the name of Celts; and this is the name, as Cæsar says, they acknowledged for themselves in Gaul. As historians assert that they were in Gaul as early as 1600 B. C. some of the race, as already suggested, must have left their original home on the Euxine before that date. These undoubtedly went directly west by the route of the Danube and the foot of the Alps to Southern France. This was accomplished

in repeated emigration, and some of them long before they were attacked by the Scythians. The name of Cimmerian (*Κιμνέριον*) was given and imposed upon them by the Greeks, and was not recognized by themselves; but that branch, who had been in Asia Minor sixty or seventy years, in the midst of the Greeks, had been so distinctively denominated Cimmerians, that it was in a measure fixed upon them and being in accordance with what they claimed for themselves as Gomerians or Cimmerians, they recognized the name, and became known as Cimbri, and called themselves Cymry, although that name was not familiar to their original brethren in Gaul. As already stated, these took a different route in going to their brethren in Western Europe, and by a more northern passage, taking the Cimbrian Chersonesus on their way and giving to it its name. Leaving some of their people there, the main body soon departed south for Gaul and Armorica. Accordingly, Michelet in his history of France says:¹³ “A new Celtic tribe, the Cymry or Camry, (Cimmerii) came to join the Gauls (B. C. 631–58.) The newcomers, who settled for the most part in the centre of France, on the Seine and the Loire, were, it appears, of more serious and stable character. Less indisposed to restraint, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—the Druids.” Besides all what may be cited from ancient authorities, hereafter referred to in support of this theory of the history of the Cymry, there is no other way to account how it was, that the Cymry had so many things connected with their history, so very different from any other people in Western Europe,¹⁴ which was in common with those of Asia Minor (O-

¹¹ See 1. Sharon Turner's *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, 41, &c.; A. Thucy's *Norman Conquest*; *Arthur's Class*, Diet., titles *Galli* and *Cimmerians*; and especially see; Rawlison's *Herod*, Essay i. 150, “Identity of the Cimmerii with Cymry.”

¹² See the Welsh triads in the *Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii: “First, Hu Gadarn, who led the nation of the Cymry first to the isle of Britain; and from the country of Scamner, which is called Deilrobant, they came; this is where Constantinople is; and through the hazy ocean they came to the island of Britain and to Llydaw, where they have remained.” Llydaw is Armorica or Britania.

¹³ *Michelet, France*, ed. 1, and in various editions his authorities are as follows:—“Appian (Illy., p. 1196 and de Bell. Civil. p. 1045) and Dio Cassius (l. 49, p. 104) say that the Celts were Cimmerians.—Plutarch (in Marbo) agrees with them, so the Cimmerians,” says Eppolus, (Strabo 1, p. 375.) “inhabit subterranean divisions, which the Gauls call.” In the poetry of the Welsh Cymry, argel, signifies a subterraneous place.”

¹⁴ See a very interesting article, contradictory of these views in the *New Amer. Cyclopædia*, 1858, vol. 3. Title, *Briton*. It assumes that there were two distinct Celtic races,—the Gallic and Cymric, and cites the ancient authorities to sustain the position.

this subject we may refer: 1. To their chariots. In no country out of Egypt was the war chariot so extensively used as by the Lydians and the Assyrians, with whom the Cimmerians came mostly in conflict while in Asia Minor. There are but few things that can be mentioned which would require so much skill in mechanism and the arts in general as the construction and management of the war chariot. It required the skill of the agriculturist in the raising and management of the horse; then there is the harness which also would require much artistic knowledge and skill; there is also required the mechanical arts necessary in the working the wood and iron in the construction of the chariot. 2. [The Cymry brought with them into Gaul the institution of the Druids,—Druidism and its system of religion and theology. In connection with this, it has long been noticed, that they had much which was in common with them and Pythagoras' system of philosophy and theology, and it has been a wonder among the learned how the Druids came by it. The only answer is, they learned it while in that school of sixty or seventy years in Asia Minor. 3. Their acquaintance with, and skill in many of the arts and sciences:—as their skill in working iron and other metals, and actually coining money. And also their knowledge in astronomy, philosophy and medicine; nor must their acquaintance with music and the harp be forgotten.

That the ancient Cymry possessed all this knowledge and arts, before Caesar's time, the proof, if not as ample as it might be desirable, is still quite satisfactory. Nothing so astonished Caesar and his legions,¹⁵ as the number of war chariots that the Britons brought against them, and the skill with which they were constructed and managed. Caesar declares that they, at one time, disbanded all other forces, and retained only four thousand chariots against

him, and watching his movements.¹⁶

The question here attempted to be elucidated, is one which has been much involved by authors, and upon which a great deal of difficulty has been thrown into history;—conflicting opinions, principally arising from not observing, that Gaul derived its Celtic population from two sources; the one by the direct route from Tyras in Cimmeria,¹⁷ as related by Herodotus; and the other from the same race, but at a different time and by a different route—that from the Cimbri from Lydia in Asia Minor, by the way of the Baltic. By observing these two sources of population, of a kindred race, differing only in dialect of their language, and in their learning and habits, acquired in their long stay and education while at Sardis in Lydia, and other places in Asia Minor; the subject is divested of its source of difficulty, and accounts for the otherwise unaccountable difficulty, the difference between the old Celts of Gaul and their more recent immigrant brethren, who took possession, at a more recent date, of Central Gaul, Armorica and Britain.¹⁸ These imparted to their brethren on the continent much of their distinctive acquirements and habits before going to Britain, but still Caesar says that the Gauls were in the habit of sending their sons to Britain to be educated by the Druids.¹⁹ Even in the time of Caesar, great difference was observable between Gaul and Britain in these respects,—for it was in Britain that Caesar was so astonished by the great number of chariots—that was brought against him, the skill with which they were managed, and the extraordinary learning and theology of

¹⁵ Caesar's Com., I. v. ch. xv.

¹⁷ See Godwin's France, 27, where this conflict of oppression may in some measure be seen.

¹⁸ Anthon in his most admirable article on "Gallia" in his Classical Diet, after a thorough examination of the Cymric Language, concludes by saying:—"1. The Gallic population, properly so called, was divided into *Galli* and *Cymri*. 2. The *Galli* had preceded the Cymri on the soil of Britain, and probably also on that of Gaul; and 3. The *Galli* and the Cymri formed two races, belonging to one and the same human family."

¹⁹ In reading Caesar, the student should be reminded that the part that Caesar saw of Britain was the newer portion of it, the oldest and most improved of it was that on the Southern Axon, where Avebury and Stonehenge were, and where Vespasian afterwards conquered, and found so many towns. See part B. ii. ch. § .

¹⁹ Caesar's Com., I. vi. ch. xiii, where it is said: "Their institution, (the Druids of Gaul), is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul, and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfected in it, travel thither for instruction."

the Druids. Nor should we, in meditating upon this subject, overlook the fact that wherever we find those monuments of extraordinary labor, skill and industry of the Druids, as at Carnac in Brittany, at Stonehenge and Avebury in Wiltshire in England, and at Stennis in Orkney, and similar monuments in Eastern Scotland, all evidently the work of one and same people,—there the name and memory of the Cymry have been more concentrated and intensified.²⁰

In connecting the Cymry with Asia Minor, we may refer to the fact that the British coracle,²¹ and the ancient boats described by Herodotus on the Euphrates, as by him described, may be considered one and the same invention by a kindred people.²² And may we not imagine that the Celtic Gauls, who were led by Brennus in their attack on Greece and Asia Minor, and who in the latter country about 278 B. C. established themselves as Galatians, (in Gallo-Græcia or Galatia,) were, claiming to be returning to the country of their ancestors.²³ These conquerors of Galatia, have been frequently identified as Cymry by the name of their chiefs and people; and Jerome, (one of the church fathers in the 4th century) says that in his time the Gallatians spoke the same language as in Belgium,²⁴ with which he was acquainted.²⁵

²⁰ See the title "Carnac," "Standing Stones," and "Stonehenge," *Cyclopædia*, &c., also Logan's *Antiquities*, &c., of Scotland, 450.

²¹ See the article "Cunach, Canach and Coracle," in *Chas. Enclo*.

²² Herod., B. I. ch. 197, and O. Rawl., Herod., 230 and 60.

²³ In speaking of the return of the Cymry to the Hellespont and Asia Minor Michelet says, (*1 Hist. France*, 37): "Then we see our Gauls returned to the cradle of the Cymry, not far from the Armenian Bosphorus, where they settled on the ruins of Troy, and in the mountains of Asia Minor."

²⁴ In connection with this reference to Belgium, we would again refer to Anth. Cl. Dict., 538, art. Gallia, where he investigates the question of the Belgic language; and concludes:—"We may hence boldly conclude, that the Armorians and the Belgæ were two communities or confederations of the same race, which had arrived in Gaul at two different periods. We may infer still further: 1. That the north and west of Gaul, and the south of Britain, were peopled by one and the same race, forming the second branch of the Gallic population properly so called. 2. That the language of this race was one, the fragments of which are preserved in two Cantons of Armorica and in the island of Britain. 3. That the generic name of the race is entirely unknown to us, as far as history is concerned; but that philology gives it to us under the

Professor George Rawlinson in his edition of Herodotus, Appendix to Book IV, Essay I, vol. III, page 150, has an elaborate review of the question, who the Cimbri were, and whence they came. His conclusion of the question is that they were the ancestors of the Cymry, and the descendants of the more ancient Cimmerians. After collecting together all that the historians would afford him, and coming to the conclusion indicated, he says:—"When these questions have been settled, it will be interesting to trace the history and migrations of a people which has an antiquity of above twenty-five hundred years, and has spread from the steppes of the Ukraine to the mountains of Wales."

"The identity of the Cymry of Wales with the Cimbri of the Romans seems worthy of being accepted as a historic fact upon the grounds stated by Niebuhr and Arnold.²⁶ The historical connection of these latter with the Cimmerii of Herodotus has strong probabilities, and the opinion of Posidonius is in its favor; but cannot, it must be admitted, in the strict sense of the word, be proved."

In the British Islands, the Anglo-Saxon Teutons, in their earlier conquests, displaced the Cymry, and drove them beyond their borders; but these last maintained themselves in various places—in Cornwall, Wales, the Scotch Highlands, and Ireland—until the inauguration of a new policy. When the Cymry of Wales and Cornwall, the Gaels in Scotland, and the Erse in Ireland, submitted to Anglo-Saxon supremacy, they retained their lands, their language, and even their name. Amalgamation of race has since been effected to a certain extent, but still in many parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the mass of the population is mainly or entirely Celtic. Four Celtic dialects—the Manx, the Gaelic, the Erse, and the Welsh—are spoken in our country; and the pure Celtic type survive in the Bretons, the Welsh, the native Irish, the people of the form of Cymry."

²⁵ See Golwin's *France*, 33. Also article *Gallo-græcia* or *Galatia* in Anthon's *Class. Dict.*

²⁶ *History of Rome*, vol. i, pp. 521-9.

Isle of Man, and the Scottish Highlanders, of whom the two former represent the Cimbric, and the three latter the non-Cimbric branch of the nation. The Welsh is akin to the Breton and the Cornish dialects; the Gaelic and the Erse, which are closely allied, differ considerably from the three first-mentioned.²⁷

Strong as Prof. Rawlinson is in proving that the Cimmerians and Cimbri were the ancestors of the Cymry, and that the latter traced their route from the Ukraine to the mountains of Wales; still he entirely overlooks the strong probability, nay, the almost certainty that the Cymry are that branch of the Celto-Cimmerians who passed through Asia Minor and the Cimbric Chersonesus on their way to Britain.²⁸ In doing so, he overlooked the greatest probability, and the greatest and most striking argument in its favor. In this connection we might refer to the fact that all the words left to us of the ancient Cimbri, and used by historians to prove their identity, are Cimbric, Cymric, Cymraeg, or Welsh words, rather than Gallic. The most ancient writer who makes mention of the Cimbri, is Philemon, who says, —which is repeated by Pliny,²⁹—that the Cimbri called their ocean "*Mori-Marusa*"; and the north cape beyond, "*Rubeas*," and beyond that the frozen sea they called "*Cronium*." All these words are latinized, but their roots are true Cimbric and Cymraeg: thus *Mor* is sea, and *Marzo* (the *v* sounded as *u*) means dead; and therefore *Mori-Marusa* is rendered the *dead sea*, then a very appropriate appellation to those northern seas. But further, the words, *Rubeas* and *Cronium*, are subject to the same kind of translation, and as appropriate

names to the actual facts:—thus the first of these words is from *rewi* or *rhyallyd*, which means frozen or cold; and the second word, *Cronium*, is from *caledu*, *ceuledig*, or *caenrew*, (which words mean respectively, cold, congealed, ice,) or from their derivatives;—but probably from the last word,—*caenrew*, which make it the Ice-Sea. On the whole route from Asia to the Cimbric peninsula, and Britain, frequent names of the same kind are found, and of the like significance and application.

Here we readily admit that our theory of the origin of the Cymry,—though supported by the best historical authority—is violently contested by a class of writers; and like everything else, connected with the history of the Cymry, true or fabulous, has been equally attacked with a fierce, if not a vindictive, opposition; and that want of *candor* which should characterize history. This has sometimes been done, from an unkind, if not a malignant, feeling towards the whole Celtic race;³⁰ and sometimes the contest is sustained with a view of showing, that the Cymry are not Celts, but Teutons. This has never been done by a true Cambrian;—for they have ever vindicated their true relation to the Celtic race. In Craik's Pictorial History of England,³¹ the theory is maintained that the Welsh were not Celts, but of the Teutonic race. He admitted, nay contended, that they were the descendants and representatives of the Cimbri; but then he further contended that the ancient Picts and the Welsh were two branches of the same family of people, (which is undoubtedly true,) the Picts having come from the Cimbri, who came from the north of Germany, and therefore must be Teutons. And after that these Picts passed south by the western side of Britain to Wales; and there became Welshmen and Cymry

All history confutes the proposition that the Cymry were Teutons;³² and equally af-

²⁷ 1 Rawl. Herod. 150—7.

²⁸ Turner in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, B. i. ch. 2, p. 41, says:—"The Danish tradition of expeditions and conquests in Britain, from Jutland and its vicinity, long before our Savior's birth, which Saxo Grammaticus has incorporated into his history may be noticed. An authority too vague to be trusted alone; he is evidence of the tradition of his countrymen, and these may claim that attention, when they coincide with the ancient British, which they would not otherwise deserve. They add something to the probability of an early migration from these regions into our islands, although they must not be confounded with historical facts."

²⁹ Plin. 4, 13; see also Anth. Clas. Dic. 540; also Craik's Pictorial History of England, 20.

³⁰ See Pinkerton's History of Scotland. Also the article "Pinkerton" in Chambers's Encyclopedia. Also B. B. Woodward's History of Wales. See also 1 Michelet's History of France, B. i. chap. 4, p. 65.

³¹ 1 Vol., p. 18.

³² See Bishop Piercy's Introduction to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

firm that the Cimbri were Celts as we have endeavored to show. But that the Picts were originally Cimric Celts is a proposition that we equally contend for. All Southern Britain in Cæsar's time were Cymric Britons,—no difference of nationality or language could be discovered, except those on the southern shores were more recent immigrants from Belgium. Everything else was indicative of one nationality and race, only they were divided into tribes. Their language and characteristics were the same; and all were governed by the institution of the Druids. They all fought alike with chariots, as their most striking arm of defense. When Agricola fought the Britons on the Thames, in the west and the north of Britain at the foot of the Grampian Hills;—whether he met Caractacus in the southwest, or Galgacus in the far north, he found everywhere the same people and characteristics.³³ But afterwards a portion of these people were pushed to the northeast part of North Britain, who, after two or three hundred years, while their southern brethren become Romanized, became Picts. From the south and west of Britain to the northeast of Scotland we everywhere meet with words, and the name of places and things everywhere occurring, common to both people, that are clearly Cymric; as *Avon*, *Avor*,³⁴ *Dee*, *Dan*, *Pen* or *Ben*, *Mor*, (or *Mar*, great,) *du* (black), words and names repeatedly used in the southwest of England, in Wales and the northeast of Scotland, everywhere receiving the same meaning and application, and affording striking evidence of their being used and applied by one and the same people, having a common language. Two words are given to us by Bede, when speaking of the Picts and in their language, as designating the place of the beginning of the Roman wall across the country; as Abercurnig and Pen-fahel.³⁵ In Cymric, *Pen* means head, as

Pendennis in Cornwall and the like names in other places in Cymric country; *gwal* means wall, *i.e.*, Pengwal, which means the head of the wall; and Penfahel, of Bede, is only another orthography of it. These facts, as well as the opinion of all candid historians, demonstrate the unity of the Celtic character of the whole of the ancient British people. That the Celtic Gael now occupy the northwest of Scotland, and the Saxon the east and southeast of England, does not militate against it.³⁶

In conclusion let us notice how the Cymric race, in their peregrination from Asia to Britain, have identified themselves with the horns of the earth,—the prominent peninsulas on their route:—the Cimmerian Chersonesus, Sinope in Asia Minor, Thracian Chersonesus in Europe, Cimbric Chersonesus, the peninsula of Brittany, the peninsulas of Cornwall and of Wales. They thus more distinctly identify themselves with time and the world, than any other nationality except the Hebrews. They may, therefore, lay claim to what Rawlinson says is interesting, “in tracing the history and migration of a people who have an antiquity of above twenty-five hundred years, and have spread themselves from Asia to the mountains of Wales.”

While there has been so many allusions by historians to the connection there is between the Cymry and Asia Minor, no one refers to them as being the Cimmerians of Lydia and Sardis. Both Michelet and Rawlinson refer to the Cymry's connection with Asia Minor, but they make no allusion to their connection with Lydia:—and yet, it is insisted upon, that no fact in history is better sustained by historical facts and circumstances, than this hypothesis, that the Cymry are descendants of the people who

³³ See Tacitus *Vita Agricola*.

³⁴ See 1. Vaughan's *Revolutions in English Hist.*, p. 10, where it is said: “From the remains of their language, as well as from other circumstances, the most reasonable, and now the most general opinion, is that the Picts were from the common Celtic stock, and for the most part Britons.”

³⁵ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 20; Bohin's *Edi.*

³⁶ As evidence that the Picts were descendants of the Cymry who fled from the Roman oppression, we refer to Richard of Cirencester (*B. i.*, ch. vi, §54) in describing the people of the northeast coast of Scotland, north of Cromarty, and east part of Ross and Sutherland, says:—“Then the river Ila, near which lived the Carnabii, the most remote of the Britons. These people being subdued by the proprætor, Ostorius, and impatiently bearing the Roman yoke, joined the Cantæ, as the tradition relates, and crossing the sea, here fixed their residence.” Richard in this section also speaks of a river there called Abona (which the Cymry would pronounce *Avon*; a name so common to rivers in countries once inhabited by them) which is now the Dornoch.

took Sardis. The facts in support of this are striking:—1. No other people, except the Cymry, made use of the war chariot in Europe, not even the ancient Gauls; and their chariot—the British chariot—was modeled after the celebrated Lydian chariot. Cæsar was astonished at the British chariot;—their great numbers, and the skill of the Britons in their management. If any one was then asked where the idea of such chariot came from, he would have to reply,—Lydia; as a person in our day upon seeing a junk in New York harbor was asked, where it came from, would answer:—from China. It was from the Greeks of Asia Minor, that the name of Cimmerian (Cimri) was put upon them, different from the Celts of Gaul, and there is no other way of accounting for this. 3. The universal acknowledged fact in history, that the Cimmerians of the Greeks, Cimbrî of the Romans, and Cymry of Britain were all a kindred race. 4. The institution of the Druids has ever been acknowledged to be a Cymric institution, which with their Pythagorean philosophy, their astronomical knowledge, their music, their harp, and the like matter, have ever been acknowledged as evidence of their connection with Asia Minor;—and when all these point to one result, it produces a conviction of the truth of the proposition, as conclusive as in any case of circumstantial evidence, and excludes every other hypothesis. Thus the origin of the Cymry,—the Ancient Britons,—is established, as to time and place, and, approximately, their arrival in Britain.

CHAPTER II.

THE BRITONS AS NOTICED IN ANCIENT HISTORY.

The ancient writers, who at an early day noticed Britain, afford us a very imperfect account, as to whom the people were and whence they came. They were generally considered to be autochthonic—the production of the soil—children of mother earth. Cæsar said that “the inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom fame reports to be the natives of the soil. The sea coast is peopled with Belgians, drawn

thither by the love of war and plunder.”¹ And Tacitus² expresses the opinion that the Germans were an indigenous race, the original natives of their country. No consistent theory as to the origin of the human race was adopted until the writings of Moses became known,³ aided and modified by Christianity and science. The history given by Moses of the three original families of the human race, is one which stands the test of criticism and science. The classification thus made, was admirably sustained by Josephus⁴ at the commencement of our era, unaffected by Christian doctrine; and no ancient author at the commencement of the Christian era, possessed so many advantages of being aided by all the learning of the civilized world—Greek and Roman, as Josephus; much of which has been entirely lost to the world. The theory we have adopted accords with that, and assumes that the inhabitants of the British Islands, who became known to the Roman world about the commencement of the present era, were of the Japhetic or Aryan race; and were all of the Celtic family, divided into two branches;—that in the south part of Great Britain were of the Cymric, and those in the north and northwest, and in Ireland, were of the Gaelic branch of the race. Modern investigations have established the position, that these people, as well as the German race, belonged to the Aryan or Indo-European races;⁵ and it would appear that where these two races have united,—the Celtic and the Teutonic,—the result is that there has been no evidence of deterioration, but a happier development than in the union of any other two races.

Britain became known to the ancients, at a very remote period, by very slow degrees. Previous to Cæsar’s time the

¹ Cæsar’s *Comm.* B. v. §10.

² *Germania* 2.

³ *Genesis*, ch. x.

⁴ *Jewish Antiquities*, B. i. ch. vi. See his two *Books against Apion*, which shows him to have been the most learned historian of his day; having access to all the ancient historians. As to the descendants of Japheth, see also Jonathan Edwards’s works. Josephus says that the Galatians (Gauls) were Gomerites. Ut *supra*, ch. vi.

⁵ Ut *supra*, B. i. ch. i, p. 39. Also, Palgrave’s *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, ch. i.

whole group of Islands were known to the ancient classics as *Britannicæ Insulæ*,⁶ and it is said that Cæsar was the first to confer upon Great Britain the name of Britannia, which we anglicize Britain. But this is doubtful, for that name was used by Aristotle three hundred years before Cæsar's time, and from him it found its way into various ancient geographies. Various theories have been had as to the derivation of the name; most of which are fanciful and mythical; but the most probable is that it is a name derived from the Phœnicians, who it seems were accustomed to visit the islands more than a thousand years B. C. It is said that *brit* and *bruit*, or a word of that sound, signified *tin* in both the Phœnician and the Celtic languages;⁷ and it is probable that it is a Phœnician name, and that Aristotle derived the name from that source, by adding to that term, that of *tan*, so common in all Aryan languages, added to other words to denominate land or country. Thus by adding these two words together—Brit-tan—as in the like instances of Mauri-tan-ia, Aqui-tan-ia, Lusi-tan-ia, Kurdis-tan, Hindos-tan, and the like, we obtain the appellation of Britain, or the *tin-land*; which corresponds with the oldest Greek name,—“the Cassiterides (Tin Islands) whence,” says Herodotus, “the tin comes which we use.”⁸ At a very remote

period the Phœnicians had traffic with Britain for tin; and the name *Britannia* at an early date became familiar to the classic writers; but probably before Cæsar's time was not used by the natives themselves. They called the island Alban or Albion; but the Romans called the north part of it, Caledonia; and Ireland they called Hibernia or Ierne.⁹

There can be but little doubt, that the Phœnicians were the first to extend their commercial pursuits from the Eastern World to Britain; and it is credibly said that this intercourse with the British Islands for tin, existed more than a thousand years before the Christian era. The history of this people, with their enterprise and commercial pursuits, is one of the most interesting, if not astonishing, chapters in the history of man. They possessed a narrow margin of land on the Levant, the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, where they were distinguished for their manufactures and commerce; devoting much attention to the affairs of the sea, and but little to agriculture. Their empire was on the sea and not on the land. When asked where they were originally from, they replied that they were from the Erythæan Sea, a sure indication that they came there as a seafaring people and not given to agriculture or the land. Their country possessed a few good commercial advantages. Their sea-ports and shipping were improved and cultivated to the astonishment of the world. Xenophon in the fourth century B. C., when on a visit to Tyre, was utterly astonished at the perfection to which this people had brought their shipping and commercial affairs.

⁶ 2 Chambers's Encyclopedia, 355.

⁷ See Craik's Pictorial England, 5 Herod., B. iii. h. 115.

⁸ Herod., B. iii. ch. 115. 2 Rawlinson's Herod., 410. and n. 7. Herodotus further says: “Of the extreme of Europe towards the west I cannot speak with any certainty; . . . nor do I know of any islands called the Cassiterides.” See also 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxons, ch. 3, p. 50, n. 2, and he cites Bechart's Canaan, lib. 1, ch. 30, p. 262, where it is said: “Britannicæ” (in Hebrew and Phœnician) which means the land of tin.” See also Anthony's Cass. Diet., “Britannia,” p. 200. See also 1 Giles' History of the Ancient Britons, p. 8, who quotes from Aristotle: “Beyond the pillars of Hercules is the ocean which flows round the earth. In it are two islands, and these are very large; called Britannia-Albion and Ierne, which are larger than those I before mentioned, and lie beyond the Celts.” De Mundo, §3, who wrote about 350 B. C., and a hundred years after Herodotus. It is claimed that Britain and its tin traffic was known to the Phœnicians 1000 B. C. The Greeks wrote the word *Βρεταννίαι*, (see 2 Giles Ancient Britons, p. 90-91, from Plutarch vitæ Cas.) Aristotle wrote it *Βρεταννία*. The word was by the Greeks variously spelt; sometimes only with one t, and sometimes with the first vowel changed from an e to an i, as in Latin and English. We must con-

clude that the classical t, which derives the word from Bechart, and from “B-shain” and “B-shion,” and the like, is the classical t, and that the first name given to the island by the Cymry was Alban, from the high white cliffs as seen from Gaul; and then Cymru. The people were called to the island Cymry, of which Cymru was the dominant name.

⁹ It is seen that by the Gaelic or Celtic dialect it was denominated Albion; that is, Alb, white or high; and ions, island, or White Island; and the Cymry called it Ibris-Wen, which signified the same thing. They usually denominated Britain, Prydain; Scotland, Celyddon, and Ireland, Iverdon. The Welsh called their country Cymru; themselves, Cymry; a Welshman, Cymro; the language, Cymraeg. See 1 Craik's Pictorial England, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

This was the work and enterprise of a few cities within the distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, commencing at the north with Aradus, then Tripolis, Berytus, Sidon and Tyre. These Phœnician cities, alike distinguished for their manufacturing and commercial enterprises, sent their shipping and colonies to various distant places, as Carthage in Africa, Cadiz in Spain, and other places, in the promotion and advantage of their commerce and industry. But one of their oldest enterprises was that of extending their commerce to Britain, in order to procure tin, which was then so necessary for their manufacturing operations in bronze, which was then more extensively used, wherever commercial traffic existed, than iron; and for this extensive business tin was necessary. The British Islands were almost the only country where this article was then procured in sufficient quantity. In this lucrative trade, their colony, Carthage, early participated.

From the Carthaginians we derive the best information of Ancient Britain,¹⁰ though such information comes to us, as borrowed, for the original report is lost. About 510¹¹ B. C. the enterprising Carthaginians sent two expeditions of discovery with a view to colonization, commerce and trade. The one was under the command of Hanno, who was to sail with a fleet of sixty fifty-oared galleys, with a body of thirty thousand men and women, by the Pillars of Hercules to the Atlantic, for the purpose of discovery on the north-western coast of Africa, with a view to colonization and commerce. The other expedition was under Himilco, who was also to sail to the Atlantic, and then proceed in an opposite direction, to reconnoiter the coast of Spain and Gaul, as far as the British Islands. The object was to reopen the trade with the tin producing country, and recover the once lucrative traffic of the Tyrians of Phœnicia, which had been destroyed by the war with the Assyrians.

and the opposition of the Greeks. Unfortunately the report of the voyage is lost, and historians are dependant for its contents upon fragments translated and incorporated in a Latin poem of Festus Avienus. The voyage lasted four months, coasting along the shores of Spain and Gaul to the British Islands and back. The account we have of this voyage, enumerates many interesting observations made, which affords us more information upon the subject, than any other source of history. On their way from Gades to the promontory Sacrum (Cape St. Vincent) they found many Phœnician colonies established during the time of Tyrian prosperity. None were found on the northern coast of Spain, but the inhabitants were friendly, and their ports open to them. Along the coast of the Bay of Biscay, navigation was dangerous; they therefore steered directly for Nantes. There at the mouth of the Loire, they found a safe port, where they could take shelter, refit and revictual, before continuing their voyage. They found the commerce of the place very considerable. The river brought down the productions of Central Gaul in large quantities; and there the shippers from either Gades or Carthage found shelter and traffic on their way to the Tin Islands. The city enjoyed a large trade, and possessed much importance from its having been frequented by the Phœnician merchants and traders from Gades ever since the commencement of that commerce. They coasted along the shores of Armorica from Nantes to the Veneti (Vannes) where they were hospitably received, and stopped for the last time before setting out upon the open sea. While passing through the Bay of Biscay they observed numerous whales spouting. The Veneti also carried on a considerable trade, and were acquainted with the art of navigation, which was acquired in their former intercourse with the Tyrians and Carthaginians. They possessed great riches, and a people of good nature, and unassuming disposition, which was afterwards fully demonstrated in Cesar's time.

From the Gulf of Morbihan Himilco sailed for the Casiterides, supposed to be the Solby Islands on the coast of Corn-

¹⁰ To Lamer's *Anglo-Saxon*. B. I. c. ii. p. 53.

¹¹ This date is assumed by Livy (i. c. 2. *Ancient Hist.* 200) but is not received by Herodotus (i. c. 19. p. 7), who the voyage of Himilco to be no earlier than 480. According to his history of England (see B. I. c. 1. p. 53). This later date is assumed as the most probable, and is so most probably that Himilco's voyage was not more than a few years after that of Hanno, which was believed to be 510 B. C.

wali) a country rich in metals and especially in tin. The inhabitants were found to be numerous and industrious, occupying themselves in commercial affairs, and went to sea in vessels covered with skins. In a few days the expedition went to the Holy Island (Hibernia or Ireland) and then on their way back to the coast of Albion (Britain). From the neighboring countries the natives brought to them the metals there found, in boats, which were exchanged with the Carthaginian merchants for their wares, consisting principally of cloth, bronze implements, pottery and salt. Such is the interesting abstract given of this celebrated expedition of Himilco, so important in developing the ancient history of Britain at so early a period.¹²

This commerce and traffic of the Carthaginians with Britain continued until destroyed by the Greeks and Romans. These for a time succeeded in this intercourse with Britain, and it is from the Greek writers we obtain the interesting and reliable account of it. Polybius, who wrote his history more than a hundred years before Caesar's time, and traveled through Spain and Gaul, speaks of "the Britanic Islands and the working of tin," but little, however, is to be obtained of Britain and its people from him. But it is from the Greek writers

Diodorus, the historian, and Strabo, the geographer, who wrote about Caesar's time, but founded upon previous information, that we derive the most satisfactory account of Britain and its people, of that early date, though that is fragmentary and scanty enough.

Diodorus writes that "the Britons,¹³ who dwell on the promontory called Belerium (the Land's End), were fond of strangers, and, from their intercourse with foreign merchants, civilized in their manners. These people obtain tin by skillfully working the earth, which produces it. The soil being rocky, has crevices in the hard earth

from which they work out the ore, which they fuse and reduce to a metal. When they have formed it into cubical shapes, they convey it to a certain island lying off the coast of Britain, named Ictis; where at low tides, the intervening space being dry land, they carry it thither in great abundance in wagons. There the merchants purchase the tin from the natives, and then carry it across into Gaul, whence it is conveyed on horses, through the intervening Celtic land to the people of Massalia, and to the city called Narbonne." This account substantially agrees with that given by Himilco some centuries before.

Strabo describes the Cassiterides as islands, ten in number. "One of them is a desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics, reaching to the feet, and girt about the breast. Walking with staves, and bearded like goats, they subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. And having metals of tin and lead, these and skins they barter with these merchants for earthenware, and salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic, and concealing their passage from every one; and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster, that they also might find the mart, the shipmaster, out of jealousy, purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, and leading on those who followed him into the same destruction, he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and recovered from the state the value of the cargo he had lost."¹⁴

When the voyage of Himilco to Britain actually took place is somewhat doubtful. Lenormant puts it about 510 B. C.; but Vaughan at 360; and the question might be asked, had the Cymry at that time arrived in Britain? There is about 140 years between the time they left Lydia in Asia Minor and the visit of Himilco, if we should take the date of Lenormant; and about 300 years if we take the date given by Vaughan.¹⁵ Either date would enable them to have been there before that time. The Plymouth colony of Massachusetts came

¹² *Antient and Modern History of the Britons*, &c. See also *Antient and Modern History of Long History*, &c. For same account is also given in Heron's *Ancient Nations*.

¹³ See Vaughan's *Review in English History*, B. i. ch. i. p. 6, where he deals with Lib. vi. ch. 21, 22, 3, &c. See also other histories of Britain most interesting &c. &c. and by Mr. Latham in his *Ethnology of the British Islands*, ch. ii.

¹⁴ See Vaughan at *supra*. Strabo Lib. iii. ch. v.

¹⁵ Ut *supra*, p. 53, n. 11.

to New England in 1620; their descendants in less than 150 years had spread themselves into all the other colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. But Vaughan's date would give the Cymry more than ample time to have been the people who left Lydia about 650 B. C. as the Cimmerians, and passed by the way of the Danube and the Elbe to the Cimbric Chersonesus and to Britain; taking with them their war chariots, which they had learned to construct and manage while in that school of arts and science of fifty or seventy years in Asia Minor; taking with them the knowledge they had acquired of working metals, especially bronze and iron; also their notion of religion and theology, as well as whatever might be then known and learned in Asia Minor, the most enlightened and civilized part of the world. This enabled the Cymry to form that extraordinary institution—the Druids—which was the remarkable characteristic that distinguished them from all other people of Western Europe, as well as their war chariots. As already suggested, they must have soon left their stay in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Elbe, for the south; taking with them the heart of the nation, but leaving there, as part of their number, two colonies, which afterwards became known to the Romans as the Cimbric and the Cœstii;¹⁶ who were seceders from the main body of the people, and who were more rude and less cultivated. On their way the same thing was done in Belgium, and the Belgæ became separated from the nation. When they arrived in Nustria, or Armorica, (now Brittany), a more permanent stay was made, and they impressed upon the country, more decidedly, their own characteristics; and identified those who remained there, more intimately with themselves. The main part of the nation, however, soon passed over to Britain; taking with them whatever peculiarity distinguished them from the old Gallic—Celtic race, who for so long a time had preceded them in Gaul. But ever afterwards there subsisted between the Cymry

of Britain and Armorica the relation of one people, and brethren, with similar institutions, only the Armoricans looked to the Britains as their masters in the learning of the Druids and their arts.¹⁷ For the British Cymry were the more distinguished for their Druidical institution, and for their advancement in the arts.¹⁸

It is believed that the Cymry arrived in Armorica, and probably in Britain, before the voyage of Himilco, not only from the dates given, but also from a fact stated in the fragment we have of his report, that on his way from the Gulf of Morbihan in Armorica, to the British Islands, he reached the island of Sena, now L' Isle De Sein, not far from Brest, where there was a celebrated institution of the Druids. Then the account given of the Britons, that they mined the tin ore from the earth,—reduced it to metal in cubes, and brought it to the shore for sale in wagons; all of which shows a great advancement in the arts and habits of industry, showing great progress in civilization.

By the investigation and discoveries made in the antiquities of Britain, we are warranted in assuming that the Turanian race had preceded the Celts both in Gaul and Britain. This has been so particularly demonstrated by the mounds and barrows opened and examined, of a more ancient date in all their appearances, the work of a pre-celtic race, in which were found implements of stone and bone, but none of metal; and the skulls of those buried were of rounder heads than those of the Celtic race of Western Europe. These were the relics of the Turanian race,—those people who left the parent family of mankind before the habits and language of the Aryan race were formed and fixed,—who were the first to wander to distant parts, and their habits and appearance would become more and more savage and barbarous, than those who were improved by association in society. These, therefore, would be

¹⁷ Caesar's *Bel. Gal.* vi. §13.

¹⁸ In this connection should be remembered the skill with which the Venetians had constructed their great naval power in the time of Caesar.

¹⁶ Ut supra, ch. i. §3, pp. 45–46.

specially represented by the stone, and the pre-historical ages.

These people, from evidence found, in these relics, of their habits and customs, are supposed to have been horribly savage and even cannibals. Their mounds and burying places are found to be entirely different from those of the second race of people, which undoubtedly were the Celts from Gaul; which may have been as early as a thousand years before Christ, or even earlier. But the Cymry did not arrive in Britain until about 550 B. C.¹⁹ The Celtic race found the Turanian and pre-occupying race so very different from themselves, that they entirely disappeared before them. When two races meet in the same country, who have an affinity between each other, and similarity of personal appearance, as between the Celt and the German or the Italian and the like, they readily unite and amalgamate, and the one, the most numerous, absorbs the other; or the union forms a new variety; as we every day see in our experience with the diversity of races in the United States; or as witnessed in the Franks and the Celts in France, or the Northmen with Celts of Nustria or Normandy; or the Saxon with the Briton in England. But where one of such two races are so inferior as to be degraded and hateful, then such races do not so readily unite or amalgamate; but such inferior race soon entirely disappear before the superior race; as is the case with the American Indians, the Mongols, the Negroes or Hottentots, except where they are sufficiently numerous to protect themselves against the influence of the opposing race.

It must be true, that the Gallic Celtic

race had long before the arrival of the Cymry, taken possession of Britain, and were in the occupancy of the most enticing valleys and places on the Island. It is probable that when the Cymry arrived in Britain they were received by their Celtic brethren, as they had been in Gaul, as friends and brethren. They were received as brethren who had received better opportunities, and higher education, during their residence in Asia Minor; and were therefore received as members of the same family who would be of service to them in teaching arts, science and religion. In Gaul the two varieties of the Celtic race readily united and amalgamated as one people, and had so extended their power and influence that by Cæsar's time, the central part of Gaul and all the northwest, had become Cymric; so that Autricum (now Chartres) was their capital, and Genabum (called by the Romans Aurelian, now Orleans) became a considerable place in their commercial operations.²⁰ But it was at the mouth of the Loire, probably Nantes, was their great commercial depot and operations of the Armorican Cymry, where Himilco found much shipping and commercial traffic; probably first encouraged by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and who carried on much of the tin trade between Britain and the overland route, by the way of the Garonne, and thence by land to Narbonne²¹ on the Mediterranean, as testified by Diodorus. And Polybius,²² the Greek historian who traveled into Gaul about a century or more before Cæsar's time, speaks of the "Britanic Isles and their working in

¹⁹ The most likely, and reasonable, estimate, B. ii, ch. 8, and 10, in Bohn's Lib. i, p. 1. The date of 550 B. C. is the time when the Celts came to the British Isles, and of course the year in Britain before the arrival of Himilco. Himilco was a Phœnician, and came to Gaul at 600 B. C.; and a part of them may have immediately passed over to Britain; which would be 50 or 60 years after their exodus from Lydia. The distance by the Danube and Elbe is less than 2000 miles. The distance from the Mississippi River to California is about the same. The first emigrants on this route, with their flocks and herds, over the Rocky Mountains and the desert, accomplished their journey in six or eight months. The emigration from Lydia to Britain could be accomplished in five years, and allow for every contingency, even raising their crops of grain on the way.

²⁰ "The Gauls, which of the Celtic race, possessed the middle of Gaul." Says Godwin, (History of France, vol. i.) "Among their leading tribes were the Pictones, the Lemni, the Carnutes, the Nemetes, the Carnutes, whose capital, Autricum (Chartres), the reputed centre of Gaul, was the headquarters of the Gauls, and the seat of the Gauls, (called Autricum by the Romans, and now Orleans), was a place of considerable commerce; and the Ligones, Cenomani and Senones, whom we shall hereafter meet in Italy. In spite of a supposed commerce, or exchange, the Pictones, from the Gauls in many respects, both physical and moral. The Kymri were smaller, darker, and more reserved, not so turbulent and enthusiastic as the Gauls, and remarkable for their attachment to their country, their customs, and their creeds."

²¹ See Vaughan's Eng. Hist., v, who cites Diodorus Lib. v, ch. 21, 22, 38.

²² Lib. iii, ch. 5; Turner's Anglo-Saxons, B. i, ch. 4, p. 54.

tin" as though the commerce was large and the traffic of importance to the Greek and Roman world.

It was here, too, among the Veneti of Armorica, that grew up that great naval power, which in the time of Cæsar was able to present against him a large and well equipped fleet, which gave Cæsar great anxiety as to the success of his campaign, and required all his skill, aided by all of the Roman power, to meet and conquer.²³ And here it may be remarked as a matter contrary to the assertion of most of the English historians, that the Ancient Britons were incapable of becoming seamen, and were only acquainted with their coracle,²⁴ but it should be remembered that Cæsar complained of them that they had contributed to the fleet of the Veneti, that had fought him in the great naval battle in the Gulf of Morbihan. That battle, for that time at least, annihilated the Cymric naval power; yet it may be with truth claimed, that no people have ever produced more daring, courageous and hardy seamen, than the Cymry of Brittany and Wales.

Diodorus, on the authority of Hecataeus, a Milesian historian, gives us this interesting account, which cannot apply to any other country than Britain. "Over against Gaul, in the great ocean stream, is an island, not less in extent than Sicily, stretching towards the north. The inhabitants are called Hyperboreans, because their abode is more remote from us than that wind which we call Boreas. It is said that the soil is very rich and fruitful, and the climate so favorable, that there are two harvests in every year. Their fables say that Latona was born in this island, and on that account they worship Apollo before all other divinities, and celebrate his praise in daily hymns; conferring the highest honors upon their bards, as being his priests. There is in this island a magnificent temple to this god, circular in form, and adorned with many splendid offerings. And there is a city also, sacred to Apollo, inhabited principally by harpers, who in

his temple sing sacred verses to the god, accompanied by the harp, in honor of his deeds."

"The language of the Hyperboreans is peculiar, and they are singularly well affected towards the Greeks; and they have been so from the remotest times, especially to those of Athens and Delos. It is even said that some Greeks have traveled thither, and presented offerings at their temple, inscribed with Grecian characters. They also say that Abaris, in former days, went thence into Greece, to renew their ancient friendship with the Delians."²⁵

This account of the Hyperborei and their island can apply to no other country and people except Britain and the Britons; and their circular temple must have been what we now call Stonehenge, with its bards and priests as the Druids. The account in the main must be true, and making some allowance for what we may say is fabulous, it is precisely the description we would expect. The hospitality of the people is in accordance with all other accounts given of them, except when they met enemies in war, enemies in war, in peace friends.²⁶ It is very probable that at that early time, the Greeks only knew of the inhabitants of Britain as Hyperborei; for the first information received at Athens that the Gauls had taken Rome, was that it had been taken by an army of Hyperboreans.

The name of Abaris and the Hyperboreans so often occur in the ancient classics,

²³ Diodorus, Sic. ii. 3. Hecataeus of Miletus in Asia Minor, was said to be the first who gave history to that ancient and magnificent country in some more recent writers, as Diodorus, Ptolemy, and others. It is said he died about 475 before Christ. In order to make these dates harmonize it is necessary that the Cymry, who left Asia Minor about 1100 B. C., then they must have been in Britain about 200 B. C., in about 150 or 175 years, a time which would have allowed them to have built Stonehenge, but the circular temple here, have been one of the older circular temples in the Avbury to which Hecataeus referred to, and Stonehenge, a better architectural work, may be a later erection. Either the temple at Avebury or that of Stonehenge may have been the temple referred to. Abaris has been identified as a Druid, and the priests and bards described may well be taken as Druids. See Davies' Celtic Researches, 184, &c. Also Abbaris &c. Bayles' Dictionary. Hecataeus may have received some of his information directly from Abaris, on his visit to Greece. There was another Hecataeus, a historian and known as Hecataeus of Abdera (3 B.C.). Herod. 23, n. 8; Anthon's Cl. Dict., title Hecataeus who as well as the first wrote about Abaris, Hyperborei, &c. Diodorus and Strabo collected from both of these,

²⁴ See 2 Bonaparte's Cæsar, B. iii. ch. vi. p. 441.

²⁵ See Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 4.

that we are compelled to admit, though they may be accompanied by myth and fable, that they refer to an actual person and a real people. Herodotus²⁶ writes of the Hyperboreans; and says with extreme caution as to what he was not fully informed,—"as for that tale of Abaris, who is said to have been a Hyperborean, and to have gone with his arrow around the world, I shall pass by in silence." . . . "Nor do I know of the islands called the Cassiterides, whence the tin comes, which we use."²⁷ Although he speaks thus cautiously of his information, yet he fully admits that there was an island from whence came the tin they commonly used. He puts the Hyperboreans and Abaris in the same predicament as to his definite knowledge of them; but refers to them as well known subjects of inquiry. They have been a theme with all Greek geographers and historians from Hecataeus to Humboldt²⁸ as a real subject, but much distorted by the imagination of the poets. The term Hyperboreans was first applied to people living far north or west, whose particular residence and character were unknown, and a mere myth or fable. At length the term was definitely applied to the Celts of Western Europe and of Britain. The taking of Rome by the Gauls was reported at Athens as having been accomplished by an army of Hyperboreans. Diodorus places them on an island as large as Sicily, in the ocean opposite the coast of Gaul; and which Rawlinson and Logan say, must be recognized from the description as Britain. This has

whose original works are lost, and we have only fragments quoted by others. The latter Hecataeus was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and therefore about 150 years after the time of the other Hecataeus. The first was a contemporary of Abaris, and perhaps only wrote of him. But the latter may have written of the island as large as Sicily over against Gaul, when Britain and its inhabitants and their circular temple, &c., were better known to the Greeks, than in the time of Abaris and the first Hecataeus and Herodotus. Anthon's *Clas. Dict.*, title Abaris; Herodotus, B. iv, 30; 3 Rawl. Herod. 25, n. 5; 1 Pict. History of England, p. 12, 65; Logan's *Antiq.* 150; Anthon's *Cl. Dict.*, title Hyperborei; 3 Rawl. Herod., p. 9, 23; Logan's *Antiq.* 23, 41.

26 B. iv, 33, 39, and n. 1, and 6, by Rawlinson.

27 Herod., B. iii, 115; and Rawlinson, n. 6 and 7, vol. ii, p. 415.

28 This includes a period from about 500 B. C. to 30 A. D. See Anthon's *Clas. Dict.*; also 3 Rawl. Herod., p. 25, n. 5; Logan's *Antiq.* 23, 150.

been received as a solution of the myth and fable on the subject.²⁹

The Greek writers have many allusions to the Hyperboreans which can only be referable to the Celts and Britons. Thus they represented Abaris as a high priest of that people; and that he passed around the world, aided by a magic arrow he had received from Apollo. He is represented as clad in Celtic costume,—with pantaloons and plaid mantle. His people lived on a large island; used their own proper language; worshipped in groves and a circular temple erected to the service of Apollo; and played on the harp. They were kind and hospitable, and had great esteem for the Greeks, between whom from ancient times there existed an intercourse in relation to matters of religion and philosophy, of which that of Abaris is the most noted.

The first of these Grecian writers was Hecataeus, a native of Miletus, who was followed more fully, about a century and a half subsequent by Hecataeus of Abdera in the time of Alexander the Great, when more was known of Britain and its people. From these sources Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny drew much of their information concerning Britain and its inhabitants, and the land of tin. All represent that Abaris and Pythagoras met, and interchanged with each other their several information as to the affairs of the world, religion and morality, upon which was built their notions of theology and philosophy. No two men were better qualified to meet. They were both men of extraordinary genius, great travelers in their respective parts of the world, everywhere received with great consideration and kindness; and as extraordinary magicians and physicians, who effected wonderful acts and cures. After Abaris had received the instructions of Pythagoras, and added them to his own, he returned to his own country, bearing the gifts of Greece to be consecrated in the temple of his people. From these historical legends, it has been claimed with great force that Abaris was a British druid. He was an Hyper-

29 Logan's *Antiq.* of Scotland 23, 41, 150; Anthon's *Clas. Dict.*, title Hyperborei; 3 Rawlinson's Herod. 9, 23, n. 8, 25; Pliny *Nat. History* iv., 12; Mela i, 1; Strabo i, p. 60; Diodorus Siculus ii, 3.

borean of the island; his attire was a Celtic dress; and the arrow with which the Grecian writers relate he traveled, and was the gift of Apollo, was in reality the usual long staff of the Druids. This too will account for so many things being found in the religion and philosophy of the Druids in common with the disciples of Pythagoras. These were added to those that the Cymry had previously acquired during their residence in Asia Minor.³⁰

From Strabo³¹ we learn that the Romans early became acquainted with the tin trade and Britain, by following the route pursued by the Carthaginians. He says that Publius Crassus found his way thither; and discovered that the metals were easily obtained, that the people were undisturbed by war, and fond of maritime affairs.³² He pointed out to them the advantage of the passage on which he came, though it was a longer passage to Britain, than the direct one through Gaul. This quotation from Strabo, and that from Cæsar's Commentaries, in which he alleges against the Britons that they had aided the Venetians in fitting up their great naval armament against the Romans. These passages contradict the unfriendly assertion sometimes made, that the Ancient Britons were unacquainted with maritime affairs: and had no aptitude for sea-faring life, and were acquainted only with their coracle and boats covered with hides. This proves, also, that the Ro-

mans had mercantile transaction with Britain before Cæsar's time.

We have no definite account of the Britons as they appeared in the interior and far north until Cæsar came. All before that were casual and fragmentary accounts of what was seen at the sea-shore. But in Cæsar's Commentaries and in Tacitus' Life of Agricola, we have a fuller account of the Britons over the whole Island, as they appeared as Ancient Britons previous to the Roman conquest. Even the accounts given by these very competent men, though very able as far as they go, are still the accounts of the country and people as given of them in a soldier's point of view, in time of conquest. Cæsar's Commentaries are unequalled in point of composition, and as to military operation entirely reliable; but as to other matters are often hasty and of doubtful accuracy. They were written for the purpose of creating a favorable impression of his operations, and create a sensation at home; and they were undoubtedly extensively copied and read at Rome. What we are able to gather from Tacitus is more satisfactory. But they entirely ignore many things that an ethnologist and traveler of the present day would give us. They tell us that the people of the country are divided up into numerous tribes or nations, constituting various states, and give us their locations; but they do not tell us how those people differed from each other in language or speech. They give us none of their words except names, which they always Latinized; and this is to be regretted, as by such information we could judge whether their language was radically different or merely a different dialect of the same language. The great works of the nation are superficially overlooked, such as their mounds and barrows, their roads and highways, their towns and villages, those great works at Stonehenge and Avebury; as well as the shops and manner in which were constructed and manufactured the many thousands of chariots, which these historians say were brought into the field against the Romans. Nor do they inform us as to the manner they procured and wrought the iron and

³⁰ It is well to observe the dates of these events and see how they harmonize with the facts claimed. We have stated that the most probable date of the exodus of the ancestors of the Cymry from Asia Minor to be at least as early as 175 B. C. Pythagoras, it is said, died in 495 B. C. at the age of 75 or 80, and was of the age of about 60 when he returned from his eastern travels. So that the meeting of Pythagoras and Abaris must have been about 500 B. C. and soon after the reign of Croesus which terminated about 545 B. C. Therefore Pythagoras, Abaris and Croesus of Lydia must have been contemporaries. Hecateus of Miletus lived and wrote soon afterwards, but some time before Herodotus, who flourished about 450. Hecateus of Abdera, who wrote of the Hyperboreans and Abderis, flourished about 335, and was contemporary of Aristotle and Alexander the Great. See the previous notes in this chapter.

³¹ B. iii. See, also, Giles' *Anc. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 11; vol. ii, 32; *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, p. 88.

³² "This passage," says the *Pictorial History*, "has attracted less attention than it would seem to deserve," both as to the early intercourse with the Romans, and the attention of the Britons to maritime affairs and traffic.

other metals necessary for the construction of those chariots; or the harness necessary to gear their horses to them. As to most of these matters, so very important to the development of these questions, the evidence they would afford is left principally in the dark; and only partially relieved by subsequent historians, but mostly by examination of the antiquities of the country. It is from these latter sources of information that we derive the most satisfactory and desired information upon these interesting questions, of which we will treat in a subsequent chapter.

But as already said, all we can gather from Cæsar and Tacitus satisfy us that at their time, with all the diversity of tribes, and states, there was but one ethnic race;—the Celtic, and this was represented by two branches, or families or dialect,—the old Gaulic or Gaelic and the later Cymric families, of the one original race, language and people. The first occupied at that time the north part of the Island and were known by the name of the Caledonians,—the latter by the common name of Britons.³³ This is confirmed by both historical researches and investigation into the antiquities of the country. And in advance of the fuller description of the antiquities of the country, it may be said that the most satisfactory evidence is produced of progress in the arts and civilization by the investigation of the ancient mounds, barrows and burial places; and which also most satisfactorily disclose three distinct periods in their construction. The first and oldest bear the evidence of a very rude and uncultivated people, if not the most unmitigated savages. Their mounds are generally of a different form, and when opened, disclose that the people were in the stone age; all the implements found were of stone or bone, with no evidence of any metals; and the skulls of the persons buried, were round compared with those of the Celtic race. This proves conclusively that these people were of the elder population of Western Europe,—the Turanian race.

The other mounds and artificial monu-

ments when examined give clear indication of being the work of a different race, but of one people divided into two branches, the elder and the more recent branches. The elder of these Celtic monuments contain evidence, upon examination, that the people still lingered somewhat in the stone age, but with them are found bronze and iron implements,—sure indication that the people were connected, at least distantly, with civilization. The second class of these Celtic monuments disclose clear evidence of a more advanced period in their history. In them are found metals of various kind; as tin, bronze, iron, in various forms, as the warriors' arms, the domestic utensils, ornaments of skilled and refined workmanship;—warriors buried in their glory with their arms around them, and in some instances their horse and chariot, giving full evidence how the chariot was constructed, wood and iron, how the horse was geared to it, showing the harness, with its buckles and fastenings, bringing into history of the times the undoubted evidence of the advancement that the people had made in the progress of civilization, which the written histories of those times almost entirely ignore.

We now bring on to the stand a most unwilling witness, but one well informed upon the subject; who testifies thus:³⁴—“The sepulchral mounds or *tumuli* the *cromlechs*, and the language of Wales, furnish the grounds on which we can determine the origin of the Welsh nation. We shall notice each in turn; and it will be seen that the fullest testimony is given in this case by the language; and that though similarity in this respect is regarded by ethnologists as establishing only a supposition in favor of relationship between nations, the result obtained in this manner is so supported by the evidence derived from other sources, that no doubt can remain that the Kymry are one of the most

³⁴ B. B. Woodward,—History of Wales, B. i, ch. 2, pp. 21, 29, 31. This witness is introduced, though an unwilling one, for we wish to draw our evidence from sources that cannot be called too partial to us. Yet we must here say that Mr. Woodward has in his history manifested a bitter enmity and hatred of the Cymry; that he has been the detractor and calumniator of his subject; more so than any person who has been the historian of a people.

³³ *U^p* supra, ch. i, §3, p. 49.

ancient people of Europe, and that they are no unworthy branch of the great and widely spread family which has been denominated, from its geographical range, Indo-European."

"We begin with the sepulchral mounds. . . . Dr. Prichard states that the form of the skulls discovered in these rude tombs, [first class or Turanian], which have been examined, is rounder than that of the true Caucasian variety, and approaches the Mongolian type. . . . Mingled with these mounds, and undistinguished from them in outward appearance, are others which show a very considerable progress in civilization. In some of these are found ornaments, implements, and weapons, of bronze, silver, and gold, as well as of bone and flint; while in others, besides articles made of those metals, are implements and weapons of iron. There seems thus to be two distinct advances clearly marked during the time that this mode of burial was practiced by this people;—that indicated by the use of metals, and the farther one of which the use of iron is the sign."

"Yet even in language," continues this witness, "there is a diversity sufficient to establish a subdivision; the language spoken by the ancient Erse or Irish, the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland, and that by the natives of the Isle of Man, called the Manx, form the first division; and that by the Welsh, the provincial dialect of Cornwall, and that of Bretagne in France, the second division, has proved the close connection of the different people using them; and the languages and people are generally denominated Celtic; the three first named being classed together as the Gaelic; and the three last named as the Cymric, dialect."

After making a thorough review of the mounds and the languages, he concludes:—"From this examination we derive these results:—that the inhabitants of Wales migrated thither directly from the great fountain-head of the nations, the land of the Euphrates and the Tigris;—that they went in successive bands, each in a more advanced stage of civilization than its pre-

decessor;—that they carried with them a peculiar language, and peculiar arts and superstitions, by which it appears that their settlement in this island was both begun and completed at a very early period; and that they are immediately related to those races which have played the most distinguished part in the history of human progress and civilization; but became a distinct people before the difference between that family and others of less eminence had become so strongly pronounced as now we find them."

In addition to this testimony, and the concurrent course of history, we have the equally strong testimony of Michelet in his history of France, of the whole Western Europe, France and the British Islands being peopled by one race, the Celtic, but being divided, as stated, into two branches, the Gaulic, and the Cymric race; and states about the time of their coming the Cymry, as a newer branch of the elder Celtic, and settling amongst them as brethren of the same family.³⁵

In this connection we are not to overlook the ancient historical accounts given by the Cymry themselves. They consist of traditions the most ancient, but we know not how early committed to writing, but were undoubtedly the work of the ancient Druids. These were, in their composition, embodied in their Triads,³⁶ which have come to us in manuscripts of a more recent period, like all other books of ancient times. But they have been woven and copied into history,—recited in poetry and song as undoubted and reliable as the traditional history of any people. They confirm the theory that they came³⁷ from Asia, from the Land of Summer near Constantinople, and were led hence by Hugh the Great, to Britain and Armorica; and through the Hazy Ocean to this Island. They represent that they came and settled in Britain in peace; no one opposing them.

³⁵ Ch. i. §3, p. 44.

³⁶ For an account of the Triads, see the last chapter of this book.

³⁷ Woodward's History of Wales, B. i. ch. 3, p. 34; Historical Triads, 5; Turner's Anglo-Saxons, B. i. ch. 2; Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, 3; Davies' Celtic Researches, 153; Thierry's Norman Conquest, p. 2.

Among the followers of Hugh was Aedd Mawr (the Great) and his son, Prydain; who first established government and set up royalty in the Isle of Britain. For before his time there was no justice, but everything was done through favor; and there was no law, but that of the strongest. Prydain, beneficent sovereign, joined all the tribes of Britain in a system of federalism, and regulated the affairs of each tribe both within itself and with its neighbors; therefore was he made monarch within the whole limits of the Cymry, by the convention of the country and border country; and the Island was called after him, Ynys Prydain. Thus this land was governed under a monarchy and the voice of the country; and to this nation belongs the establishing of the monarchy by the voice of country and people, according to privilege and original right. And every royalty ought to be under the protection of the voice of the country; for it is said as a proverb, "a country is mightier than a prince."

"And Dyfnwal Moelud, his son (Ail Prydain), destroyed the oppression which sprang from the frenzy of the country under the pressure of the violence and lawlessness of princes, by framing an equitable system of mutual obligation, between societies, and princes, and countries; so that right and justice might be obtained by every one in the land, small as well as great, under the protection of God and his peace; and the beneficent sovereign, Dyfnwal Moelud, was reckoned the 'third pillar' of the nation of the Cymry.

"The three Social tribes of the isle of Britain. The first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hugh the Mighty into the isle of Britain, who would not possess the land by fighting and oppression, but through justice and in peace. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys, (Loegrians) who came from the land of Gwasgwyn, (Gascony), being descendants from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, and had their descent from the same stock. These were called the three tribes of peace, because they came by mutual consent, in peace and

tranquility; and these three tribes were sprung from the same origin, and were of the same language and speech."

Such is an abstract of the most ancient historical account given by the Cymry of themselves, as taken from their Triads, which was undoubtedly composed by the ancient Druids. It is so much in harmony with all the accounts we have from all other historical sources, that little or no doubt can be thrown over it. As such Turner in his History of the Anglo-Saxons refers to it with approbation, and recites many historical facts in support of the history thus deduced from the Triads; and says they may be read without incredulity as to this claim of the Cymry;—"their Druids are certainly evidence that a part of the population had made some intellectual progress. The facts connected with the analogy of the language satisfactorily prove that our earliest population came from Kimmerian and Celtic stock."

The Cymric historical works in reference to the time of Caesar, divide Britain into three parts. They then confined the name of Alban to what is now Scotland; they called the south and east Lloegyr (Loegria), where the late immigrants from Armorica and Gascony were permitted to settle, and the west of the Severn and the southern Avon and the central ridge of Britain, was denominated Cymru, more decidedly the country of the Cymry. But they were all, at least the two southern portions, essentially one people, amalgamated as one, in language, in their institution of the Druids, in their mode and manner of warfare, and their federal organization. They were all Cymry—from the same original stock, and received as brethren; and their only distinction between them was founded upon that of tribe and locality. The elder branch of the Cymry first settled the south, made improvements, and probably built Avebury and Stonehenge; and in a later generation, by consent, agreement of sale and purchase, disposed of their possessions to a new comer, and moved to the west or north, until the population connected by the nearest affinity were changed in their locality without actual change in their nationality. In

the United States and in all new countries, such changes are frequently witnessed. A town in Pennsylvania, perhaps, known as of a people of one denomination, will dispose of their possession perhaps to a New England immigration, and in the course of a generation or two the denomination of the population has changed without any change of their nationality. In this manner a town of European emigrants has been known to change, in a generation, to that of a New England population. All the indications are that the immigrants who came from Armorica and Gascony were an immigration of a very recent date compared with that of the original Cymry, a second immigration of the same people.

The history given by the Ancient Britons of themselves, as stated in the Triads, being only sententious statements or facts, is more satisfactory and reliable than the same history as narrated by subsequent chroniclers, bards and historians. The Druids in their Triads are more satisfactory than the subsequent writers of the nation. The latter are more legendary and fabulous, with more of that which is sensational and poetical worked into the original matter. All agree that the ancestors of the race came from Western Asia. One statement is, that they came from the land of Summer, near Constantinople, and were led from thence by Hugh, the Mighty, by the way of the hazy ocean to Britain. The other is, that it was Brutus, a descendant of the refugees from Troy, who led a colony of his people from Italy and Greece, first to Gaul, where they built the city of Tours, which was so named from Turnus, one of their leaders, who had fallen in a battle and was buried there. After that Brutus, with the descendants of the Trojans, came to "this island, named from him Britannia," and built a city, which "he called New Troy, but afterwards designated Trinovantum, and when King Ludd had surrounded it with stately walls, it was after him called Caer Ludd,³⁸ or London." Such is the story, prospectively found incorporated into the Cymric History of the Ancient

Britons, mixed up with interesting legends and myths about Troy. Æneas, and the posterity of Helenus, son of Priam the king of Troy, and the like fables in poetic fancy; very different in style from those contained in Triads of the ancient Druids. And this would give an idea that these stories had been somewhat tinged with Latin literature. But Nennius, an old Cambrian writer, who wrote his History of the Britons³⁹ about A. D. 860, after giving this Trojan and Brutus account of the origin of the Ancient Britons, says:—"I have learned another account of this Brutus from the ancient books of our ancestors;" and gives the whole of Europe to the descendants of Japheth, and deduces the descent of Brutus, by a genealogical table, from Japheth. "We have obtained this information," he continues, "respecting the original inhabitants of Britain from ancient tradition. The Britons were thus called from Brutus. . . . But Japheth had seven sons; from the first, named Gomer, descended the Galli; from the second, Magog, the Seythi and Gothi; from the third, Madai, the Medi; from the fourth, Javan, the Greeks; from the fifth, Tubal, arose the Hebrei, Hispani, and Itali; from the sixth, Meshech, sprung the Cappadoces; and from the seventh, named Tiras, descended the Thrares."⁴⁰

These traditionary histories of the Ancient Britons, previous to the Roman period, though much involved in legends, myths and fable, must still contain in them a nucleus of truth upon which they rest.

³⁸ *History of Britoniam*. See *Born's Six Old English Chronicles*.

³⁹ *Historia Britonum*. See *Born's Six Old English Chronicles*. In that collection we find many British histories, which are well worthy the attention of the historian and the antiquary. The *Grates*, who reigned A. D. 480, Nennius, between 700 and 800, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who flourished about 1150, and Richard of Cirencester, from 1187 to 1200. All these are interesting books by their authors. Geoffrey the first describes the names. Instead of giving us the facts of history, his history is distorted by a circle of monkish fables of his people in the story of the ancient prophetic dream, in which people witness the rise, fall, and regeneration of the world. These authors and histories are strictly Cymric, and the best informed of the history of their people in the day in which they lived. Geoffrey's history, though as a composition, is the most interesting, and well written book of Europe of that day, is too legendary and fabulous for historical truths. As a book it must be read for subsequent enjoyment, more so for its literary merits.

³⁹ *Born's Six Old English Chronicles*. Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 100.

It is but seldom a tradition exists, though much covered up by legendary and fabulous myths, but that which is founded upon some truth and real fact. In ascertaining the truth the story must be analyzed, and we should ascertain what is consistent, and corroborated by other known and established facts and circumstances; or where two or more independent stories and facts unite in sustaining the same hypothesis. Where such corroboration exist or union of independent facts tending to prove and sustain the same thing, it is to be received as evidence and as morally sustaining the proposition, unless refuted by other facts and circumstances equally strong.

Now the proposition assumed is this, that the Ancient Britains are the descendants of a people once settled on the north side of the Euxine claimed to be the descendants of Gomer, and known to the ancient Greeks as the Cimmerii; that these people in various bodies, and at various times emigrated west, and settled in Gaul and Britain, and at an early day became known to the Greeks and Romans as the Celts. At a subsequent day the last of the Cimmerii were driven by the Scythians around the east end of the Euxine into Asia Minor, where they remained fifty or eighty years as conquerors of the country for the time, and had taken Sardis the capital of Lydia. These afterwards, about 650 B. C. left Asia Minor and went west and north until on their way they became settled in the Cimbric Chersonesus, and subsequently known to the Romans as the Cimbri. They moved on, leaving colonies as they progressed, near the mouth of the Elbe and the Baltic; also in Belgium, in Armorica in Gaul, to Britain: calling themselves the Cymry; but other historians saying they were the descendants of the ancient Cimbri. We have endeavored to prove this by references to ancient authors, and the opinion of modern historians; and this is corroborated by the express declaration of the Triads of the ancient Druids as stated by themselves. We have quoted the declarations of ancient British authors, as to the traditions received from their ancestors and ancient authors, as to their

origin, as evidence corroborative of the same matter. But this is objected to, because the matter is shrouded and disguised by traditional legends, fables and myths which render it so doubtful if not incredible. This objection to such tradition when used by itself is legitimate, but not so when used merely to corroborate authentic facts and circumstances.

But when this traditional history is examined, we find in it a nucleus, which agrees with, and is a part of, our proposition. The story of Brutus and his descent from Æneas, and his people being descendants of the ancient Trojans is by itself a myth, entirely incredible. But this story was always accompanied by the uniform declaration of the Cymry, that they were the descendants of Gomer, and that they came from Asia,—near to Constantinople, and that they came by the way of the hazy ocean. Now when the story of Brutus and the Trojans came to be mixed up with the true story, by poets and bards, who cared more to be sensational and poetic than truthful, we know not, but the story of Troy might have been learned while they were in Lydia. When the ancestors of the Cymry were in Asia Minor they were in the immediate vicinity of the ruins of Troy, which had been destroyed about four or five hundred years previous, and its destruction was the great event of the world; and was constantly referred to in all their subsequent narratives and poetry. It was carried with them as the most notable event in history. Nothing was more natural than to connect their own history with it; and when they became acquainted with the Roman classics it was quite as natural to tinge their story with the Latin dress. But when stripped of such foreign garb, the truth—nucleus of their history—still remains; and Gomer, Asia Minor, near Constantinople, the Hazy Ocean, and Armorica still remain; and come up as unquestionable evidence in support of that which has preceded it. And we find nothing in history that militates against it; but all bringing up the foot-marks in the path of history, which leaves little or no room to doubt the conclusion to which it

carries us, and to which we arrive. Then when we connect all this with other facts which admit of no other hypothesis, as the Druids and their learning, their chariots; all of which directly connects them with Asia Minor, without any other manner of rationally accounting for them; we may claim our proposition is proved.

Between 390 B. C. and Caesar's time, the history of Europe is filled with the account of various movements and expeditions of the Gauls and Cimbri, from Western Europe to the south and east,—into Italy, Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor. This history uniformly shows that these people were one and the same race. According to Roman history, though often called Gauls, especially in the earliest part of it, yet we see that they were all brethren of the same race with the Cimbri. None of these movements and expeditions commenced in or proceeded from Britain; yet tradition, the Triads and history connect the Cymry of Britain with them. It is, therefore, proper that we should notice these, in connection with the history of the Ancient Britons.

The history and character of the Cimbri is more at large spoken of by Tacitus, than by any of the ancient historians. He speaks of them as having been settled in the Cimbric Chersonesus and conferred upon it its name. In the immediate vicinity of these he places the Æstyans, and says they were a people, who in dress and manners resembled the Suevians, but in language they had more affinity to the dialect of Britain.⁴¹ It is probable that these were a part of the Cymry, left there by the parent stock, in their migration to Britain.⁴² Posidonius thought the Cimbri were the original people of the Cimmeri extending their arms eastward, giving their name to the Bosphorus;⁴³ an opinion in which Strabo seems to concur.⁴⁴ Although the history of most of these expeditions come to us under the

name of Gauls, yet we find abundance of traces in history that they were Cimbri; and that Cymric Celts took a leading part in them. Under the name of Cimbri, Tacitus passes upon them a high eulogy, and represents them as "a people then of small consequence, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore."⁴⁵ Their camps and lines of circumvallations are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied, you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified" . . . "and which renders their glory and renown ever to be remembered."⁴⁶

At some early period, and before the Cymry left Asia Minor, the Celts of Gaul invaded Spain.⁴⁷ Spain, it is supposed, was first settled by the Iberians, whose origin is unknown; but it is thought that they were Turanians, and progenitors of the modern Basques in the Western Pyrenees, and the ancient Iberians in Aquitania, the southwest corner of Gaul; and also of the Ligurians in the northwest part of Italy, in the midst of the Mediterranean Alps. This movement of the Gauls into Spain, appears to have been the first of the Celtic race. It appears to have had an important effect upon Central Spain, for its inhabitants after that were denominated Celtiberi; or Celt-Iberians, who were a mixture of the two people; and occupied the centre of the peninsula.

At a subsequent, but still an early, date, the Gauls invaded Italy,⁴⁸ and took possession of the whole of the valley of the Po, and the shores of the Adriatic Sea. The country thus taken in Italy was known as Umbria (or Umbria); and afterwards called by the Romans *Gallia Cisalpina*, to dis-

⁴¹ Tac. Germ., XLV.

⁴² Ut supra, ch. i.

⁴³ This is frequently the case with ancient historians, in consequence of their not understanding that all the great migrations were to the west, those to the east were only secondary.

⁴⁴ Lib. vii. p. 293; Logan's Celt. M., p. 21.

⁴⁵ Tacitus' Germ., XLViii.

⁴⁶ See Godwin's France, 20, and n. 3, by which it will be seen that Michelet and Thiers (Annal.) put this date at about 700 B. C. But it is uncertain.

⁴⁷ See Godwin's France, 20—29. Also Anthony's Clas. Dict., 538; Pliney 2. 11. 2 Livy Lib. ix. §30 &c. 109; Bodin's Isl.

tinguish it from *Gallia Transalpina*, or Gaul over or beyond the Alps. But these were movements of the Celts before the time of the Cymry; and though there were frequent invasions of Italy by the Gauls previous to the taking of Rome under Brennus, there is no circumstance in history, that will enable us to suppose the Cymry to be connected with them until the expedition connected with that event; which is generally ascribed to 390 B. C. The arrival of the Cymry in Armorica, must have been many years before;⁴⁹ and though they came peaceably and as brethren of the ancient Celts in Gaul, yet that event would increase the population, so as to stimulate the expeditions and migration to Italy.

The Cymry had now been so long settled in Gaul and Britain, that between them and the original Celts the country had become largely filled with people. They had taken possession of the central portion of Gaul; and the country, on the Loire and between it and the Seine, had become Cymric territory and divided up into a number of small states. Between the time of their advent into Gaul,⁵⁰ and the period now under consideration, they had become a numerous and powerful people, besides those who were left on the Baltic and in Belgium, and those who had gone to Britain. Gaul had already furnished frequent expeditions of her elder Celts, in quest of new land and country to settle on; and in that they had been extremely successful in Northern Italy on the Po. "Lastly," says Michelet,⁵¹ "the Cymry, becoming jealous of the conquests of the Gauls, passed the Alps in their turn; but finding the valley of the Po already occupied, they are forced to proceed as far as the Adriatic, and found Bologna and Singaglia." Livy enumerates the states in Gaul, whose people had furnished recruits to these expeditions;⁵² and

the most of them, if not all, are known to be Cymric states. He says, that Ambigatus, who held the supreme government of the Celts, was very much distinguished by his merit, both as to his great prosperity in his own affairs, and in those of the public. Under his administration Gaul was so fruitful and so well peopled, that it became very difficult to restrain and govern so great a population. He was now advanced in years, and anxious to relieve his country of so oppressive a crowd; declared his intention to send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, two enterprising youths, into whatever settlements the gods, by augury, should send them. They were permitted to take with them as many men as they pleased; so that no nation would be able to obstruct them in their progress. By the oracle, to the latter of these young men, was assigned the Hercynian forest; but to the former was assigned the much cheering route into Italy. With Bellovesus there went out whatever superfluous population they had, from the Biturigians, the Arvernians, the Senonians, the Æduans, the Ambarriians, the Carnutians, and the Aulercians. These were all, or nearly all Cymric Celts. They passed over the Alps through unknown and difficult passes, and met on the head waters of the Po, where now stands a tower, known as Milan the beautiful. Others came after them until the valley of the Po was filled with inhabitants, and then, as above stated, passed on towards Southern Italy along the western shores of the Adriatic.

After these came the Senonians, the last of these emigrants, who are undoubtedly Cymry, and are the Gauls noticed in Roman history, as those who attacked Clusium, and sacked Rome under Brennus. Whether in this they were alone, or aided by others of the Cisalpine Gaul, says Livy, is not duly ascertained.⁵³ This is a most interesting story, and the most terrible to Rome, of any in her eventful history. The Senonians attacked Clusium, and demanded of them land upon which to settle. This was refused, and the Clusians sent to Rome

⁴⁹ See Godwin's *France*, 27, who there cites Thierry *Hist. des Gaul.* T. i. l. i. ch. i.

⁵⁰ Between 400 and 300 B. C. See Michelet's *Hist. France*, p. 35, B. i. c. 1. Also Godwin's *Hist. France*, 27, n. 3, where Thierry is referred to in relation to the Cymric invasion of Gaul.

⁵¹ *Utsupra*, p. 39.

⁵² B. vi. c. 31. *Utsupra*, p. 398.

⁵³ Livy B. v. ch. 35. Godwin's *Hist. France*, 28.

for aid in their defence. The Romans cautiously sent no army, but in its stead, sent three envoys to mediate and settle the matter if possible.

The envoys to Clusium failed in their object, and a battle ensued between the contending parties: in which the envoys, contrary to their duty and international law, incautiously took a part and with great spirit fought with the Clusians, who were defeated, and one of the envoys was taken prisoner in the battle. This rash conduct of the envoys greatly offended the Celts, who demanded satisfaction of their principal. This not being conceded, they immediately marched upon Rome itself. The Romans met them on the banks of a small stream about twelve miles from the city, called the Allia: where they were defeated with great slaughter; and the Gauls pushed on to the capital. The multitude fled the city in terror and dismay. The gates of the city even were not closed, and the enemy marched in without opposition. Some of the more courageous and spirited young men, however, took possession of the citadel with a resolution to defend it. The hostile army on entering the city with so little opposition were themselves amazed, for the fear of some stratagem, so strange and unusual were all appearances. The senators finding themselves helpless, determined to abide the result, and sacrifice themselves if necessary, took their positions in the forum sitting in their ivory chairs, with the usual dignity of the Senate, determined with honor and devotion to abide the event of their country. The Gauls while admiring them as statues, were struck by one of the Roman officials, in the excitement of receiving an insult; then the Gauls in resentment commenced the slaughter of those who remained, and the conflagration of the city. In their attempts to capture the citadel they failed, but everywhere else they triumphantly plundered and destroyed whatever they would. After some time of horror, suffering and want, those in the citadel, rather than any longer endure their suffering and death, insisted that there should be a surrender or the enemy bought off on any terms possi-

ble. The Gauls were indisposed to relinquish their position upon easy terms, but at length the Romans were able to arrange with Brennus, the Celtic chief, their ransom in gold. When the money was being weighed the audacious Brennus cast his sword into the scales, claiming it should be weighed down with gold, and exclaiming without remorse, his famous exclamation, *vae victis!* (wo to the vanquished), which the Romans in after years returned with terrible retribution, which so often happens in the ways of Providence.

Other bands of Cymric Gauls, which tradition connects with those of Sigovesus, were, in the meantime, pursuing in the east the same success with their brethren. From the Hercynian forest, they pursued a triumphal course down the Danube and into Thrace, threatening Greece and Asia Minor, as though determined to return to the land where their ancestors once triumphed. After some years, about 335 B. C., they were met by that renowned hero, Alexander of Macedonia, whose sympathy for their fearless adventure and enterprise induced him to receive them with kindness; and asked them, what they most feared, simply replied, nothing but the falling of the skies. Pleased with their swaggering answer, he took some of them into his pay; who probably afterwards assisted him in his subsequent conquest of the world.

These adventurers remained quiet during Alexander's time and for some years afterwards; perhaps restrained by his character and renown. But they soon discovered the incompetent and inefficient character of his successors in Macedonia and Greece. About 281 B. C. these were re-enforced by new bands of Cymric Celts from Gaul and Belgium, under the name of the Trocmi, the Tectosages, and the Tolistoboi. Macedonia and Greece were fearfully invaded, and ravaged. The Greeks, though dispirited by their numerous misfortunes and reverses, were aroused to a momentary resolution, by the recollection of the glory of their ancestors, and determined in the like manner to repeat their defence at Thermopylae. But the Gauls with skill evaded

Thermopylæ, and passed over the mountains, and made their way to the temple of the Grecian god at Delphi; which they intended to plunder of its vast wealth, dedicated to that oracle. But the legend is that the oracle promised to defend itself, and when the Gauls attempted to take the sacred offerings, the thunder of the deity's wrath fell from the skies, the rocks trembled, and the earth opened. Either this or the valor of the Greeks caused the Gauls here great reverses. Their Brennus, in utter despair and in order to facilitate their retreat, advised them to burn their booty, and cut the throats of their many thousand prisoners; which advice, it is said, they followed, except that they kept the baggage, and barely escaped with their lives into Macedonia; but Brennus, in his despair in consequence of these great reverses, killed himself.

Another body of these Gauls crossed the Bosphorus and threw themselves with terrible force upon the people of Asia Minor, and with great success took whatever they demanded. They partitioned the country among themselves, and for many years held it against the feeble successors of Alexander. They were gradually compelled in later times to reduce their territory, and with difficulty maintained their nationality against the Romans. But eventually they were able to establish themselves permanently as a people and nation;—their country as Galatia (or Gallogræcia), and themselves as Galatians, with a civilization partaking of the three elements—the Gallic, the Grecian and the Roman; and acquired an honorable name as the Galatians in the New Testament, and as such known to the Christian world. "There," says Michelet, "we see our Gauls restored to the cradle of the Cymry, not far from the Cimmerian Bosphorus—here are they settled on the ruins of Troy, and in the mountains of Asia Minor." That they were Cymry is the general belief from their names, language and traditions. The names of their tribes are known to be Cymric, and the same with those in Armorica. The name Brennus, so often repeated in Roman and Grecian history, is derived from Bren-

nin, which in Cymraeg means a king or chief; *i. e.*, when these Romans and Grecians enquired who he was, were answered he was the "Brenhin,"—the king or chief. St. Jerome also testifies that "the dialect of the Tectosages was the same as that of Treves," the capital of Belgium.⁵⁴

Another instance of the Gauls in Italy, mentioned by Livy,⁵⁵ should not be overlooked in this connection; being connected with the name of the Senones, a name equally known and celebrated in Britain, Gaul and Italy. They were everywhere accepted and acknowledged as Cymric Celts, and as described by Livy in the matter alluded to, must be claimed, from their mode of warfare in chariots, as specially connected with the Cymry of Britain.⁵⁶ Livy says that in the year of Rome 457, which would be 296 B. C., the Senonian Gauls came in a vast body to Clusium to attack the Roman legion and camp. In a battle which ensued between the Romans and these Senones and their Italian allies, Scipio, the proprætor, was terribly defeated, of which Livy gives a distracted and conflicting account. After that the consuls, Fabius and Decius crossed over with the Roman army to the east side of the Apennines, and came upon their enemy in the territory of Sentinum. Then another battle occurred, one of the most desperate and famous in the Roman history of that day. "The Gauls were posted on the right wing, the Samnites (their allies) on the left. Against the latter, Fabius drew up, as his right wing, the first and third legions; against the Gauls, Decius formed the left wing of the fifth and sixth." For a minute account of this terrible battle we must refer the reader to Livy; but we particularly call attention to what is said of the Gauls fighting with their chariots, which everywhere in Europe has been confined to the Cymric Celts. "Decius, more impetuous, being in the prime of life and full flow of

⁵⁴ Michelet's Hist. of France, p. 37; Am. Thierry I, 131.

⁵⁵ B. x. ch. 26—28.

⁵⁶ See Richard of Cirencester, B. ii, ch. 1, who says: "3600 [300 B. C.] The Senones, having emigrated from Britain, passed through Gaul, with the intent to invade Italy, and attack Rome." As to this see farther in ch. iv.

spirits," says Livy, "exerted whatever force he had to the utmost in the first encounter; and thinking the infantry not sufficiently energetic, brought up the cavalry to the fight. Putting himself at the head of a troop of young horsemen of distinguished bravery, he besought those youths, the flower of the army, to charge the enemy with him; telling them, "they would reap a double share of glory, if the victory should commence on the left wing, and through their means." Twice they compelled the Gallic cavalry to give way. At the second charge, when they advanced farther and were briskly engaged in the midst of the enemy's squadrons, by a method of fighting new to them, they were thrown into dismay. A number of the enemy, mounted on chariots, made towards them with such a prodigious clatter from the trampling of the cattle and rolling of the wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such tumultuous operations. By this means the victorious cavalry were dispersed, through a panic, and men and horses, in thier headlong flight, were tumbled promiscuously on the ground. Hence, also, the battalions of the legions were thrown into disorder: through the impetuosity of the horses, and of the carriages which they dragged through the ranks, many of the soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death; the Gallic line, as soon as they saw their enemy in confusion, pushed the advantage, nor allowed them time to take breath or recover themselves." Thus the battle raged; and after Decius had purposely sacrificed himself in hopes of saving the army; Fabius, on the other wing of the army, after extreme exertion and management gained a dear bought victory. This battle was fourteen years before the Romans wreaked their vengeance on that part of the Senones who had settled at Sena, by the destruction of their town and slaughter of its people.⁵⁷

The Roman power gradually increased, until it brought within its grasp the whole of Italy. Its general policy was to treat its conquered people kindly, so they paid

their usual tribute, but to the Gauls they owed a deep resentment, and especially so to the Senonians, who had captured Rome. The terrible battle of Allia and the burning of Rome were never to be forgotten or forgiven. For more than three hundred years was the strife carried on, between the Roman and Gaul, in repeated battles won and lost. But the Roman, with the advantage that civilization and the arts gave him, gradually gained until all Italy, even Cisalpine Gaul itself, were his. To the Gauls of Italy, the privileges of Roman citizens could be eventually granted; but when Sena was taken, the residence on the Adriatic of the Cymric Senones, the whole tribe living there was exterminated to avenge Allia, and so that there should not remain a single descendant of those who could boast of having burnt Rome.⁵⁸

But another day of terrible fright was fast approaching Rome. Some cause unknown produced a movement with the Cimbri, who were left behind, north of the Elbe, by their Cymric brethren when they moved south to Armorica and Britain. What produced this movement is uncertain, but several and distinct causes have been alleged. Some attributed it to some convulsions of nature by which the country became inundated and the inhabitants driven out; others, to another race of people pressing from the east, compelling them to leave; and others again, that both the Cymry and Teutons had friends at Sena, among the Senones, whose death they were determined to revenge. A residence there for about four centuries since their better informed brethren had left them, did not tend to improve them. They were reputed to be the most ferocious and war-like people that the Romans had to contend with. They were accompanied by a like number of Teutons, either as allies or confederates, and pressed on towards the Roman dominion in a vast horde of five or six hundred thousand, with at least three hundred thousand fighting men.⁵⁹ They were called the Cimbri and Teutons, and caused terror and devastation wherever they went. In

⁵⁷ See Anthon's *Class. Dict.*, 1210, title Sena.

⁵⁸ Michelet's *Hist. of France*, p. 70.

⁵⁹ Michelet, *id. supra*, p. 70.

passing through Belgium and Gaul they found some Cymry whom they claimed as brethren, and left with them some of their baggage for safe keeping; but as they passed along, the people often fled from their approach, and the country was stripped of all means of sustenance, and famine and distress were left in their course.⁶⁰ Their progress seemed to be irresistible, and having gained a number of victories, they spread terror and dismay to even Rome itself. For about ten years they vacillated backwards and forwards on the border of the Roman republic, from Noricum on the Danube to the Pyrenees and Spain, trying to overcome the difficulty of crossing the Alps into Italy. After a number of victories over Roman armies sent against them, they found themselves on the banks of the Rhone, demanding of the Romans an assignment of land to settle upon. The Romans had been for some years engaged in subjecting that part of Southern Gaul bordering on the Mediterranean to their dominion. This was called the "Narbonensis," and embraced within it Narbo and Tolosa. The latter city was a settlement of the Cymric Tectosages, and was then the wealthiest city of Gaul, having within it the rich plunder taken by their brethren at Delphi in Greece. The inhabitants of Tolosa (now Toulouse) recognized the Cimbri as brethren, and called on them to aid them in a revolt. Having thrown off the Roman yoke, the Roman Consul, C. Servilius Cæpio, stormed the town and sacked it; taking an immense booty in gold and silver; which, instead of being sent home, was fraudulently embezzled by the officers and army, before the Cimbri could come to the relief of the town. Cæpio, emboldened by his corruption and success, determined upon an immediate attack upon the Cimbri. He insulted the deputies which they had sent to him, which induced them again to swear vengeance against the Romans. A terrible battle ensued, brought on by the vanity, impudence and imprudence of Cæpio. The victory of the Cimbri was complete. Out of eighty thousand

soldiers and half of that number of camp followers and slaves, only ten men are said to have escaped, of whom Cæpio was one. The barbarians religiously kept their oath;—slaying every living creature they found, and taking the immense booty found in the enemy's camp; but with their rude virtue of the barbarian, they only selected the arms, and threw the gold, silver and useless valuables into the Rhone.⁶¹ This victory of the Cimbri was as terrible to the Romans as that of the Allia or Cannæ, and brought to their recollection what they knew of the frightful day of the sacking of Rome. The way to Rome was now opened; but the good fortune of Rome kept their enemies in the provinces west of the Alps and gave them time to breathe. In almost despair, they turned to the renowned Marius, as the only man who could save them, but whose habits and virtues were as rude as those of the barbarian. With unlimited confidence in his abilities, he was sent to the Rhone, to meet and hold in check their dreaded enemy. In the meantime the Cimbri and Teutons had separated, to take different routes into Italy; the former by a more easterly one, but the latter to take one more direct, and to meet at a given time and place on the Po. Thus each was to receive the benefit of collecting subsistence on different ways to their place of destination.

Marius was then holding the Teutons in check on the Rhone, with as large an army as Rome then could collect. With the skill of an experienced general, he for a long time avoided any general battle until he should be well prepared for the event. He spent his time in bringing the country around him into proper subjection, in disciplining his army and thoroughly preparing for the final issue. No taunt or stratagem of the Teutons could bring him to battle until he found himself ready. Secured in his intrenched camp, from which he watched his enemy—at first near Arles, then under the walls of *Aquæ Sextiæ*, (*Aix*), Marius persisted in declining battle. After much delay in this way, considerable

⁶⁰ Their movement was between 113 and 101 B. C.

⁶¹ or Michelet's *Hist. of France*, 40—41.

skirmishing was had, and a partial battle was fought, in which the Romans were victorious. Two days afterwards, Marius drew on the final engagement by means of his cavalry. The enemy, carried away by their courage in attempting to cross the river in an ill advised attack upon the Romans, were overwhelmed in its bed, while a body of three thousand Romans attacked them in the rear and completely decided the fate of the day.

In this battle Marius had entirely annihilated the Teutons; according to accounts, a hundred thousand of the barbarians were either slaughtered or taken prisoners. The valley was so enriched with their blood and bones, as to become celebrated in the culture of the vine in after times.

Marius was now relieved to go to meet the Cimbri in the valley of the Po. With great energy and resolution they had crossed the Alps amidst its snows and difficulties. The change they met upon coming to the valley of the Po was enervating and fatal to them. The wine and abundance of Northern Italy prepared them for a complete destruction by Marius. When he arrived from the Rhone, Catulus was with his army in front of the Cimbri ready for his command. "As he halted," says Godwin,⁶² "the Kymri sent a deputation to him to ask land both for themselves and their brothers, the Teutons (of whose extinction they had not yet heard). Marius replied, with sardonic irony, 'Oh! don't trouble yourselves about the Teutons; they have land enough, which they are likely to keep forever!' Perceiving that he dissembled some jest, the envoys of the Kymri threatened him with the consequence of a speedy arrival of the Teutons. 'The Teutons,' he rejoined, somewhat dramatically, 'they are here already; and caused several of their captured chiefs to be brought forth. Nothing daunted by the discovery of a fact, which was now but too apparent, the envoys retired to consult their people, who then sent a second embassy to him to ask him to appoint the place where and the time when it should

be decided to whom Italy belonged. Answering that Rome did not counsel with her enemies as to the time or place in which she might choose to defend herself, he yet condescended to indicate to them the third day thereafter, and the Rhaudian Plain as the fitting place."

For that celebrated battle, Marius had prepared his army with his usual skill. The Cimbri did not exercise equal care, as if depending more upon their great force and terrific appearance than upon skillful maneuver. They had formed their infantry in an enormous square; supported by their cavalry, fifteen thousand strong, which in appearance, according to the historians of the day, presented barbaric terror. The Romans had the advantage of the wind, and the heat of the day; and the wind and dust contributed much to the defeat of the Cimbri. The wing commanded by Marius, soon after the battle had began, fancied that the enemy's cavalry had taken flight, spurred on in pursuit, and were soon lost to the sight in the dust. The enemy's infantry, like the waves of the sea, rolled on and were broken on the centre, where Catulus and Sylla commanded; and then all became an undistinguishable mass of dust and carnage, until complete victory was acquired by the Romans. But to the heat of the day and the dust must be assigned much of the honor of the victory. When the news of the defeat reached the camp of the Cimbri all was consternation, and determination not to survive its disgrace. The women upon the approach of the enemy determined to defend themselves, and fought like the men; but when all was lost but their honor, they first killed their children and then themselves. Of their army, the most were slaughtered on the field or in the pursuit;—all who were taken prisoners were distributed among the towns as public slaves, or devoted to gladiatorial shows. Thus ended this terrible conflict, which for many years, like a frightful storm, had threatened the destruction of Rome, and of which they were now relieved, by the utter destruction of these Cimbri and their allies. To Marius was conferred all honors and praise; who was

⁶² History of France, p. 67.

hailed as the preserver of their country, and the second founder of Rome.

This defeat of the Cimbri was so complete and exterminating, and so joyful to the Romans, one would suppose that they could have afforded to forget Allia and the burning of Rome. But it was not so; after a few years of peace, that ambitious and revengeful spirit, which had decreed the destruction of Carthage, renewed the war against the Celt, and was not satisfied until Gaul was made their province and tributary. Still it may be a serious question, whether such ambitious and unjust acquisitions are not far more injurious in the end, than beneficial:—whether in the inscrutable ways of Providence such unjust and wicked deeds are not always returned with a vengeance; and whether the vaulting ambition and conquest of the Romans did not in after years induce the terrible return of the barbarian in the utter overthrow of the Roman empire, as a retributive measure of justice and providence.

In all these expeditions of the Gauls and Cimbri, tradition and history have very generally attributed them to the Cymry, and, undoubtedly, rightfully so; but then it is a question, how far the Cymry of Britain were connected with them? They have generally been considered as leaders in them. But I think this is not supported by historical facts. It was so alleged, principally from the fact that in so many instances the Greek and Roman historians alleged that the leader's name was Brennus, and brenhin in the Welsh and Cymric language was the word for king; and this etymology of the word agreed with tradition and history. But the same words were common to the Cymry of Gaul, as well as Britain; and it is believed that every one of those expeditions were raised and put in motion on the continent, as we know the first and the last of them actually were, as that started by Ambigatus and the last by the Cimbri and Teutons. Such expeditions were usually gotten up by voluntary enlistment, of all who were disposed to join them; as was the case with William the Conqueror, or the crusaders. And this

is just what we find in the ancient history of Britain, as recorded in the Triads, and repeated in tradition. The Triad is this: "In the days of Cadial there came from Scandinavia Urb Llyuddawg, son of Erin, to seek assistance in a great expedition which he had planned. And it was agreed to grant him aid, . . . thus he took away with him the flower of the nation of the Cymry, three score and one thousand; and there remained behind only children and old people, for it was through oversight that this demand was granted under an irrevocable condition. And of this mighty host there returned not one, nor of their children or posterity; for he led them as far as the sea of Greece, there remaining, in the land of Galas [Galatia] and Afena, to this day; they have become Greeks. And this was the first of the three "Unwise Armament," for thereby was the Island so greatly weakened."⁶³

This account is so entirely consistent with all we know of history, and taking into consideration the antiquity of the Triads, that it carries with it conviction of its truth. It shows that the expedition which terminated in Galatia was not of British origin, but that the Cymry of Britain furnished men for that which started from the continent, which went east as far as Galatia and never returned; but were restored, as Michelet says, "to the cradle of their ancestors."

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN INVASION BY CÆSAR.

§1—*Cæsar's Prior Operations in Gaul.*

For some years previous to the Cimbrian invasion the Romans had taken possession of some part of southern Gaul, and had commenced their Transalpine conquest. But their dominion was confined to the borders of the Mediterranean, and Narbonne and Toulouse were their principal cities. After Marius had defeated the Cimbri, for forty-three years, up to Cæsar's time, they were relieved from the apprehension of any serious enemy in that di-

⁶³ See also ante ch. 2, n. 56, Richard of Cirencester

rection, and no doubt, that during that time, Gaul and Britain opened up to the visions of the ambitious men of Rome new fields of conquest and plunder. But the east then occupied the attention of their great men, as Sylla, Pompey and others; which in Asia presented to their ambition a more inviting field, and a more luxurious and submissive conquest. But the time had now arrived when the Roman mind was turned towards the conquest of Gaul, and was lead in that arduous task by the ambition and activity of Julius Cæsar. In a vigorous war of eight years,¹ Cæsar was able, when aided by the arts and discipline of Roman power, to reduce Gaul to the subjection of Rome, against the resistance of a gallant people, who made every exertion to preserve their accustomed freedom. But neither the gallantry of her people, nor their patriotism and love of freedom could save Gaul from the consequences of the superior arts and discipline of the ambitious and unscrupulous Roman. In the native qualities and talent of the Celtic leader,—known in history as Vercingetorix (general-in-chief), the Roman found his equal; and, although unfortunate, perhaps the better man.

In the year 58 B. C., Cæsar obtained the government of the province of Cisalpine Gaul, by a vote of the Roman people, to which the senate added that of Transalpine Gaul, and he commenced one of those splendid campaigns, which, independent of other deeds, would immortalize him, and have rendered his name and that of Gaul and Britain forever famous in history. In his first campaign he found all Gaul, except the narrow border on the Mediterranean, already a Roman province, in a most distracted state either from assumed national divisions among themselves or the threatened invasion of powerful enemies on the outside. Helvetia was not Gaul, and the Rhine divided Germany from Gaul. From both of these countries invasions were imminent: and Cæsar was received into Gaul more as an ally than an enemy, on account of their do-

mestic dissensions and the threatened invasion from these neighboring countries. Just at that time Helvetia was overstocked with people, who were seeking a more extensive territory and congenial country, and determined to emigrate in a body into some part of Gaul. Cæsar opposed them; but the Helvetians, notwithstanding, made their escape from the Rhone just below Geneva over to the Saone through the gorges of the Jura mountains, and thence to near Autun, where they were finally defeated, after almost incredible exertion to accomplish their object, with much fighting and losses on both sides. The emigration started with an immense train and 386,000 people, of whom 92,000 were combatants. In the various battles and conflicts they lost more than two-thirds of their people, and were compelled to return to their old homes in Helvetia with their numbers reduced to 110,000,—less than one-third of their original number.²

Immediately upon this repulse of the Helvetians, Gaul was threatened by invasion of the Germans across the Rhine; and the Celts, grateful for the repulse of the Helvetians, were soliciting Cæsar's aid in repelling the invasion of the Germans. Taking advantage of the dissensions between some of the states in Gaul, Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, claimed some rights in Gaul, and was preparing with an immense army of both foot and cavalry to enforce his claims, had crossed the Upper Rhine, and advanced into the country fifty miles. Cæsar advanced to resist him, and required him to return, and make reparation for all the injury he had inflicted upon the allies of Rome, and bring no more barbarians across the Rhine. All negotiations proved unsuccessful, and a great battle ensued. Ariovistus was completely defeated, and his whole army put into a panic stricken retreat, in endeavoring to attain the German side of the Rhine.³ It is said he lost in this disastrous battle and retreat 80,000 men, who perished before he at-

² Cæsar's *Comm.* L. i. §21. See also Godwin's *France*, 73; 2 Bonaparte's *Cæsar*, B. iii, ch. iii. §7, p. 77.

³ Bonaparte's *Cæsar*, vol. 2, B. iii, ch. iv; *Comm. Bel. Gal.*, B. i; Plutarch, *Cæsar*.

¹ From 58 to 51 B. C. inclusive.

tained his own side of the river. The report of this glorious battle spread beyond the Rhine, and soon put an end for the present of all apprehensions of any further attacks from that quarter. Thus ended this glorious campaign; and such decided triumphs over both the Helvetians and Germans gave cause for great rejoicing at Rome, and additional renown for Cæsar, who then retired into winter quarters; returned over the Alps to Cisalpine Gaul to preside over the assembly of the states, and to prepare for the next campaign.

During the winter previous to the second campaign, the Belgæ became jealous of the great success of the Romans, and entertained great fears that as soon as Cæsar had completely gotten Celtic Gaul into his power, either by negotiation or war, they would be the next to be attacked. They therefore formed formidable leagues to oppose the Roman advances. The news of this gave just cause of alarm to Cæsar, for the Belgæ would be formidable enemies;—being surrounded by enemies on the north and east side of the Rhine, they had been kept in constant apprehension and hostilities, and inured to war. They were, consequently, the hardiest, rudest and most warlike people of Gaul. Cæsar thereupon made all preparation for the coming campaign, and to meet them. He charged the Senones and other Cymric Celts, bordering upon Belgic Gaul, to watch what they were doing and to inform him. Reports soon came that they were raising troops and assembling an army. This determined him at once to open the campaign. He had assembled an army of at least 60,000 soldiers, besides a large retinue of laborers, servants and others, and in May left Besancon, and marched directly to the territory of the Remi, who were the first Belgic people he met. They informed him that all the Belgæ were in arms—that they had formed extensive coalition with the Germans, and their Celtic brethren, by means of which the allies would be able to bring into the field an overwhelming army against him. For themselves they had refused to take any part, but the excitement was so great, they had been unable to dissuade from

their warlike projects the Suessiones and other Belgæ, who were united with them by community of origin, laws and interest.

Cæsar unintimidated by this show of opposition, marched immediately to the banks of the Aisne, the northern limits of the territory of the Remi; fortifying himself there,—sought to distract and sever the interest of the confederates, and induced Divitiacus, his tried friend, to bring the Edûans from the south to his aid; in all of which he was quite successful. After much labor, many skirmishes, battles and sieges, without any great and decisive battle, most of the Belgæ opposed to be reduced to subjection. But not so with Nervii, who, under a chief named Brodignat, or the son of Victory, rallied what he could of the confederates, and determined to maintain their ground until the last man should perish. These Nervii were the most ferocious of the Cymry; allowing no foreign intercourse, drank no wine, and accustomed to form fortifications, by weaving the branches of trees and shrubs into an impenetrable hedge. They claimed never to have been subdued. Cæsar came upon them on the Sambre where they were settling up their peculiar intrenchment, but probably unawares, for they fell upon him, while he was intrenching himself, with the greatest impetuosity and ardor. His men had hardly time to arm or put themselves in order of battle before the Nervii had put his camp in terrible confusion. A bloody hand to hand fight ensued, and twice was he on the point of losing every thing; the first time he saved himself by his own intrepidity, in snatching the shield of a wounded soldier and rushing at the head of his troops, calling to the rescue; and the second time by the seasonable arrival of his lieutenant and re-enforcement. After being almost terror stricken and overcome, his men now rallied, even the camp retainers, and turned the fate of the day. Still the Nervii, undaunted by the change of fortune, fought on like tigers. If a man in the foremost rank fell, the man behind him mounted his place and resumed the battle;

¹ Cæsar's Com. B. G. B. ii. §10. See also Mich. Hist. France, vol. 1, p. 47, ch. ii.

and when the slain were heaped up in front, those behind fought over a rampart of dead bodies. The fame that these people had already acquired for their bravery and fortitude did not desert them, and they now eclipsed that, which Leonidas and his Spartans had gained at Thermopylæ. The battle being ended, and this brave nation almost exterminated, the old men, who had been left in some safe place, with the women and children, now considered that all was lost, resolved, with the consent of all that survived, to send deputies to Cæsar, and surrender themselves. These, in reciting their calamities, said that of six hundred senators, three only remained, and that from sixty thousand fighting men they were reduced to five hundred. Cæsar, in compassion upon these brave, but unfortunate people, took them under his protection, allowing them the free use of their towns and territory, and commanding all to abstain from wrongs or injuries towards them.⁵

The last of these unfortunate people were the Atuatici, who were the descendants of the Cymbri, with whom they left much of their baggage, when passing with the Teutones on their way towards Italy. These Atuatici were on their way to aid the Nervii, when informed of their calamitous defeat; they returned home to their fortification, and made a resolute defence. Cæsar, with immense labor raised around them astonishing circumvallations, and was bringing against them movable towers, in order to surmount and enfilade their works. They now saw no hopes and sent deputies to Cæsar, begging for quarters, which he granted to them upon condition of their immediate surrender, which was done; and the same terms given to them as he had granted to the Nervii. But in the following night, these Belgians took advantage of an opportunity they thought they had for a treacherous assault on the Romans. A fight ensued, in which the Atuatici were defeated, and about four thousand slain on the spot,—the rest fleeing to the town. The next day, the gates were forced with-

out resistance, the town taken possession of, and fifty-three thousand of the inhabitants sold for slaves.⁶ In the meantime Cæsar had sent P. Crassus with a legion against the Venetian and other maritime states on the coast of Armorica. From whom Cæsar had now received messengers to advise him that all those nations had submitted to the dominion and authority of the Romans. Thus ended this war and the second campaign in Gaul.

After the second campaign had thus terminated, Cæsar departed for Italy, believing all safe for the winter. The Belgians had been overcome, the Germans expelled, and the inhabitants of the western Alps forced to submit; he thought it safe to take a progress in the beginning of winter through his dominion in Illyricum. But the submission of Gaul was only apparent or treacherous. Galba, one of his lieutenants, with a considerable army was to protect and keep open the roads in the Alpine country at the entrance to Gaul. He was soon attacked by great numbers of the people of the country. At great peril he was able to defeat them and save his command. But he soon became convinced that it was advisable to leave so dangerous a position, and remove south into the Roman province,⁷ where he would be safe. Crassus, another lieutenant, with another large detachment of troops, was stationed in Armorica, on the sea shore and in the midst of the Cymric Gauls. His officers who were sent out to forage and gather grain for the army, were resisted, and supplies refused. Cæsar upon receiving the news of this hostility, at once ordered a vigorous campaign, and instead of concentrating his forces in one body, and attacking each of the hostile localities, and bringing them into subjection one after another in detail, he ordered his troops to be divided into three divisions, to march into different parts of the country, and attack the hostile parties separately before they could combine, and before they could be fully prepared. These orders and plans

⁵ Cæsar's Com. B. G., B. ii. §28.

⁶ Cæsar's Com. B. ii. §34.

⁷ Cæsar's Com. B. ii. §34.

were carried out by his lieutenants with great ability and success. Labienus was sent with the cavalry to the frontier of the Rhine; Cassus with twelve legionary cohorts and a large body of Cavalry was ordered south, into Aquitania, to control and manage affairs in that quarter, Q. T. Sabinus at the head of three legions was to proceed to the north into what is now Normandy; and to young D. Brutus was assigned the duty to collect a fleet among the people south of the Loire, and the friendly Santones; urging upon him the greatest dispatch, and to sail with the fleet he could collect or construct, with as much dispatch as possible, to the mouth of the Loire, to operate against the Venetians. To himself, Cæsar reserved the post of the greatest opposition and danger, that of Armorica, where the Venetians were the principal people.

As soon as the season would permit, Cæsar came on with his reinforcements, determined upon the conquest of the Bretons of Armorica; and the Venetians to be the first object of his attack. These people were directly connected with those of Britain;—the same in race, language, institutions and religion; and Cæsar was constantly complaining of the sympathy and aid they offered to each other. The Venetians had made progress in the arts and in commerce, and had a large amount of shipping, which had grown up in the business and traffic between Britain and the Garonne, and the overland trade from thence to the Mediterranean. In this commercial business these people possessed a large navy, which Cæsar had determined to annihilate as a necessary measure to his operation against Britain⁸ as well as Gaul. For the purpose of meeting the Romans, the Venetians had collected not only all the shipping of their own, but all they could obtain from their allies to the north of

them, in Gaul and Britain. Cæsar foresaw the capacity of this naval power, and the necessity of meeting in order to secure the objects of his ambition; and hence his orders to Brutus. Brutus had faithfully performed the orders he had received, and had collected for his principal a vast naval power at the mouth of the Loire. In addition to the sailors he was able to collect from the coast of Gaul, the fleet was manned by officers, sailors and rowers from the Mediterranean; and the command of the whole was given to him as Admiral of the fleet. In the meantime Cæsar himself had attempted to conquer the Venetian towns by an attack of his army on the land side. But these were so defended both by nature and art that it was attended with no success. They were generally on islands along the sea shore, and surrounded by the tide water, so that it was a very difficult matter to invest them and reduce them by a siege. By land he made no progress, and became convinced that his success must depend upon the result of a naval battle. His lieutenants with their divisions in the interior of the country, had continued their success in reducing the country and bringing the people into subjection to the Roman power, yet in Armorica and the sea coast there was but little evidence of success, except what would result from the great collection of naval power at the mouth of the Loire. At the distance of but little over forty miles, the Venetians had collected their naval power, at the mouth of the river Auray and the outlet to the gulf of Morbihan. Each of these fleets was a powerful collection, and for that day astonishingly such. The season was now well spent without accomplishing much in Armorica. Cæsar became anxious, and well knew that his own success depended upon that of the fleet.⁹ The approaching naval battle, like

⁸ Strabo says, "The Venetians fought at sea against Cæsar: they had made their disposition to prevent his passage into the isle of Britain, because they were in possession of the commerce of that country." And Bonaparte in his *Life of Cæsar* says: "And on the other hand, Cæsar could not attempt the dangerous enterprise of a descent on England till after he had destroyed the fleet of the Venetians, the sole masters of the ocean." B. iii, ch. vi. See Cæsar's Com., B. iii, §7-10.

⁹ Cæsar's Com., B. iii, §12. Cæsar complains of the great difficulty he had to encounter in carrying on this war with the Venetians. Their towns being generally on the sea coast and surrounded by the tide, so that it became very difficult to take them by siege, and it at the same time gave them opportunities to escape by sea; and then says:—"In this manner did they elude all Cæsar's attempts during a great part of the summer, and that with so much more success, because our fleet was kept back by tempests,

that of Salamis, Lepanto and Trafalgar, was to decide for the time being the course of events in the civilized world. The fatal day had come and the Roman fleet went forth to attack the Venetian, which, upon seeing the Roman fleet, went forth to meet it at sea. They were still so near shore as to be in full view of Cæsar and his army; and the hills about were filled with people looking on with anxiety, and praying for the success of their friends and the salvation of their country. All knew that this battle involved the future fate of Gaul and Britain; and the Druids, in the only religion they knew, were offering their prayers to their god for the safety of their country and the freedom of their people. The two navies met, each in line, and in that order that the most skillful naval officer of this day would have exulted to have seen. The wind was off shore, and equally fair for each.¹⁰ The battle commenced in the morning about 9 o'clock, and raged with fearful strife until the night caused it to cease.

In describing the battle Cæsar himself says:—"The Venetians with about two

and found the navigation extremely dangerous in that vast and boundless ocean, where the tides are great, and the havens both few in number, and at considerable distance one from the other. For the Venetian ships were built and fitted out in this manner. Their bottoms were somewhat flatter than ours, the better to adapt themselves to the shallows, and sustain without danger the regress of the tides. Their prows were very high and erect, as likewise their sterns, to bear the hugeness of the billows and violence of the tempests. The body of the vessel was entirely of oak, to stand the shocks and assaults of the tempestuous ocean. The benches of the rowers were made of strong beams of about a foot in breadth, and fastened with iron nails an inch thick. Instead of cables, they secured their anchors with chains of iron, and made use of skins, and a sort of thin pliant leather, by way of sails, either because they wanted canvass, and were ignorant of the art of making sail-cloth, or, which is not unlikely, because they imagined that canvass sails were not so proper to bear the violence of tempest, the rage and fury of the winds, and to govern ships of that bulk and burden. Between our fleet and vessels of such make, the nature of the encounter was this: that in agility and a ready command of ours, we had indeed the advantage, but in other respects, regarding the situation of the coast and assaults of storms, all things ran very much in their favor; for neither could our ships injure them with their beaks, so great was their strength and firmness; nor could we easily throw our darts, because of their height above us; which also was the reason that we found it extremely difficult to grapple the enemy, and bring them to close fight."

N. B. Cæsar's description of the Venetian navy would lead one to imagine he was describing a British navy at an early day.

hundred and twenty of their best ships,¹¹ well equipped for service, and furnished with all kind of weapons, stood out for sea, and drew up in order of battle against us. Neither Brutus, who commanded the fleet, nor the centurions and military tribunes who had the charge of particular vessels, knew what course to take, or in what manner to conduct the fight: for they were no strangers to the strength and firmness of the Venetian shipping, which rendered them proof against our beaks; and when they had even raised turrets upon decks, yet being still overtopped by the lofty sterns of the enemy, the Romans could not with any advantage throw in their darts; whereas those sent by the Gauls, coming from above, descended with great violence on our men. In this exigence a particular kind of instruments, used by the mariners, proved of signal service, in giving a favorable issue to the combat. They had provided themselves with long poles, armed at one end with long scythes, not unlike those made use of in attacking the walls of towns. With them they laid hold of the enemy's tackle, and drawing off the galley by the extreme force of our oars, cut asunder the ropes that fastened the sail-yards to the mast. These giving way, the sail-yards necessarily came down; inso-much that as all the hopes and expectations of the Gauls depended entirely on their sails and rigging, by depriving them of this resource we at the same time rendered their vessels wholly unserviceable. The rest depended altogether upon the valor of the troops, in which the Romans had greatly the advantage.

"The enemy's sail-yards being cut down, and many of their ships singly surrounded by two or three of ours at a time, the Romans used their utmost endeavors to board them; which the Venetians observing, and that we had already made ourselves masters of a great part of their fleet, as they could not fall upon any expedient to prevent so great a misfortune, they began to think of providing for their safety by flight. Accordingly they tacked about, in

¹⁰ Bonaparte's Cæsar, B. iii. ch. vi. § iii. p. 141.

¹¹ Cæsar's Com. B. G. B. iii. § ii.

order to have the advantage of the wind. When all of a sudden so dead a calm ensued, that not a vessel could stir out of its place; nor could anything have fallen out more opportunely towards putting at once a final period to the war; for the Romans attacking their ships one after another, took them with ease, insomuch that of all that vast number that came out against us, but a very few, under the favor of the night, escaped to land, after a conflict that continued from nine in the morning until sunset."¹²

Such is Cæsar's description of this great battle, which shows at once his opinion of its great importance to him, and to the salvation of the country from a Roman conquest; and also the great advancement the natives had made in their shipping, the skill they had attained in naval affairs; and consequently, the progress they had made in all the arts; for all the arts and sciences are so connected and dependent on each other, that no great progress can be made in one direction without a corresponding improvement in all others. So that we can judge of the general progress a people have made in their condition, by knowing what they have accomplished in any one of the great departments of human industry, or the necessary arts of civilized life. A people who could show the skill and the necessary arts to bring forth such a navy as the Venetians did upon this occasion, constructed with such art and skill as Cæsar testifies to in this case, with iron cables and all the concomitant evidence of their progress in civilized life as developed here by the Venetians, in being able thus to contest with the Roman power, and its advantages, puts them in a situation which little deserves the appellation of barbarians.

This battle, so fatal to the Venetians, at once striking down their naval power and exhausting their resources of men and means, put an end to the war in that part of Gaul. The Venetians, by their misfortunes being rendered utterly helpless, surrendered to Cæsar at discretion, and only

asked for mercy. That mercy was only that of a heartless lion. Cæsar often showed generosity and kindness to a fallen enemy, but it was always dependent upon what was the best policy,—more the result of shrewd calculation of interest, than of sympathy. In this case he thought it proper to impress upon the Gallic mind an example of his power and disposition to punish his enemies, who continued obdurate to his will: he caused all the Venetian senators to be put to death, and ordered the people to be sold for slaves. This was done under pretense that they had violated international law, in the treatment of ambassadors who had been sent to them: but this excuse was more to justify himself at home, where his cruelty in Gaul had been called in question by Cato and others. But it was in accordance with the disregard he had shown for human suffering and life, and the reckless contempt for the rights of others.

This event produced discouragement and terror throughout all Gaul; in a measure terminated the war and the campaign; leaving the Roman power safe and triumphant for the season. Cæsar's lieutenants had been equally successful, after hard fought battles, in carrying the sword and fire into the towns of the natives, and slaughter and carnage among the people. And this only for the reason that these brave people claimed their freedom and a right to govern themselves.

§2—*Cæsar's Invasion of Britain.*

Cæsar commenced his fourth campaign in Gaul in 55 B. C. During all the time he had been in Gaul, he was continually making inquiries about Britain; and complaining of the Britons having furnished men and aid to the Gauls in general, and particularly the assistance they had given the Venetians in their naval operations against him.¹ They had undoubtedly furn-

¹ Whatever reason Cæsar may have given for invading Britain, we may be sure that he could readily furnish one with perfect inference as to its being true or just. Dion Cassius says: "There can be no doubt, if he had not the plea given, that he would have found another." (Hist. xl. §10.) And Professor Gibes thereupon says: "But his mighty preparations were baffled; and another hundred years were des-

¹² Cæsar's Com. B. G. G. B. III. §14 and 15.

ished some of the shipping sent them from the north in making up that naval force against the Romans. He had inquired of merchants and others about the country, but complained he could obtain no information of the size of the island, nor how powerful the nations were who inhabited it. The probability is that in some instances they did not choose to inform him, or Cæsar may, in some instances, misrepresent his difficulty.

The Britons, in the meantime being informed of Cæsar's designs upon them, and desirous of peace, sent to him ambassadors, with offers of hostages and submission to the authority of Rome. To these he gave a favorable response, but evaded making any definite arrangements, but exhorted them to maintain their peaceable intention; evidently intending to keep open the way to make a raid upon their country, when it should become convenient for him to do so.

In the meantime Cæsar was delayed in his intended blow upon Britain, by the information that a people from Germany in a vast body of 430,000 men, women and children, were crossing the lower Rhine, intending to invade and settle in Gaul. This induced a delay of his intended descent upon Britain; for he wished first to instruct the Gauls that he was able to protect them from any invasion from the other side of the Rhine, as well as to clear the sea from the opposing navy of the Venetians. This he soon accomplished by a terrible defeat and carnage of the German invaders; and driving all back again across the Rhine, that survived the terrible repulse that they had met. But to render his work more complete, he determined to strike a blow on the other side of the Rhine; and for that purpose, in ten days, built his celebrated bridge over that river, and successfully passed his army over, with the intention of satisfying the Germans that the Romans could maintain an army on either side, and to teach the Germans that the

Rhine was the line between Gaul and Germany. After making what he considered to be a proper demonstration there, having in his march burned all the houses and towns and destroyed the corn, as an usual lesson of his sense of right and justice, he returned, and destroying the bridge, which he considered to be of no further use to him. He then marched directly to the sea shore opposite to Britain, with a view of carrying out his long contemplated expedition against that country.

Although a considerable portion of the season had already been spent, yet Cæsar was determined upon the invasion of Britain, and resolved that the minor matters in Gaul should no longer delay him. For the purpose of this expedition, he had ordered the necessary shipping to be assembled at a post on what is now known as the strait of Dover; and the place is said to have been the same as is now known as Boulogne.² Here he embarked, having eighty transports, his army consisting of two legions, the 7th and 10th, being about 12,000 strong, with some galleys, which were distributed to the questor, the lieutenants and other officers. Besides these he had a cavalry force of 450, which embarked on eighteen transports at another post about eight miles to the north, which were detained by contrary winds. Being thus, himself, ready with the eighty transports and galleys, Cæsar took advantage of a favorable wind,—started on the expedition on the night of the 24th of August, about one in the morning, and arrived off of Dover about ten in the forenoon. He there saw the high white cliffs covered with hostile forces ready to receive him as they thought an invader of their country should be. He saw that at this place the sea was bound by the cliffs, so that it would be easy for his enemies, if he attempted to land, to throw their javelins upon them from above. He, therefore, considered the place unsafe for landing,—laid by until three in the afternoon, and in the meantime called a council of his officers, laid before them the information he had received from Volusen-

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tined to clasp before our brave and high-spirited ancestors bent their necks in submission to the greatest power that has ever yet been suffered to rule and tyrannize over mankind." (1) Gilles' Anc. Britons, p. 53, ch. 5.)

² Bonaparte's Cæsar, Vol. ii. B. iii. ch. 7, p. 173.

us³ informed them as to the part they were to act, and exhorted them to strict discipline, and impressed upon them the necessity of promptness in sea affairs. Then finding the wind and tide favorable, he signaled to weigh anchor, and moved north about eight miles, against a plain and open shore, where he determined to disembark.

Cæsar having arrived with his transports at the open country where he intended to land, began to arrange his debarkation.⁴ The Britons, in the meantime, having perceived his designs, sent their cavalry and chariots in advance, and followed up with the rest of their forces, intending to oppose the landing. They arrived in time to do so, and Cæsar confesses that he found the opposition and difficulty very great. The ships being large, when nearest to land were still in deep water, and when the soldiers leaped into the sea to reach the shore were still breast deep in the water. The waves, the weight of their armor, and the determined resolution of the Britons to oppose them,—boldly casting their darts, and

spurring on their horses, well trained to the service, even rushing upon their enemies into the waves of the sea; spreading terror and dismay among the Roman soldiers. Cæsar, observing this, ordered some galleys, a kind of shipping more easily governed and put in motion, to advance and attack the Britons in flank, and, by the means of their engines, slings and arrows, to drive them to some distance from the shore. This movement proved to be of some service to the Romans, for the surprise produced upon their opponents, by the unusual make of the galleys, the motion of the oars, and the playing of the engines,⁵ forced them to slacken their ardor and opposition. Still the Romans hesitated to leap into the sea, and surmount these dangers, when the standard-bearer of the 10th legion, having first invoked the gods for success, cried out aloud; "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy; for my part, I am resolved to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the Commonwealth." Upon this he jumped into the sea and advanced with his eagle; his men, encouraged by his example, exhorted each other and followed him. This was followed by all the soldiers in the other ships, while Cæsar, standing in full view on the bow of his vessel, exciting and encouraging his men. The battle was fierce and obstinate. The Romans were able by means of some light galleys to enforce when their line was in the greatest peril. The Britons performed every act of valor that heroism could suggest, to save their country from the contaminating foot-steps of a foreign foe; and rushed into the waves of the sea to meet and oppose them. But after many acts of individual valor, the force and effect of the Roman engines and the advantage of superior armors and weapons at length prevailed over patriotism and courage; and the Britons were forced to yield. But the Romans did not have their cavalry to take advantage of

³ For most of our particulars here, we are indebted to Cæsar's Commentaries, which are very generally reliable; but occasionally we meet with a misrepresentation, or a matter represented in the general when only true in the particular. Cæsar wrote to create a favorable impression at home. Generally his statements are very accurate and truthful; but sometimes he states matters for the sake of the novelty, or the sensation it would create; when he had not sufficient opportunity to know the actual truth, or to investigate the matter. Now in the case before us, he has labored to induce the reader to believe that he had been unable to obtain a reasonable amount of information about Britain and its people, either through ignorance or unwillingness of the people to divulge their information to him. This may have been true in some instances. But so far the information he could and did obtain, it was a misrepresentation. He had the information of his tried friend, Divitiacus, the Ædian as he called him, but who undoubtedly was a British Druid, whom he found with the Ædui, probably as an emigrant priest, but who it was said had ruled in Britain. (Com., B. G., B. i., §16, also B. ii., §4 and 5.) Then he had with him Cominius, who was a native of the country opposite of Britain, and without doubt knew all about Britain and its people. Then there were the merchants of Gaul and Britain, many of whom were favorably inclined to the Roman power. Also he had sent out Volusenus to obtain information. (B. iv., §21), and undoubtedly it was upon this information he changed his point of attack from Dover to eight miles north. He had also with him Mandubratius, the Trinobantean, who had fled from Britain to him. (B. v., §10.) He therefore did possess all the information about the country and people he reasonably could obtain from others and without a personal inspection. We may have other occasions to refer to this note, in relation to other matters asserted by Cæsar in his Commentaries.

⁴ August 25th. 55 B. C.

⁵ It may be it had not been for the advantage thus gained by these galleys, and the engines by them brought to bear upon the Britons, Cæsar may not have been able to land in Britain.

their retreat, for they had been detained by the adverse winds and storms.

Cæsar, having obtained full possession of the shore, established his camp in a suitable position, and fortified it in such manner as to protect at once both the men on land and the shipping. The Britons upon rallying after their defeat, concluded to sue for peace, and in this they were aided by some of the natives from the continent, who were their friends, though in the Roman service. Commius, who had been sent to them as a friend from Gaul, to forward Cæsar's interest with them, had been imprisoned as an enemy, was now liberated and joined them in their suit for peace. Upon receiving this solicitation for peace, Cæsar, under a hollow pretense, reproached them for receiving him as an enemy, when he sought to visit them in peace. Nevertheless he forgave their offense, granted their request, and required them to deliver to him certain number of hostages. Some of these were delivered, and the residue to be in a few days. While matters were in this condition, and prospects of a peaceful arrangement being accomplished, on the night of the fourth day after the battle of the landing, while the transports were lying off the shore at anchor in apparent safety, the galleys having been drawn up on shore, and all in apparent security, there came on an extremely high tide, with which the Romans were utterly unacquainted, accompanied by a terrific storm. The waves of the sea soon submerged the galleys on the beach; the fierce winds and waves broke the shipping from their moorings, dashing them against each other and the shore, and some were broken to pieces. Consternation and dismay prevailed in the Roman camp. The eighteen transports with the cavalry, which had been detained by the former storm, had attempted to cross over in the recent calm, were caught in the last storm and dispersed. All now appeared almost hopeless for the Romans; and the Britons in their prayers claimed that the heavens were coming to their relief, and to revenge their wrongs.

Cæsar at once seemed to be in want of everything. He intended from the first to

make but a short stay, and return before winter; he, therefore, had with him but a very limited amount of supplies. He now not only stood in need of means to repair, but actually in need of the means of subsistence. The Britons thought that the elements as well as their patriotism were calling upon them to arouse and make another effort to save themselves and country. They thought that if Cæsar was fully defeated with all the adverse circumstances found attending this invasion, they would be forever free from the attacks of a foreign foe. It seemed to be a favorable opportunity to cut off all supplies, and to detain the enemy on the shores without the means of retreat until winter, would be fatal to him. Then no Roman army in the future would dare to trust themselves in an invasion of Britain. The British chiefs who had been preparing to comply with Cæsar's demands, now, upon seeing his disaster, the small number of his army and the diminutive size of their camp, were induced to make another effort to save themselves from the Roman yoke. New combinations were formed for this purpose. All supplies were withheld, and intercourse with the camp withdrawn. Cæsar saw the designs of the Britons, and immediately proceeded to counteract them. His first objects were to secure provisions, and next to repair his shipping. Every day he sent a portion of his troops into the country to reap some of the grain which was left standing ungathered by the natives; and he set others vigorously to work to repair his shipping, by tearing some to pieces to obtain materials with which to repair the rest. He was soon able to dispatch a galley to the other side of the channel, for other necessary materials and subsistence. By the zeal and labor of the soldiers the shipping was repaired and put afloat again, their number only reduced from eighty to about sixty ships.

During these transactions, one day while a part of the army was out as usual foraging and another part at their labors on the repairs; and of those who were out, some were engaged in cutting and gathering the grain while others were carrying it away.

—this foraging was in the only field of grain not harvested by the natives, and not at a very great distance from camp,—none expecting an attack; but the Britons having prepared themselves for it, by anticipating it, made an attack upon them by a surprise, with their cavalry and chariots, which would have been successful and a complete rout ensued, had it not been for the fortunate relief afforded them. Cæsar was informed that there was an unusual cloud of dust rising in the direction where his men had gone foraging. He immediately suspected the cause, and ordered the troops at hand to follow him, and others to guard the camp. He found, as he anticipated, that the foraging party, which consisted very nearly of one-half of his troops, were thus attacked by a surprise and nearly overcome. It was a fierce combat in which the natives astonished the Roman soldiers by the skill and dexterity with which they conducted the attack with their horses and chariots, and nothing but Cæsar's timely arrival saved them from utter defeat. This rescue caused the Britons to withdraw and come to a stand. But it seems that Cæsar was satisfied with this repulse of the natives, and the protection of his own men, did not choose to bring on a more decided engagement, but stood on the defensive and led his men back to the camp.

The Britons still conceived that the Romans were in a critical, if not a desperate situation; collected their forces from all the neighboring states, for an attack on the camp, with the hopes of a signal victory, and freeing the country forever of a foreign foe, and of their rapacious grasp. Accordingly a vigorous assault was made, with a large body of men, horses and chariots. But Cæsar having been re-enforced, and supplied with thirty horses, which Commius had obtained for him from Gaul, thought it advisable to make a rally, and hoped in case he could defeat his assailants, he would be able to use what cavalry he had to advantage. Again the better armor and discipline of his veteran troops prevailed, and the Britons were defeated and dispersed, with great loss in the fight and in the pursuit by the cavalry. The Britons being

thus again defeated, renewed their application for terms of peace; which were favorably received, and only double the amount of hostages required.

Cæsar now, as he had previously intended, was not to winter in Britain, prepared to leave and return to the continent. He embarked all his forces and provisions, and had a prosperous voyage to the opposite shore from whence he came over. Upon Cæsar's return⁶ to Gaul, he found the country in his absence had been tolerably quiet, and his lieutenants had been successful in maintaining peace. The only notable exceptions was the attack the Morini made upon some three hundred of his men upon their landing from Britain at a different post from himself, which resulted in a severe fight; but these men were relieved by re-enforcements sent by Cæsar, who punished the Morini for this offense in his usual style. The other exception was that of some difficulty his lieutenants had with the Menapii, who evaded the Romans by retiring into impenetrable forests; but whose "territories were laid waste with fire and sword, and their habitations plundered," by these officers, who then returned to Cæsar. This ended this campaign; Cæsar complaining that only two of the British states sent hostages to Gaul as agreed upon, the rest neglecting to perform the conditions of the treaty. For these successes of Cæsar the Roman senate decreed a thanksgiving of twenty days.

If it be inquired at the end of this campaign, what good had been accomplished, the answer is palpable:—millions of people had been slaughtered; want, pain and suffering had been produced and multiplied beyond calculation; thousands if not millions of people sold into slavery; territories had been laid waste with fire and sword, and towns reduced to ashes, that Rome might boast of her empty glory, and call other countries her conquered territory: while at the same time, the growing commerce and civilization of Venetia and Britain, the vast shipping interest of the

⁶ September 12th, 55 B. C., year of Rome 609. See Bonaparte's Cæsar, Vol. 2, B. iii, ch. vii; Cæsar's Com., B. iv.

one and the tin trade of the other; the arts and science which was called in requisition in the ship building in the former country, and that which was necessarily developed in the mining interest and building chariots in the latter,—a sure guaranty of a progress and civilization of their own, were stricken down if not annihilated. Perhaps, too, that improvement, progress and civilization would have been superior to that of Rome if it had been permitted to progress. But in order that Cæsar might be great, and Rome boast of her devastation and conquest, all this progress and subjects of hope must be retarded or annihilated.

After his usual absence during the winter, in a visit to Italy and Illyria, Cæsar returned early in the season to Gaul and to a port on the British channel, then called Itius, and now supposed to be Boulogne, the same he occupied during the last campaign; still determined upon the conquest of Britain. During the winter he had ordered his lieutenants to build as many new ships as possible, and repair such as were old. He was gratified to find that these orders had been so fully performed, which enabled him to assemble a fleet of upwards of six hundred ships, of a larger size, and modeled in accordance to his own instruction, so as to be the best adapted to his purpose. While the expedition was getting ready, his attention was called to difficulties in the territory of the Treveri, bordering upon the Rhine. In his usual style, he soon settled this complication of his affairs, and hastened back to the post, from whence he was to sail upon his contemplated expedition. Here he assembled the leading men of Gaul, determined to take with him all the disaffected spirits, and leave behind him in his absence only such as he had confidence in, so as to secure the peace of Gaul, if possible, in his absence. All being now ready he embarked his troops and stores for the expedition. His army consisted of five legions, about 30,000—and two thousand cavalry, leaving with Labienus, his lieutenant, at this port three legions and the same number of cavalry, to guard and protect the place; and to gather

supplies and forward them to Britain. Having quieted Gaul, and the storms of the season having passed, Cæsar signaled the departure of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred transports and twenty-eight galleys; and with a favorable wind, set sail for the same place on the shore of Britain at which he landed the previous year. He started at sunset, and after a favorable progress, at midnight he was becalmed, and the tide carried him too far north, which he perceived at daylight. The soldiers with great zeal made every exertion with their oars to attain the intended place of landing in due time. The whole fleet arrived there about noon, and at once proceeded to land the army and stores, without any opposition from the natives, who, upon seeing the vast armament, concluded it was useless to oppose the landing, but with a large army retired from sight to some place of safety, to await a more favorable opportunity to oppose their enemies.

Having landed⁷ and selected a proper place for his camp, Cæsar began to inquire, and desirous to know, something about the army of the natives. They were this time determined to await the advance of the Romans into the country, when they knew their army must be divided, or their camp at the shore would be exposed to be taken. Having obtained his necessary information as to the situation of the opposing army, Cæsar immediately prepared to march in search of his opponents. He set out about midnight with the main body of his army, leaving at the landing ten cohorts and three hundred of his cavalry, to construct the camp and guard his shipping at anchor. These he thought would be left in safety under the command of Q. Atrius in whose skill and experience he had full confidence. During the night he marched with his forces about twelve miles, and the next day before noon came in sight of the British forces, drawn up on the opposite side of a river, advantageously posted upon high grounds, with their cavalry and chariots, ready to oppose his crossing. While the Romans were making the passage the

⁷ July 21st, 54 B. C. See Bonaparte's Cæsar, at supra p. 224.

native troops made an advantageous attack upon them from the hills;⁸ but being finally repulsed by their enemy's horse, they successfully retreated to a place near by, strongly protected both by nature and art. It was situated adjoining the woods, and all the avenues leading to it were secured by strong barricades of fallen timber. In this situation they deemed it advisable not to sally forth in a strong body of the army, but make their attack upon their enemy in small parties, which seemed to disconcert them. The Romans pushed their main body to the approaches of the works, compelling the Britons to draw within their forces, and defend themselves behind their works. But the enemy, upon finding this decided opposition, determined upon capturing the place, for that purpose they cast up a mound, from which the soldiers of the seventh legion advanced under cover of their shields, forced the intrenchments, and obliged the Britons to abandon their position. Cæsar, deeming it inadvisable then to follow their retreating forces, forbade all pursuit, for the reason, as he said, both because he was unacquainted with the nature of the country, and the day being far spent, he resolved to employ the rest of it in fortifying the camp where he was.

Early the next morning, he divided his troops into three divisions, and sent them in pursuit of the native forces. They had come up with them and just upon the eve of making an attack, when they were called back. This was caused by news that Cæsar had just received from the camp he had left on the seashore. Soon after his troops had left for the pursuit, a party of cavalry came in great haste from Atrius, to announce that in the preceding night there had been a violent tempest, sweeping

everything before it. The fleet was apparently ruined; the storm had driven almost all the ships ashore; that neither the cables nor anchors were able to stand the violence of the storm, nor could the skill of the seamen save the vessels from striking against each other and being wrecked upon the shore. All had received great damage and were in great confusion. Upon receiving this unfavorable intelligence, Cæsar ordered his troops into their present camp, and to suspend pursuit and operations in his absence; and then immediately departed for the camp at the seashore, where he found everything in the bad condition that it had been reported to him. He found forty of his ships destroyed, and the rest almost irreparable. He, however, set his men to work and the carpenters of the army to repair the shipping, and to restore things as far as possible. He also ordered from the continent to be sent to him such aid and assistance as were there to be had. To secure matters from another such disaster, he ordered his shipping to be hauled up on shore, and secured within the fortification of his camp. These works were arduous, and required the constant labor of his men day and night for the space of ten days.

These works being accomplished, and his camp here being put in a safe and satisfactory condition, Cæsar returned to his camp and troops in the country; leaving with his lieutenant, in the camp on the shore, the same troops as when he left on the former occasion. Upon his return he found the Britons had considerably increased the number of their troops; the different states in the vicinity had united and confederated for a common defense; and had conferred upon Cassivellaunus the chief command and the administration of the war. This prince was a man of great experience both in war and civil administration, and the adjoining states cordially united in conferring upon him the command in chief. His own states were situated on the north side of the Thames, at the distance of about eighty miles from Cæsar's landing.

When Cæsar attempted his forward

⁸ Beauclerc concludes that this place was what is now known as Kingston, on a little stream known as the Little Stone. *Cæsar*.

⁹ It is probable that Cæsar was much surprised with the resistance he met with here, and that the battle was much more severe than he gathered by a casual reading of his report. It is probable that the loss of many men agreed with the Romans as it was with the Britons. This resistance induced Cæsar to become very cautious. He found the Britons an overmatch for him except when he could have the advantage of his army in a body, with the great advantage of their superior armor and discipline. *Lang. Pictorial History*, p. 28.

movement again, he found the Britons everywhere watching his movements, and ready to oppose him. Although the Roman veteran soldiers with their superior armor, weapons and discipline, were overmatch to the Britons in their great battles, yet they were surprised, and put to hesitation and astonishment when they saw the skill and bravery with which the Britons managed and fought with their cavalry and chariots. In none of their other wars in the west of Europe, did the Romans appear to be so constantly upon apprehension of surprise and unexpected reverses; therefore they kept their forces well guarded from such attacks; depending for success upon their union in mass, and their discipline. Cæsar himself appears to have been greatly surprised by the number of their chariots and the skill with which they managed them in their attack and defense.

The Romans in their forward movement, by keeping themselves in compact, and well guarded masses, were able always to drive the Britons before them to the woods and fastness, but were continually under fear of unexpected reverses or attacks, in which their chariots were always conspicuous and dreaded. Though compelled to retreat before the Roman army when thus in mass, yet they were continually making their attacks, whenever a fair opportunity occurred, by the vigorous charge of their cavalry supported by their chariots. Whenever the Romans ventured too far, they were sure to be cut off, and an advantage taken of their position. Soon after the commencement of this advance, while the Romans were laboring without apprehension at their intrenchments, the Britons suddenly issued from their cover, and attacked an advance post; when a sharp and obstinate combat ensued, and Cæsar was compelled to send two cohorts to their relief. These in turn were also attacked by the Britons, and became so surprised and intimidated by their boldness and maneuvering with their chariots, in so strange a mode of fighting to the Romans; that the Britons struck and broke through the cohorts, passing and repassing through the interval in the lines,—routed

them and returned without loss. Some fresh cohorts were sent forward to their relief, when the Britons were repulsed. In this action Q. Laberius Durus, a Roman military tribune, was killed.¹⁰

“By this action,” says Cæsar, “which happened within view of the camp, and of which the whole army were spectators, it evidently appeared, that our heavy armed legions, who could neither pursue those that retired, nor durst venture to forsake their standards, were by no means a match for such an enemy: nor could even the cavalry engage without great danger, it being usual for the Britons to counterfeit a retreat, until they had drawn them a considerable way from the legions, when suddenly quitting their chariots, they charged them on foot, and by this unequal manner of fighting made it alike dangerous to pursue or retire. Add to all this, that they never fought in a body, but in small parties, and with considerable intervals between. They had likewise their detachments so placed, as easily to protect their flying troops, and send fresh supplies where needed.” This evidently was a severe battle, in which the Britons manifested much skill and management; and in which the Romans must have been surprised by the bold fighting of their opponents; and have sustained considerable loss, as clearly appears by the death of Durus.

The next day after this action the Britons took a more secure station on the hills, at a considerable distance from the Roman camp,—became more reserved, and only appeared to their enemies in small bodies, with the hopes to draw them out, where they would not have the protection of their united mass. But finding, about noon, the Romans out of their camp foraging, with three legions and all their cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, Cæsar’s lieutenant, they fell suddenly upon the foragers on all sides, and even with vigor attacked the legions and standards. After a fierce fight they were repulsed, and so vigorously pursued that they found no opportunity to rally, descend from their char-

¹⁰ See Cæsar’s *Com.* B. G. B. c. § 11; Bonaparte’s *Cæsar*, ut supra, p. 212.

iots, or face about to make a stand. This repulse produced some discouragement, by the losses they had sustained in the fight; and some of the allied Britons returned to their homes, which considerably reduced the forces of Cassivellaunus, and compelled him to remain entirely on the defensive.

Cæsar, perceiving that Cassivellaunus' forces had been reduced, and not able to make the stand and opposition he had been doing, was now determined to bring the campaign to a close. He therefore decided to pursue and attack him in his own territory. In order to do this it was necessary to march further into the interior, and cross the Thames. Accordingly this line of march was taken up, and pursued without opposition until they came to the crossing of that river. Here upon the north bank of the Thames Cassivellaunus determined to make a stand, with the hopes of a successful resistance. It was expected that Cæsar would not be able to select a more practicable ford than the one selected for him. Here on the left bank of the river the Britons had collected a considerable army with their cavalry and chariots, ready to meet their foe. They had fortified the bank on their side of the river with stakes and pickets; and a large number of stakes were also driven into the river under water, so as to obstruct the ford and render it dangerous. Cæsar upon coming up to the river, was informed of all this preparation to obstruct his crossing, by some prisoners and deserters, he therefore ordered his cavalry to cross the river, either above or below, and attack the Britons in flank and distract their attention, while the infantry cross the river at the ford and attack them in front. The Roman soldiers accomplished their orders with great resolution. The men crossed the river where the water was breast deep, removed the stakes and pickets, under showers of their opponents' weapons. The Britons were now placed between two attacks—the cavalry on one side and the residue of the Roman army on the other; they found it impossible to withstand this shock,—abandoned their position, and fled.

This defeat so discouraged Cassivellaunus

and his men, that they came to the conclusion that they could no longer keep the field; he disbanded the main portion of his army,—retaining only four thousand chariots¹¹ and a select body of men, to watch the movements of his enemy, always keeping at a distance and sheltering himself in the woods and inaccessible places. The inhabitants on the route also sought such retreats and security for themselves, cattle and property, and thus generally kept out of the way of the enemy. Still Cæsar did not find himself either at ease or in safety while in the country; for he himself says: "If at any time our cavalry ventured upon a free excursion into the fields,¹² to plunder and lay waste the country; as he was perfectly acquainted with the roads and defiles, he would sally from the woods with some of his chariots, and fall on our men, dispersed and in disorder. These frequent alarms obliged us to be much upon our guard; nor would Cæsar suffer the cavalry to remove to any distance from the legions, or to pillage and destroy the country, unless where the foot was at hand to sustain them." This would induce the belief that the war was becoming not very satisfactory for either party. It would also appear that Cæsar thought that "to pillage and destroy the country," were the legitimate objects of a war; and a commendable operation, whenever it could be safely done, without incurring too much risk and danger from their opponents.

In the meantime Cæsar was taking advantage of the opposition and dissension existing between the different states. Some time previous there had been a war between Cassivellaunus and his neighboring people, the Trinobantes, a powerful state, in which their chief had been killed; and his son, Mandubratius, a prince who claimed to succeed him, had fled to Cæsar on the continent, soliciting aid to be restored and to revenge his father's death. With the influence of this young prince, the Trinobantes were induced to send deputies to of-

¹¹ Cæsar's *Comm.* B. G. B. v. §15.

¹² Cæsar's *Comm.* B. G. B. v. §15. Bonaparte's *Cæsar*, *ut supra*, p. 210.

for their submission, and demand the young prince as their king. These the Roman received kindly, and consented to their requests, at the same time exacting of them forty hostages, and grain for the use of his army. This dissension among the Britons, and the favorable reception of the Trinobantes induced other neighboring states to follow their example. These gave to the Romans their aid and assistance; and especially the information which Cæsar was desirous of obtaining. In addition to pledging their submission, they informed him that the capital and depot of stores of Cassivellaunus were not far off, situated in and protected by woods and marshes, where a great number of his men and cattle were retired and protected.

This information induced Cæsar to strike an immediate blow in that quarter, and thither he marched with his legions. He found the place apparently strong, both by art and nature:—fortified by a ditch and rampart. Nevertheless he resolved to attack it in two several quarters, which were successful. The Britons, after a stand for some time and a sharp conflict, were obliged at last to give way and retreat to some other place of safety. This defeat was attended with great loss; for a vast number of cattle were taken in the place, and in the retreat many of the Britons were either taken as prisoners or lost their lives.

While these transactions were passing north of the Thames, Cassivellaunus had dispatched messengers to Kent, which was then under the government of four different states, and their respective kings or chiefs. These were ordered to collect their forces, and fall suddenly upon the Roman naval camp. The attack was accordingly made; but the men sallied out in great force, defeated them, with great slaughter, and took Cingetorix, one of their kings and leaders, prisoner. This diversion was, therefore, entirely defeated without any good result. Cassivellaunus, upon the receipt of the news of this late disaster, became so discouraged by so many losses, the devastation of his territory, and especially the revolt and disaffection of so

many of the provinces, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, with the mediation of Comius, to sue for peace. Cæsar now began, in the midst of his successes, to appreciate his difficulties. The Britons, notwithstanding their reverses, were showing stubborn opposition to coming under a Roman yoke; and were never so far subdued and dejected as that they could not arouse themselves and rally, whenever an opportunity offered itself, to recover their independence and freedom. The season was coming too near its close to hope for the termination of the war before winter; and a winter campaign in the midst of such opposition from the people, and difficulty in obtaining subsistence, would be highly unfavourable, and encourage a protracted war. He reflected also upon the difficulties he might encounter upon the continent;—their stubborn opposition and frequent commotions. These matters induced him to wish some settlement, by which he could plausibly withdraw and return to Gaul before winter. He therefore listened to Cassivellaunus' proposition for peace with great complacency and upon the most favorable terms. He only required hostages, a certain annual tribute to be paid to the Roman people, and that Cassivellaunus should refrain from all hostilities upon Mandubratius and the Trinobantes.

These terms being settled, Cæsar immediately returned to his shipping, glad of an opportunity, without the appearance of a positive defeat, to return to Gaul with his army before winter would set in. On returning to his shipping he found it repaired, and ready for him. He ordered it to be launched and prepared for his embarkation. The number of his transports having been much reduced by the injuries received in the late storm, and the number of his army and prisoners being so great, he at first intended to pass over in two voyages; but fear of the equinox, and the great delay it would cause, induced him to change this arrangement and to pass over at one trip. He found he could do so by risking the loading of his transports heavily; and the great good luck his shipping met with in passing the channel, induced

him to venture it. Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by an extraordinary calm, he set sail about ten at night, and by daybreak brought his whole fleet safe into his destined port in Gaul.

At this time Cæsar had been in Britain about sixty days;¹³ and in the former expedition about eighteen days. He was now compelled, whether he so intended it or not, to bid that country a farewell forever. The whole must have been a great disappointment to him. He gained nothing, except having seen the country,—having landed on its shore, and the last time, was able to march into the country about one hundred miles and back. Took no booty except, perhaps, some inferior pearls.¹⁴ Witnessed some hard fighting, and as an adversary, admired and eulogized the vast number of chariots the Britons were able to bring into the field; and the skill and art with which they were constructed and managed. The expeditions cost him a good many ships, and men lost in battle; with a thorough conviction that the island was not to be gained in one battle, but defended by a people whose endurance, spirit and perseverance would enable them to arise once more, as often as stricken down in battle. It is true he slaughtered many of their people; destroyed and consumed many of their cattle and property; burned and destroyed some of their towns and many of their houses; but then, in those

days, this was looked upon by the Romans as the evidence of victory and gain.

When Cæsar left Britain the last time, whether he had changed his determination as to the conquest of that country and considered it not worth the cost; and abandoned the idea he had entertained in his mind for some years, at all hazard to conquer it; or for the present to delay that object with a determination to return to it at some more convenient time, we do not know. But however that may be, it is certain that for the next three years Gaul gave him enough to do in keeping down that spirited and brave people; in subjecting them to Roman rule; and his subsequent time was too much occupied in his civil and domestic war to think again of the conquest of Britain. Although he and his friends, and the Romans in general, had an exalted idea of the glory and gain in the acquisition of that country; yet from the time that Cæsar left it in 54 B. C. to 43 A. D.—ninety-seven years—when Aulus Plautius by orders of the Roman emperor, Claudius, again invaded it, Britain was left to itself free from any foreign invasion.

§3—*Cæsar's Final Operations in Gaul.*

The intimate connection that the Britons had with Celtic Gaul, and the immediate relation that Cæsar's invasion of the latter country had with the former, have induced

¹³ From July 21st to Sept. 21st, 54 B. C., and the year 700 of Rome. See Bonaparte's *Cæsar*, p. 224, vol. 2d.

¹⁴ It is interesting and curious to peruse the correspondence (as stated by Mr. Giles, 1. Ancient Britons, 54, &c.) which passed at this time between Cæsar and his officers in Britain, and the orator Cicero and friends at Rome. It then took from four to six weeks for a letter to pass; and much anxiety and curiosity was manifested at Rome as to the result of the expedition against Britain, then but a little known island. Their principal solicitation and anxiety were to know the prospect for "booty;" very much as it was formerly with the British army in India, as to "looting." In one of Cicero's letters to his brother, Quintus, in the army with Cæsar, there is a sentence more commendable and consistent with his character, and humanity, than the rest. He says: "How delighted I was to receive your letter from Britain! For I had great fear about you from the sea and the rugged coast of that island. There were other circumstances of equal importance to influence me, but they raised rather my hopes than my fears. What a noble subject you now have for employing your pen! What descriptions you may now indulge in about the things and the places you have seen; their situations, the tribes you have been amongst, their manners, and the battles you have been in." Every

reader will now participate in the sentiment; and regret that we now have not such letters describing Britain as it then was; as a modern letter writer would describe it; not only where Cæsar saw it, but in those older parts,—the Isle of Wight, the neighborhood of Portsmouth, and the valley of the Avon, and of course Stonehenge and Avebury.

But these Roman letters were filled with anxiety about the booty and gain which were to be obtained from Britain, rather than such objects of humanity;—rather allusions to the hopes of plunder, than to a description of the country and its people. Even the great Cicero expresses his fears, "that there is not a scruple of gold or silver in the island, and no hopes of making booty, except from slaves; and I fancy you hardly expect to find any scholars or musicians among them." And also, "The country had been reduced to submission, hostages were delivered, and though no booty had been amassed, they had imposed payment of money on the natives." "Take care that after you have so often cautioned others, that you are not taken by surprise yourself, by one of the British war-chariots." "If there be no gold nor silver in Britain, I advise you to catch one of their chariots, and come back amongst us as soon as you can." These letters disclose the motives and sentiments that actuate the Romans in their attempts upon Britain.

the narratives of his campaigns in Gaul, and the same reasons will compel us to follow him in the three following campaigns, until that gallant people were compelled to settle down with their country as a Roman province.

Cæsar's absence from Gaul while in Britain, did not in the least tend to reconcile its people to a Roman rule. Dissatisfaction and a sense of the injustice and oppression they endured, kept them constantly in a spirit of revolt, with the hopes that they would yet be able to drive out their oppressors. Upon his return to the continent, this disaffection was so great that war was ready to break out anew in various places. The difficulties were so great, and the spirit of revolt so imminent, that he dared not during that winter take his usual trip to Italy. Soon after his return, with the hopes of reconciling affairs, he called an assembly of the notables of Gaul to meet him at Amiens (Samarobri-va); and to awe the people, he quartered his legions in various places of the greatest danger, within a circle of a hundred miles north of the Seine and southwest of the Rhine, so as to be within striking distance of each other in case of difficulty; and to enable themselves the easier to obtain supplies; making his own headquarters at Amiens. Notwithstanding these precautions great difficulties arose; first to the north with the Carnutes—whose headquarters were where Chartres now is,—one of the most important states of the Cymric Celts, which required great address to quiet it; but still greater difficulty arose to the north among the Belgæ. To meet this a large force was sent under Sabinus and Cotta, two generals in whom Cæsar had full confidence, to the Eburones whose territories were between the Meuse and the Rhine. There they were soon encamped and apparently safe, when they found the people of the surrounding states roused against them, and unexpectedly besieging their camp. While in the difficulty of their situation, a controversy arose between the two generals as to what was best to be done,—Sabinus contending they should abandon their camp and retreat to

the nearest legion while they could, and before the enemy should receive all the reinforcements they were expecting. Cotta, for various reasons and upon general principles, contended they should defend their position to the last, or until they should receive orders from Cæsar. Sabinus' opinion prevailed, and the next morning at day-break the garrison started out to join the nearest legion, under the command of Q. Cicero. They had not proceeded far on their way, when in a defile between high hills, covered with woods, with a stream of water running through it,—all favorable for an ambuscade, they were surrounded by their enemy at a very great disadvantage. They were surrounded on all sides, and the fight soon became desperate. Sabinus became greatly alarmed and appeared to lose all confidence in himself, though he continued to order and do his duty. Cotta having foreseen the difficulty of their undertaking, neglected nothing for their general safety, did everything in his power both as officer and soldier in the ranks. The fighting and their situation became so desperate, that the baggage was abandoned, and a circle formed for their defense. Whenever the cohorts made a charge upon the barbarians they were quite successful, and made great slaughter. This being perceived by their commander, Ambiorix, a native of great skill and experience, having been much with Romans, he ordered his men to keep at good distance, to fight with their missile, to retreat as the Romans advanced, and attack them in turn as they retreated. This mode of fighting proved a success to the Belgæ, and discouragement to the Romans. The battle was thus continued with desperate fighting from early in the morning to the middle of the afternoon, while as yet nothing was yielded or done unworthy of a Roman soldier. But by this time they had lost many of their men. Several of their best officers were either killed or desperately wounded; and Cotta, himself, was severely wounded in the mouth by a blow from a sling. A parley was now held. Ambiorix offered to grant a conference and pledged himself to use his influence to

spare the Romans, and no hurt should be done Sabinus. Upon this the latter proposed to Cotta to leave the battle and go to confer with Ambiorix. Cotta absolutely refused to treat with an armed enemy; and persisted in his resolution. Sabinus and some of the officers went over to Ambiorix, to hold a conference. Upon request they laid down their arms and a conference was begun. Some altercation took place, while in the meantime they were surrounded by the barbarians and slain. The latter now with great shout fiercely attacked the Romans, who defended themselves with vigor. Cotta, fighting to the last, was slain. A great slaughter ensued, and only a remnant of them succeeded in making a retreat back to the camp they had left in the morning. Here they were again attacked, without the hopes of escape. In their desperation, in the course of the night, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies, they killed each other. Only a few made their escape from the fight, and carried the news to the nearest Roman camp.

This probably was the most disastrous affair of the war. Its success enabled Ambiorix to arouse the Belgæ in a determined resolution to free the country from the Roman yoke. An immediate attack was made on several camps before Caesar could be informed of the late disaster. The nearest camp for Ambiorix to attack was that of Cicero, in the territory of the Nervians, which he immediately besieged, holding out every inducement to surrender, and boasting of the success of his operations against Sabinus. To this Cicero only replied that the people of Rome did not treat with an armed enemy, but if they would lay down their arms he would send ambassadors to Caesar, from whose justice they might reasonably expect redress. This only called forth greater efforts to forward the siege; and to circumvolute the camp with a fosse fifteen feet deep and a rampart eleven feet high, such improvements were these natives able to make in the art of war. They next built numerous towers from which to overlook and enfilade the camp, and set fire to the barracks. After more than a week of extreme exertion

made on both sides in the attack and defense, with extreme difficulty notice of the situation was sent to Caesar, who immediately ordered all the forces he could spare, and hastened to the relief of the besieged camp. When within a few miles of the camp, the Nervians having received information of his approach, immediately raised the siege and proceeded with an army of sixty thousand or more to attack Caesar unawares on the way. He immediately prepared to receive them, and fortified himself in a camp; and he himself now became besieged. Here every art and strategy were used on either side to obtain the advantage. The natives had overwhelming advantage in numbers; Caesar therefore abided his time, fortifying his position with great labor and security; determined to wait for the time when he could make an attack on his enemy with certainty of success. That time soon came. He pretended to be very fearful of the consequences of his situation in order to draw his enemy on to make an incautious attack. One morning their cavalry crossed the valley and brook that lay between them and attacked the Roman horse. These were ordered to withdraw as though in great fear. This so invited the natives that they crossed over in a great body, and were posted in a very disadvantageous position, and in the most contemptuous manner attacking the camp, as though those within were afraid to come to a battle; and daring them to do so. But when they had been entirely deceived by this counterfeit fear, Caesar at once sallied out by all his gates, and charged them briskly with his cavalry, and put them to such precipitate flight that they ceased to make any resistance and fled in a panic. Great numbers were slain, and the rest threw down their arms. He was then soon able to join Cicero in his camp; and was struck with astonishment at the entrenchment, towers and other works that the natives had constructed for the purpose of carrying on the siege.

A number of other similar attempts were made by the Northern Gaul or Belgæ, during this winter, to defeat the Romans and

drive them from the country, which after great exertion turned out to be fruitless. They became discouraged, and a calm in the affairs of the country followed. Before the close of winter Cæsar called another meeting of the principal noblemen of every state to attend him. Some accordingly attended, which had its good effect; but others refused, and became refractory, who were soon compelled to submit with great loss, so that before spring Gaul became in a measure quiet for the season.

For the next campaign Cæsar anticipated troubles, and therefore made arrangements in Italy to recruit, and to greatly strengthen his force in Gaul. Belgic Gaul was giving him great trouble in reducing them to submission, and settling the affairs of the country in accordance with Roman wishes. The Treveri, whose territory bordered on the lower Rhine, were making arrangements for further resistance, and this time negotiating with some German states over the Rhine for a large body of horsemen to come to their assistance. Other neighboring states uniting with the Treveri in preparing for resistance, induced Cæsar at an early day in the season to open the campaign before this coalition could become ready, and crush it in its preparation. He fell upon them before they could assemble in a body for defense, or secure themselves by a retreat; and having carried off a great number of men and cattle, enriched his soldiers with the booty, and laid waste the country; he compelled them to submit and give hostages and then led back his legions to their quarter.¹

During this campaign revolts were continually breaking out in various directions, in which it appeared often as though all Gaul,—the Gaulic, Cymric and Belgic states were united as one people—determined upon resistance and freedom. But the like measures on the part of the Roman general produced the like results, compelling the people to submit and sue for peace. His activity seemed to meet every emergency, and carry him in all directions at

once. At one time he is found, having assembled a diet at Paris, then an infant city, endeavoring to reconcile the people to Roman rule; at another flying into one of the divisions of the country, devastating with the sword and fire, in subduing a revolt; and still at another time he is again found crossing the Rhine to chastise the Germans for the aid they furnished the Gauls. This activity and the resulting cruelty with which he punished the revolts, compelled the people to a temporary submission; but the fire was only smouldered—not quenched. At the end of the campaign a calm, an apparent peace, was produced, which enabled Cæsar again to return to spend the winter in Italy.

The approaching campaign—the seventh of Cæsar in Gaul, became at once the most terrific of either, and also the most interesting in history, for the astonishing effort made by the Gauls for the recovery of their independence and freedom. One would suppose that Roman supremacy had already crushed out all energy and vitality from the Celtic race. Armorica, with her (Venetian) great progress in commerce and civilization, had been crushed with her immense shipping; which, at the time appeared to be able to cope with Rome and to call forth such progress in the arts and civilization, was no more,—her senators slaughtered and many of her people sold into slavery.² Belgic Gaul, with brave and ruder determination, were again and again stricken down, with their country devastated with fire and sword,—a large portion of her people either slaughtered or sold into slavery. Such misfortune and adversity would seem to leave no hopes; but it was not so, for southern Gaul—the old Gaulic Celt—was now to be aroused anew. They had already made efforts to resist, but had been somewhat divided. Now a recurring sense of their wrongs was again rallying them to an union and new efforts to expel the cruel and relentless invaders.

A native Arverni,—a southern Gaul,—a young man of extraordinary gifts of nature, and of equal social position, whose

¹ Cæsar's Com., B. vi. §2.

² Cæsar's Com., B. iii. §10.

name we do not know, but whom Cæsar calls Vercingetorix (in Celtic, general-in-chief) comes forward to unite and call his people to action. He is eloquent and winning,—intelligent, wise and sagacious,—endowed with extraordinary personal attraction, and seemed by nature called to lead and control great events for his race and people. With burning eloquence he denounces the ambition, cruelty and wickedness of Rome, and in vivid pathos called to mind the injustice and tyranny of their oppressors, and their own undoubted right to their self-government and freedom. From the hills and valleys of Gaul—from the Cevennes to the Seine he aroused with a new ardor the natural enthusiasm of his people,—uniting, in his holy cause, the Gallic and Cymric Celt without distinction, and rallied all to a revolution to sacrifice everything,—wife, children and home, and even life itself;—to regain their independence and freedom; and drive their oppressors from the land. The Carnutes and Cenomani, and their Druids forgot their prejudices, and united with the Arverni as brethren of one people and race, under the inspiring patriotism of this heaven-born leader.

Outside circumstances favored their combinations. News was received that Cæsar was meeting with great dissension at Rome, which was likely to break out in civil war; and would not be able to return, at least with his expected re-enforcement. The plan of this Gaulic chief was to attack at once the Roman Province in the south, and the quarters of the legions in the north. Measures were taken to secure this result before the breaking up of the winter. Cæsar was informed of these measures, and at once took steps to anticipate and thwart them. He was immediately in Gaul, crossing the Cevennes in snow six feet deep. He appears with his troops unexpectedly in the midst of the Arverni. The rapidity of his movements brought consternation with it. The Arvernian chief was at the north, and his people prayed for his return to their defense.

This bold and rapid movement of the Roman general enabled him to command his position: who,—placing his garrison in Arverni in a good state of defense,—proceeded to collect his other forces, and went north attacking, besieging and taking one town after another. This produced a change of the plan of operation at the instance of the Arvernian chief. He urged upon the people the policy of burning every town, desolating the country where their enemies were, so that the Romans could obtain no supplies. This terrible though patriotic resolution was carried into effect by these devoted people, as the only means of counteracting the skill and machinery wielded by the Romans. Accordingly in one day were seen twenty towns and villages of the Bituriges wrapt in flames and levelled with the ground by their own patriotic people. Other states followed the example. But at the earnest prayers of the Bituriges, their capital, Avaricum (the modern Bourges), was spared, contrary to the advice of their patriotic chief, for they recoiled from the sacrifice of their fairest city,—“the bulwark and ornament of their state.” Being stored with corn and other supplies, it would be a great prize in the hands of their enemies. For this prize a siege of extreme labor and fierceness was commenced by the Roman general. All the art and skill in the attack and defense of a fortified town were used and exhausted on both sides. Cæsar testifies that their own efforts were “in a great measure rendered ineffectual, by the address and contrivance of the Gauls. For they are a people of singular ingenuity, extremely quick of apprehension, and very happy in imitating what they see practiced.”⁴ After such a siege of about thirty days, when every man on both sides were almost exhausted, the town was taken, in a night, in the midst of a tempest of rain, by storm. To the horrors of that night must be added that of the slaughter that followed. Of the forty thousand inhabitants of the place, only eight hundred⁵ made their escape from the sword of their vindictive conquerors. Those who es-

³ See Goldwin's France, p. 61; Mich. let's France, B. I. ch. 2, p. 60.

⁴ Cæsar's Com. B. G. B. vii. § 21.

⁵ Cf. supra, § 27.

escaped made their way to the camp of Ver-
cingetorix, not far off. The Romans found
in Avaricum plenty of corn and other pro-
visions, which gave them great relief. It
was now evident that the Bituriges com-
mitted great error in not following the ad-
vice of their chief,—in neglecting to burn
Avaricum with their other towns. But
even this disaster tended to raise their es-
timation of the wisdom and sagacity of
their general.

The taking of Avaricum required new
efforts to be made, to sustain the resolution
of the Gauls under such misfortune. The
address and sagacity of Vercingetorix was
able to accomplish this. He represented
to his people that their misfortunes were
the result of the bad policy of attempting
to defend the town instead of burning it.
Where the Romans had the advantage was
in being better acquainted with sieges, and
the use of engines to aid them in their
operations; but in courage and bravery
they were not superior. He showed the
reasonable hope of uniting all Gaul in a
general confederacy against their common
enemy; and against their united strength
the whole world would not be able to pre-
vail.

Cæsar next attacked Gergovia, the prin-
cipal town and depot of the Arverni. A
siege here was commenced and conducted
with equal exertion and ability on both
sides with that of Avaricum, but which
the Roman general was eventually induced
to give up; being compelled to relieve and
protect other important points. The
Æduans had long been the allies of the
Romans, and were now sympathizing with
their countrymen, in their noble efforts to
preserve their independence. Cæsar and
the Arvernian chief were exerting equal
skill and address in keeping the Æduans
in their several interests with very divided
success. In the meantime revolts to the
Roman interest were becoming alarming
in the north of Gaul. While Cæsar was
operating amidst the Arverni, Lemovices
and other states in the the south,—the an-
cient Gauls,—Labienus was sent with a
large army to the north amidst the Car-
nutes, Senones, and other states of Cymric

Celts,⁶ with instructions to quell such re-
volts and keep them in subjection. His
first operation was against Lutetia, then a
town of the Parisians, confined to an island
in the Seine, now Paris. In this expedi-
tion great opposition was encountered,
but the skill and stratagems of Labienus
succeeded in accomplishing his objects.

After various expeditions, battles and
skirmishes, in which, against great efforts
and opposition, the experience and skill of
the Roman veterans gradually won its way.
In these battles Vercingetorix and his peo-
ple left no means untried either in the at-
tack or defense; but still in many of them
they had sustained great losses, and in some
instances terrible slaughter; in which the
Romans were aided by a large body of
German cavalry, who as mercenaries had
been brought into the Roman service, were
active instruments in perpetrating these
slaughters when an opportunity offered.
Amidst some reverses the Arvernian chief
thought it best to retreat to Alesia, an ap-
parently impregnable fortress, situated on
the top of a high hill near the head of the
Seine,—a place strong by nature, washed
on two sides by streams, and now still
stronger by art. Here Cæsar besieged his
indefatigable opponent, and the operations
in its attack and defense, became the cul-
minating point in the final conquest of
Gaul, and as a war scene the wonder and
admiration of the world. The chief dis-
missed his cavalry to various parts of Gaul
calling his people to the rescue, and for re-
enforcements and supplies. Within the
defenses of Alesia the Gauls had a very
large army; but the Roman general did
not hesitate to invest it. Here probably
the chief committed a great error, and
violated the plan and principles of his own
operations, in permitting himself thus to
be cooped up, instead of operating in the
field, wasting the country around his oppo-
nent, and destroying his supplies. In
the decision he had made he risked the
final destiny of Gaul in the result of this
single siege. But at this day we cannot

⁶ See i. Michelet's *Hist. of France*, 30. "Political
State of Gaul, 155 B. C." See also, p. 45, "Gallic
Campaigns of Cæsar, 48-49 B. C."

know all the arguments or motives that operated on his mind to produce so great a change in his plans. We only can judge and condemn from superficial appearances.

But the siege and its gigantic operations, on both sides, immediately commenced. No place for a fortress could have been better selected with a chance of success; and nothing was left undone that art could invent to strengthen its natural defenses. The chief appears to be equal to his task, so far as talent and ability were concerned; but the genius and uniform success of Cæsar was against him. The Romans circumvallated the town and camp with vast works; consisting of three ditches each fifteen or twenty feet wide, and as many deep; a rampart twelve feet high, and eight smaller fosses, with their bottoms bristling with pointed stakes, and palisades of five rows of trees with their boughs interlaced. Outside of this, at some distance from the town, so as to inclose a circumference of fifteen miles, was constructed a counter work of similar erection to defend against any outside attacks; and all this was finished in less than five weeks, by an army of not over sixty thousand men.

In the meantime, while the garrison, consisting of eighty thousand men, were constantly fighting and counteracting these works, the states of Gaul were responding to their call, and sending to their aid 280,000 men levied from the different states. The garrison was now upon the point of famishing, on account of the exhaustion of their supplies; and being compelled to resort to feeding upon the flesh of the dead; when a joyful cry was heard, running from rank to rank, that the expected army on the outside had arrived. These, with the ardor of that people, were throwing themselves upon those outside works of the Romans in an unremitted attack for three days and nights, in vain endeavors to carry them. In the repulse of each attack, a terrible slaughter ensued, in which the German cavalry acted a prominent but unenviable part. So this expected relief proved a failure. These repulses, dispersion and

slaughter filled the besieged with utter dismay and despair.

In their despair the brave defenders were about to send an embassy to Cæsar to negotiate terms of surrender. Vercingetorix, still preserving his mind and magnanimity, though his hopes were withered, offered to surrender himself to Cæsar as a ransom for his people. Cæsar, less magnanimous, demanded an unconditioned surrender of all. Being conscious of having been the active mover of the war, and still anxious to do all in his power to favor and relieve his people, the Gallic chief clothed himself in all the gay armor of his rank, and mounting a gallant steed, splendidly caparisoned, he gallops off to Cæsar, sitting on his tribunal in the midst of his camp, dismounts and casts his armor and weapons at the feet of the Roman general, without uttering a word. He was taken a prisoner and sent to Rome. What was the ultimate fate of this gifted and great, but unfortunate man, is not for a certainty known. But it is reported that six years afterwards he was compelled to grace a triumphal procession for Cæsar, and by him ordered to be put to death. If this report were true, it should have consigned the latter to everlasting infamy.

The war for the subjection of Gaul culminated in the siege of Alesia. The Gauls still continued the war in a fitful and hopeless exertion to worry out their enemies, and expel them from the country. During the remainder of this season, and the next, which was Cæsar's eighth and last campaign, he continued his usual activity to bring the war and conquest to a close, in which he was ultimately entirely successful. After this was apparently accomplished Cæsar changed his policy towards the Gauls; and by kindness and favors shown them, he succeeded in making them fast friends; and discovered that a brave people are often easier lead than conquered. After a time Gaul recovered from the terrible devastation it had suffered during the war, and by their wonderful genius and talent, they became one of the most prosperous provinces of the Roman empire.

⁷ See Cæsar's *Com.* B. vii. ch. 67; also Bonaparte's *Cæsar*, Vol. 2, B. iii. ch. 10, §12, p. 349.

§4—*The Period After Cæsar's Invasion.*

Britain, from the time Cæsar abandoned her shore, until she was again invaded by command of the emperor Claudius, a period of nearly a hundred years, was left free from foreign invasion.¹ During this long time her inhabitants were permitted to enjoy their country, and their natural rights unmolested by robbers or plunderers from abroad. The severe reception given by the Britons to Cæsar was a wholesome lesson to those who succeeded him. Although the Roman people were generally disposed to laud Cæsar's exploits in Britain, yet intelligent men looked upon them as empty of gain, and that Cæsar had only touched her shores, and had seen no important part of the island; the fame and the importance of the expedition is greatly diminished. Such was the opinion of Tacitus and others.² When it is taken into account,—the character of Cæsar and his usual success in turning to his own advantage whatever he touched,—the great armament he fitted out for his final conquest, no less formidable than that of the Norman conqueror, with troops so superior—the best the world ever saw, those who had gained such victories

in Spain and Gaul,—the veterans who were to conquer at Pharsalia, and overrun Asia, Egypt and Northern Africa, under the same Cæsar, it is no wonder, that no Roman of that time was willing to repeat the enterprise. They were unwilling to undertake where Cæsar could not gain any fruit from his victories, nor a foothold in the country; where he found the people so able, determinate and persevering in battle, and dangerous to be pursued when beaten. These considerations gave the Britons peace for that long lapse of time, and kept the conquerors of Gaul on their side of the channel.

This peaceful period was well improved by the Britons in renewing their commerce with Gaul, and other parts of the commercial world; and in making a general progress in civilization. The Cymric navy which had been stricken down with the Venetians was now renewed and built up on the shores of Britain.³ London was a commercial city before Cæsar's time, who was led off from seeing it by the demonstrations made south of it by Cassivellaunus. We learn both from Cæsar and Tacitus that the towns were numerous; as were also the houses scattered through the country; many of which, Cæsar informs us, were burnt and destroyed by him.

The country was divided up between numerous tribes, and nationalities of various sizes; governed by a king, prince, or chief, whom they called Brenhin. Each chose their own independence and self-government in this form, rather than a consolidation, as most conducive to their freedom and happiness. But still they were subject to a federal union, for the purpose of promoting their general interest and welfare, and secure themselves against foreign aggression. For this purpose, in their General Assemblies, they selected or appointed one of their most prominent princes the president or generalissimo of the whole,—called by them, the Pendragon;

¹ From 54 B. C., to 43 A. D. 97 years. The prominent dates of this period are as follows:

<i>Names and Facts.</i>	<i>Roman Era.</i>	<i>Christian Era.</i>
Cæsar's last retreat from Britain.....	54 B. C.	44 "
" assassination at Rome.....	44 "	31 "
Augustus after the battle of Actium becomes sole ruler of Rome.....	722	31 "
" dies and is succeeded by Tiberius.....	797	14 A. D.
Caligula succeeds upon the death of Tiberius.....	799	37 "
Claudius succeeds upon the assassination of Caligula.....	794	41 "
Which was two years before his invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius.....	799	43 "

During the same period, the British chronology is as follows:

Temantius succeeded Cassivellaunus 7 years after Cæsar's departure.....	799	47 B. C.
Cymbeline, his son and grand nephew of Cassivellaunus, succeeds.....	749	13 "
Gulderius succeeds and the death of Cymbeline.....	775	42 A. D.
Which gives Cymbeline a reign of 35 years; and leaves to transpire between his death and the Roman invasion in A. D. 43, twenty-one years to be occupied by the sovereignty of Gulderius and Arviragus, his two sons; which gives 7, and 34, and 35, and 21 years, which make 97 years in the period.		

² 1. Turner's Anglo-Saxon, p. 70, and n. c. Cæsar saw but little of Britain. "He passed through Kent and Sussex, which were then exceedingly poor, and had neither gold or silver." 3. Niebuhr's Lect. 46. (Lecture, xv.)

³ "The British fleet, as we learn from citations of Boadicea, in Dion Cassius, swept the channel." This probably referred to the time of the Emperor Caligula, when the British fleet under Ebor, the brother of King Cymbeline, as Admiral of the British navy, protected her shores from that invasion.

and in imitation of this the Anglo-Saxons of the Heptarchy afterwards appointed a supreme sovereign, called Bretwalda. Such was the Pendragon Cassivellaunus in the time of Cæsar; and between him and the time of the conquest of Britain by the Romans under the orders of Claudius, he was followed by the four following pendragons: Tenuantius, Cymbeline, Guiderius, and Caractacus: nor should the name of the virtuous Arviragus be forgotten. They were, all of them, men deservedly held in great estimation, and well known both in classic and British histories;† and their names will stand on account of their prowess and patriotism as long as those histories shall endure.

During this time it would seem, from a candid review of British and Roman history, that Britain had made great progress in prosperity and wealth, and that the intercourse of British merchants and princes with Rome was frequent and intimate.‡ The administration of the general affairs by these pendragons was conducted with ability and prosperity. From history and the remains of antiquity we have abundance of evidence that long before Cæsar's time the Britons had made great progress in the arts, sciences, and general learning, as well as in their intercourse with other people in commercial affairs. After Cæsar's retreat they soon recovered of the injury done them, and became a prosperous people. Two of the sovereigns of this period—Tenuantius and Cymbeline—were each of them distinguished for a long reign of over thirty years, eminently successful in the prosperity of the country and the administration of justice. Their negotiations with the Roman Emperors were characterized with ability and success. Cymbeline had been educated at Rome, and was personally acquainted with Augustus. At one time a misunderstanding as to their governmental affairs took place between

these friends, which induced the Roman Emperor to threaten Britain with invasion, which was judiciously settled by a wise arrangement, if not an advantageous treaty, with the usual skill of British diplomacy. By the arrangement the Emperor not only abandoned certain tributes formerly demanded, but the heavy duties previously levied on British goods introduced to the continent were reduced to a very light tariff. It has been represented by some that these duties were collected by Roman officers on British shores. But it plainly appears that this assertion must be a mistake. They must have been collected on the shores of Gaul, as the vessels arrived or departed.

But after a time new difficulties intervened. From the time of Cæsar the government of Britain had had difficulties in securing the faithful allegiance of the Coritani⁷ and Brigantes, two states some distance north of London, who frequently favored the Roman interest. At length in July A. D. 42, Guiderius sent an embassy to Rome, complaining of the encouragement given by the Roman court to the intrigues of these people, being then detected in a correspondence with Caligula in his late threatened invasion. This was when Caligula had collected a formidable army, for the invasion, on the opposite coast of Gaul, but finding the preparation of Britain to give him a Cæsar's reception, and seeing that the British Admiral, Llyr, was sweeping the coast with his navy, he abandoned his enterprise, but ordered his men to charge upon sea and gather shells from the shore, as the meritorious trophies of their victory. Such was the occasion upon which happened the treason complained of by the embassy. Claudius, the new Emperor, vouched no satisfaction to this embassy, who returned dissatisfied. This

6 Strabo, B. iv. ch. 5.

† These six British sovereigns were known in ancient history by their Cymric names, respectively, as follows: Cassivabon, Tenuant, Cynvelyn, Gwddlyr, Caractac, Ariffig. These names have been variously Anglicized and Latinized. See Warrington's History of Wales, Shakespeare's play of Cymbeline, Act iii. Scene 1.

‡ Vaughan's Revolution in History, 24.

7 The Coritani, or the Corandrie, were said to be of a foreign extraction from a very ancient colony. In the time of Cæsar their allegiance to the British cause gave Cassivellaunus (Caswallon) great trouble through Mandubratius, then prince, who was called by the Britons Avarwy. They were also accused of favoring the Romans, and unfaithful to the Britons in Claudius' conquest. This fact and circumstance tend strongly to show how uniform was the rest of the Britons in race and nationality.

breach of amity was kept up as a pretense for the coming war. The Roman government had then abandoned the wise policy of Augustus,—to fix definite boundaries to his dominions, refuse to extend them, but to cultivate and improve what he had. This wise policy was overruled by a policy which required that the government should find, as a matter of safety, sufficient employment for the vast and idle army then on hand; for no danger was so much to be dreaded by a despotic government as an idle and therefore licentious soldiery. Accordingly the next year Claudius ordered the invasion of Britain to be made, which closes this period of our history.

CHAPTER IV.

CUSTOMS, MANNERS AND CIVILIZATION OF THE BRITONS.

§1—*Who were the Ancient Britons.*

We have said that the Ancient Britons were called, by the general term, Celts; and, by the special one, Cymry; that is, they were Cymry of the Celtic family. We are disposed to review the question concisely: for, to understand the customs, manners and civilization of a people well, we should know who they were ethnically. The Celts were a part of the great Aryan, or Japhetic, or Indo-European family, who constitute about all the inhabitants of Europe; and in the earliest account we have of Western Europe, they occupied all Gaul and what is now France. It is claimed they came by various emigration from Cimmeria, on the north side of the Euxine or Black Sea. It is claimed they were in France before 1000 B. C.; for about this date they had made eruptions and settlements in Spain and Northern Italy. When the last of these emigrants came to Gaul before the Cymry we do not know, but possibly not long before. About 600 years before our present era, the Cymry came there, having been expelled by the Scythians from their native country north of the Euxine, and driven around the east end of that sea into Asia Minor; took Lydia, and Sardis the capital, all but the

citadel.¹ After remaining there between fifty and eighty years, they were again expelled² by the joint act of the Lydians and the Assyrians about A. D. 650, and made their way west, by the Danube, the Elbe and the Cimbric Chersonesus to Gaul, where they were received as friends and brethren. This emigration of Celts became known as Cymry;³ a name which they, themselves, recognized; but were known to the Greeks as Cimmerians, and to the Romans as Cimbric. They themselves claimed to be the sons of Gomer, which the Greeks and Romans corrupted to their respective names, and which became fixed upon the Cymry while they were in the midst of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

When the Cymry came into Gaul they took possession of the principal part of central Gaul, which was probably then less settled than southern parts of the country; so that Northern Gaul became principally Cymric, and the southern principally Gallic or Celtic Gaul; and the line between them would be found in about the direction of one drawn from the mouth of the Garonne to Coblenz on the Rhine. It is probable that these two families of Celts became considerably mixed and assimilated with each other;—the southern distinguished as the old or southern Gauls or Celts, and the northern or Cymric Gauls or Celts. That portion which became most intensified Cymric, was found between the Loire and the Seine, and from Paris to Brest; and especially in Armorica. North of the Seine it was called Belgium, and the people Belgians or Belgæ; but still they were Cymry,⁴ only the country and

¹ Herodotus, B. i. ch. 15. See ante B. i. ch. ii.

² Author's Guess, Diet., p. 350. Title, Cimmerii. Herodotus, supra, Lemnani's Ancient Hist. of the East, 408, 9. B. iv. ch. 56, § iii.

³ This name was first given to them by the Greeks; but it was not known to any of the Celts who emigrated directly from Cimmeria to Gaul.

⁴ See ante, ch. i. § 1. Godwin's France, p. 10 and n. 9. Niebuhr's Lect., xiv. p. 43. 1. Gies's Ancient Britons, 37, n. 1. Logan's Antiquity of Scotland, 44. Tacitus' Agricola, c. 6. Caesar called the people of Kent Belgians, because he learned from them they came there from the opposite east of Gaul. But they were Cymry. They were the same in language and manners. Tacitus' Agric., 3. Richard of Cirencester, B. i. ch. 3, § 81 and n. 3, says:—"We discover a few cities in Gaul (Belgium) bearing the same appellation

people were more rude, and some mixed up with the Germans, with whom they were in constant war in keeping them on their side of the Rhine.

Soon after the Cymry came to Gaul, the main or ruling part of them passed over to Britain, from Armorica and the opposite coast of Gaul. The island thus became settled with the Cymry, and the previous Celtic population who had settled there from Gaul gradually withdrew to the northwest, or were absorbed and assimilated with them. The Cymry therefore occupied a large portion of Western Europe; not only Central and Northern Gaul, most all Britain, but we have seen them in Italy, as the Senones, from Gaul and Britain, who burnt Rome, fought at Sentinum, and were slaughtered at Sinigaglia on the Adriatic, for the purpose of satisfying Roman vengeance, that they might boast that not a descendant of those who burnt Rome survived.⁵

as those of Britain, and in both countries we find the Atrebatæ, the Morini, the Edui, the Senones, the Menapii, and the Rhemi."

Niebuhr says: "The Cimbri were not real Gauls, but Cymri, of the same stock as that to which belonged the Welsh, the Bas Britons, the early inhabitants of Cumberland (which derives its name from them, and where traces of the Cimmerian language existed till about 100 years ago), and the whole western coast of England. Whether Ulster was inhabited by Cymri is uncertain. The Picts of Scotland were likewise Cymri, and the Belge also belonged to the same race; they were, to some extent, mixed with the Gael, but the Cymri must have predominated among them. In their great migration, the fourth and fifth centuries, B. C. they went as far as the Ukraine, and under the name of Celto-Scythæ, extended eastward as far as or even beyond the river Dnieper where they were called Galatians."⁶

"That the Teutones were Germans, as even their name indicates, is as certain as that the Cimbri were Cymri, or, more generally speaking, Gauls." Niebuhr's Lectures, lxxxii, vol. 2, p. 327 S.

⁵ See ante, ch. ii, § 7. Arnold in his history of Rome (page 340, Amr. Ed.) in describing the battle of Sentinum, says: "The Romans in their second charge were encountered by a force wholly strange to them, the war chariots of the enemy, which broke in upon them at full speed, and with the rattling of their wheels, and their unvoiced appearance, so startled the horses of the Romans, that they could not be brought to face them, and horses and men fell in confusion. . . . The undoubted effect of the British chariots against the legions of Cæsar may well convince us that the Gaulish chariots at Sentinum must have struck terror into the soldiers of Decius." In this the author calls the chariots Gaulish, without intimating that they were the chariots of the Senones, or that they were Cymric Gauls, as in fairness and truth he ought to have done; and that no other people in Europe except the Cymry made use of the chariot as an engine of war. The war chariot was unknown to the Romans and all others except the Cymry. See Livy, B. x, ch. 26, 28. Godwin's France, 27 and 30. Also Arnold's History of Rome, i, c. c., ch. xxiv.

In the time of Cæsar, about 55 B. C., the locality of the Celtic race had become settled and fixed. They were then found to occupy a large part of Europe and a portion of Asia Minor. The territory then by them occupied extended from Sinigaglia on the Adriatic,⁶—including Northern Italy, the great valley of the Po, all Gaul, —to Denmark and the Baltic; and from the Rhine and the Alps to the Atlantic, including all the British Islands. In addition to these, there were portions of them in Spain known there as the *Celtiberi*;⁷ another in Eastern Europe called *Celto-Scythians*; and another in Asia Minor known as the Galatians of the New Testament.⁸

We have already endeavored to demonstrate when and how the Cymry came to Gaul, and occupied a part of it; and thence passed over to Britain and occupied that also. This caused great similarity between the people of these two countries in their language, institutions and habits. This was particularly noticed by Cæsar and Tacitus. They noticed that in each country, the people were alike divided up into numerous tribes or states, with similarity of names, and sometimes identical, in both countries.⁹ Their institutions were the same; and their language differed so little as hardly to be another dialect. These matters were noticed by them as evidence that they were identically the same people. Cæsar also mentions, incidentally, the intimate relation existing between the Venetians of Armorica and the Britons, in their former commercial relations, and the aid

⁶ See Arnold's History of Rome, ch. xxiv, p. 307 a.

⁷ Anthon's Classical Dict., p. 325.

⁸ Anthon's Class. Dict., p. 513, title Gallo-Grecia.

⁹ Of those states or tribes enumerated by Cæsar in his Commentaries on the Gallic war (B. vii, 69), the following named are of the Cymric Celts: Senones, Pictones, Bituriges, Carnutes, Bellovacæ, Tarones, Parisii, Suessones, Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Nervii, Morini, Cenomani, Atrebatæ, Belloacæ, Lexovii, Eboracenses; and all the maritime states of Armorica were all of the Cymric states; the other states mentioned were of the elder Celts, or the Southern Gauls. Those above named marked with an * are Belgic states, though they are also Cymric. We claim all the Belgians of that day to be undoubtedly Cymry. See Godwin's France, i, and ii, 62; Niebuhr's Lectures, 32; Niebuhr, *ibid.*, 327 S; and the first chapter of Michelet's History of France. It will be found that many of these names are the same as those in Britain.

the Britons furnished the Venetians in men and shipping against him. But there were other matters he did not notice or know, which go as strongly to prove this identity: the similarity in the construction of those great stone monuments of Carnac in Armorica, and those of Avebury and Stonehenge,¹⁰ and elsewhere in the British Islands; which exist nowhere, except where it is known the Cymry have been.

In ancient times previous to the Roman conquest, as already stated, Britain became conventionally designated into three divisions by the names of Albion, Loegria, and Cymru.¹¹ Albion was in the north, and was since called Caledonia, and since Scotland; Loegria in the east and Cymru in the west. The line between the two last divisions was not very distinctly marked; and it is probable it often changed, and that the people of each run into each other, without any distinction between them; but it is most probable, that this line was drawn from the north with the central ridge of the island—the British Apennines—extended south to the Isle of Wight, but leaving Avebury and Stonehenge on the west of it. The whole island was divided into numerous states or tribes, with great difference in the size of territory; and apparently without regard to the line separating Cymru and Loegria; just as we find in the United States settlements of New Englanders and southern people in adjoining localities, without reference to state line. This was because ethnically they were the same people, and no enmity or war existing between them: they were all known as Cymry. Cassivellaunus, Caractacus and other federal chiefs, commanded and ruled, from the mouth of the Thames to the Irish Sea, just as the President of the United States would, from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. The one may have been by birth a Cassian and the other a Silurian, but that made no difference in national questions. The fact that the Loegrians came as friends and relatives, made no more difference nationally than it

does in the United States for the natives of the British Islands to come in since the revolution. They are of the same lineage as those who were there before them. When the Romans came, they found in Britain no national difference of people: those who fought under Boadecia near London, under Caractacus in Wales, or under Galgacus in Scotland, were nationally one people, with one language, one religion, with the same institutions—Druids and chariots.

From what Cæsar and Tacitus say about the people of Britain, we see no difference of nationality or characteristics, only they were divided into different states or tribes. The only exception to this is that Cæsar says, that those in the south were emigrants from Belgium, or Belgæ; and those far in the interior were less civilized. He says: "The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom fame reports to be the natives of the soil. The sea coast is peopled with the Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder."¹² All Cæsar says about the Britons shows he knew but little about them, except what he personally observed where he came in conflict with them in war. He aids us but little in knowing the Britons ethnically. What he says does not militate against what we claim, that they were Cymry and came there from Asia Minor. Such is the account given of themselves, and it agrees with all historical facts, and excludes every other hypothesis. When these came to Britain as stated, it is more than probable that they were preceded by some of the elder Celts from Gaul; but they were received "peaceably." The first name by which they knew the island was Alban, and this name was crowded off with the people to the north part of the island. At a later period, according to the ancient annals and triads of the Cymry, there came to Britain from the western coast of Gaul another immigration of a people, known as the Lloegyr or Loegrians. These were received by the first Cymry as kindred and friends, and descendants of the original stock, with

¹⁰ Chambers' Encyclopedia, Vol. 2, p. 623, title Carnac; Logan's Antiquities of Scotland, p. 452.

¹¹ See ante ch. ii.

¹² Cæsar's Com., B. v, 10.

whom they could readily converse, who were permitted to settle in the south and east parts of Britain, while the former inhabitants peaceably and voluntarily withdrew to the west, or were amalgamated with them.¹³

Another kindred tribe came from the same country and were also received peaceably, and known as Brython, and who were permitted to settle in the far north. It is probable that these two last immigrations, the Lloegyr and Brython, came from that part of Gaul called by the Romans *Armorica* and *Nustria*, and included in their provinces of *Lugdunensis* and *Belgica*; where the original Cymry settled who permanently remained in France. The Loegrians were probably from *Armorica*, and the Brython from *Belgium*. These three families of the Celtic people caused the Ancient Britons to divide Britain into three divisions accordingly, each giving a name to their respective portions; as *Alban* to the north, *Lloegyr* to the east, and *Cymru* to the west; and these names have been latinized and anglicized respectively as *Albion*, *Loegria* and *Cambria*. The first would be included in Scotland, the second in the eastern part of England, and the last to the west of it, divided by a line running with the central ridge of the island—the Apennines of Britain—continued south to the English channel in the neighborhood of Southampton.

§2.—*The Government of the Britons.*

The first subject to be noticed in relation to the customs of a people, is their government. During the long time, from the first arrival of the Cymry in Britain to their subjection to the Roman power, the government from time to time was, probably, somewhat changed; but we may assume that it remained substantially the same as it was at the time of Cæsar. The three divisions of the island above spoken of, were only a conventional distinction—*Cymry* and *Loegrians*—which did not en-

ter into governmental affairs. Without reference to that division the country was divided up into numerous states, tribes, or principalities; some say forty-five,¹ of different dimensions; some quite small as *Cantium*, others quite large as *Brigantium*, which include all England north of the Humber. These states were organized very similar to those in *Cymric Gaul*, and the same names were found among some of those in Britain. Their governmental organization, civil and religious, were so much alike that Cæsar in describing them made no distinction between them, but seemed to confound them together. This is only another evidence of the similarity of their origin, and that they were one and the same people.

Each of these states had at the head of their government as its executive officer or generalissimo, an officer, as a king, prince, or chief, whom they called *brenhin*. His office was considered hereditary in his family, but subject to the control of the general assembly of the state, who frequently changed it from one member of the family to another, as great defects or merits might indicate, or the good of the people and circumstances might require. This power was sometimes exercised because the prince was defective in intellect, or was deformed in his physical development, or in his moral qualities, as being tyrannical, or unjust; or was subject to any such qualities as rendered him seriously objectionable as a prince to a free, martial and spirited people. The *Brenhin* was not an arbitrary monarch, but controlled by the general assembly of the state, restrained by well established laws and maxims embodied in their triads, which contained the most ample code of law—civil, moral and religious, found as a rule to govern any people.² The sovereignty was generally considered hereditary in the male line of the family, but frequently females were permitted to exercise it, subject to the control of the

¹³ See 1 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, 3, &c.; 1 Turner's *Anglo-Saxon*, 56; Miss Williams' *History of Wales*, 2, &c.

¹ If we enumerate forty-five, nearly one-half of them would be within the present bounds of Scotland. ¹ Turner's *Anglo-Saxon History*, p. 62.

² Such laws will be found to include all here claimed, as embodied in the triads, hereafter explained.

general assembly of the states, as we witnessed in the case of Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, and of Boadicea, the patriotic widow. But it is probable that these instances were exceptional cases, controlled by the will of the state as expressed through the general assembly. There was no general law which excluded females from exercising sovereignty, like the German Salic law.

With the exception of the hereditary character of the chief or brenhin, their form of government partook more of a republic than a limited monarchy. There was in it a limited aristocracy, but the government was principally controlled by the people at large, in which every freeman had his suffrage; in which, it is said, every man that had a beard, and every married woman were admitted. There was, therefore, the appearance of a very limited monarchy, and the union of a republic as exercised by their nobility and the great body of the people who were of sufficient intelligence to exercise an influence in political affairs.³ Although Britain was divided up into so many states and tribes, yet we can discover no difference of race or nationality south of the Caledonians, nor but that the Cymry and the Loegrians were one and the same people, with the same form of government; each having the institution of the Druids, the war chariots as their great weapon in war, and time of danger, united in a confederacy, with one sovereign over the whole whom they called their

Pendragon or *Wledig*. This is confirmed by the extensive command that Cassivellaunus had over so many states during Cæsar's invasion; as well by the same state of things in Caractacus' time.

Caractacus was a near relative of Cymbeline, whose hereditary dominions were in the east on the Thames, and it was there where Caractacus commenced his career of opposition to the Romans. After opposing and fighting the Romans for nine years in the east he retreated across the island to *Caer Caradoc* in Shropshire, the scene of his last battle, where he addressed his army, composed principally of the Silures of whom he was prince, and said: "This day must decide the fate of Britain. The era of liberty or eternal bondage begins from this hour! Remember your brave ancestors who drove the great Cæsar himself from these shores, and preserved their freedom, their property, and the persons and honor of their wives and children."⁴ This is the strongest evidence that the country was all one in people and government. The distinction between the Loegrians and the Cymry specially so-called, was like that which is sometimes made between the people of New England and those of the Middle States in the union of the United States:—they were all Britons. It was a mere difference of dialect, without any difference of language, race or habits. But they all had the same form and principles of government; with the Druids, and the doctrines and maxims of the triads pervading all. Each of the larger states, for the purpose of managing its own affairs and protecting its local interests, were divided into tribes and clans, and also into districts and hundreds; and these last they called *cantref*. They preferred these local and sectional governments to a central or consolidated government; and then resorted for a protection and welfare of the whole, to the formation of a federal union, by the election of some one of their local or state princes as a paramount sovereign or generalissimo over the whole; or over so many as would enter in-

³ "It is not easy," says Richard of Cirencester, (B. ch. 3, §19, *Six Old English Chronicles*, 426,) "to determine the form of government in Britain previous to the coming of the Romans. It is, however, certain that before their times there was no vestige of a monarchy, but rather a democracy, unless perhaps it may seem to have resembled an aristocracy. The authority of the Druids in affairs of the greatest moment was considerable. Some chiefs are commemorated in their ancient records, yet these appear to have possessed no permanent power; but to have been created, like the Roman dictators, in times of imminent danger." To this I. A. Giles, D. C. L., the editor, adds: "The government of the Ancient Britons may be denominated patriarchal. Each community was governed by its elders. * * * the elders of the different communities were subordinate to the elders of the tribes. But in times of public danger, as is recorded in the Triads, some chief of distinguished abilities was entrusted with the supreme authority over the tribes or communities, who united in common defense. Such were Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), Caradwg (Caractacus), and Owain, son of Maesin."

⁴ This is so stated by Tacitus and Dion Cassius.

to the confederacy.

In every division of the government the execution of the laws and police regulation were attended to by elders appointed by the people; and nothing was officially done except in accordance with established laws, which were only altered or controlled by the general assemblies. The king or prince was only the generalissimo of the army and general executive officer of the state. Their government was divided into three departments, as will be more fully shown when we come to speak more fully of the Triads,—the executive, the legislative and the judicial. The executive was the prince and his officers. The general assembly consisted of the prince (who probably presided), the nobles, the Druids, and the wise and influential men of the nation. These established and amended the laws when required, and all were bound by the law, and no one was authorized to alter or amend them except by the general assembly at a regular session. The judiciary was confided to the Druids, as being constituted of all the learned professions. Of them were constituted the judges of the land, who were bound to hold their courts at regular terms, when parties were brought before them by due process, and upon which after a due hearing of the case, the judges were bound to decide the case according to law. The court had a jury of select men, consisting of any number from seven to seventy, to be agreed upon and selected by the parties,—called assessors, (*brawdwy*). These determined and found the facts in question, upon which the judge pronounced the law which determined the case. The finding of the assessors was called *y rhaith* instead of *the verdict*. These proceedings were very much like that of an English jury, except the number of the assessors might be any number agreed upon from seven to seventy; but a jury must be twelve, which rendered the former more like the Judge of the Civil Law than an English jury.

It is astonishing to what degree of minuteness and refinement the laws in regulation of the government, and the administration of justice, were carried in the

Triads. That the government was limited and controlled by the people, is evidenced by the fact that Cæsar more than once in his commentaries says, that the rulers excused themselves for what was done, was not by their advice or consent, but that the government was of such a nature that the people had as much power over the government as it had over them. It seems, by an examination of the triads, that the limits of the government and the rights and liberties of the people were fixed and established, by general maxims and principles, as constitutional law, so that not only were the rulers constrained by them, but even the general assembly itself was controlled by its restrictions, in favor of freedom, and to secure to every person his life, limbs, property, and the pursuit of his lawful business; very much in the same way as is now days done by a bill of rights. It is from these sources, the declarations, maxims and principles contained in these triads, were drawn the wholesome laws and principles of the present laws of England. This is shown by a reference made by Lord Chief Justice Coke, in the preface to the third volume of the Reports, in which he says:—"the original laws of this land were composed of such elements as Brutus first selected from the ancient Greek and Trojan institutes." This reference to Brutus and Troy was made because the Britons universally claimed that their institution originated with Brutus, who brought them with him from Troy and Greece. It was also, undoubtedly in reference to these old laws of the Britons, which peremptorily prohibited slavery, that Lord Mansfield in 1772 in the negro *Summerset's* case was enabled to declare, "that as soon as a slave set his foot on British soil he was free." For by Saxon laws, slavery was every where tolerated.

These maxims and principles of the British laws as derived from the triads, were undoubtedly the work and philosophy of the Druids. The triads and their system of law and philosophy, were peculiar to them. They existed no where else. Still the Druids were no necessary part of the government, no more than the learned

professions were a part of the government in any other country. They furnished the lawyers and judges; but they could neither make a new law nor alter an old one. That could only be done by the general assembly, in which the Druids were admitted, not as a body but as any other wise and learned man, and his being a Druid was evidence of his being entitled to an admittance as a member; and where his learning and philosophy would have its influence; but then, the question would be determined by the vote of the assembly. They were the counsellors and advisers of the government, but were not a necessary part of it, or its executive officers. They were a body of the people, only separated from them as the learned professions, and as such held their separate sessions and colleges; and furnished for the people and the government the priest, the lawyer, the physician, and the learned man in every department of science. As such they were entrusted with the instructions of the youth, and with giving information to the people, in the same manner as such matters are disposed of in other countries.

The supposition that the Druids were a necessary part of the government and controlled it as is frequently represented, is an error; for their only control over the government arose solely from their reputed learning and wisdom. This will more fully appear when we come to consider the Druids and the triads separately.

These laws were embodied in a code at an early period in the tradition and history of the Britons. The law triads of the Ancient Britons are generally ascribed to Dyvnwal Moelmud, a prince or king of the Cornish Britons, who lived about three hundred years before the Christian era. They were probably revised from time to time, as all ancient writings have been in the course of being transcribed, during that long period. It is said that there has been two thorough revisions of the code; the first occurred under Bran Vendigaid, (Brennus, the blessed,) the father of Caractacus, and therefore before the Roman conquest had any influence upon them; and the next was under Howell the good.

These laws, as we have already suggested, regulated and limited every department of the government, and formed checks and balances upon each, and upon one another, as protection to freedom against the government, and as a guaranty to the rights and privileges of the private person. It has been observed that the great point in this legislation was the protection and benefit of the individual man. He had natural and indefeasible rights of which the law could not deprive him, which were guaranteed to him by fundamental maxims in the triads, as constitutional principles. These were his personal security and liberty to be protected by due process of law; and also secured to him, against all process and demands, a certain homestead, his cattle and grain, the implements of his calling, his books and military equipments; "because," says the triad, "it is unjust in the law to unman the man, or uncall the calling." When these *"triads of the law and the social state"* are examined, we are surprised to find so many personal, civil and political rights, so effectually secured as inviolable rights, in exact conformity with the more advanced enactments, for the protection of human happiness and freedom in our own day. And may it not with justice be claimed, that whatever of these liberal principles are found in the English and American laws and constitution, they are the growth of British soil, from the seeds of these ancient laws and maxims.

What is specially noticeable in these institutions is the protection they always render to the freedom of thought and the right of conscience. There is no evidence that the Druids ever enforced their peculiar thought or doctrine, by force, or power, or persecution. The Druids taught the people; "that it was the duty of all men to seek after the truth, and to receive it against the whole world." From which they adopted the maxim:—"The truth against the world." It was from this foundation that Roger Williams adopted his principles of tolerance, and protection of religion from persecution, and from restraint upon conscience.⁵ He advocated

5 There was no persecution by the Druids against

the freedom of conscience, and that every man should be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; and this has become the fundamental doctrine of the American government.

§3—*The Institution of the Druids.*

The Druids were an institution of the Ancient Britons, greatly misunderstood, and misrepresented by the Roman and other historians. They were some times represented as a part of the government, controlling and overshadowing the executive and legislative branches of the civil and political organization. This was not the case as has already been stated. They had their convention, (*gorsedd*,) or congress assembled, but such assembly was not a governmental or political affair, but like a religious or scientific convention of our own day. They were considered to be of great dignity and held in high estimation, on account of their religious and scientific knowledge and wisdom. They were the conservators of all religious and scientific knowledge, whose duty it was to teach and instruct the people; and in their sessions to investigate the truth, and promote religion, morals, science and the arts; and whatever promoted the welfare of the people. They, therefore, possessed great influence, in the same manner as the learned men of our own day; and though they had no power to make or alter a law, but on account of their knowledge and attainments were the persons who were to determine what the law was, and to decide all controverted cases, both civil, criminal and national, and were the judges of the land; but the law itself and the action of the government was always subject to the control of the general assembly. The session of the *gorsedd* was one thing, but the session of the general assembly was an entirely different thing; the first was only private and conventional, the latter was legal and governmental. A Druid might

be a member of the general assembly, but there he was only as a member—a man, having no extra influence or control, except what influence his knowledge and wisdom would give him. In the decision of judicial cases, the jurisdiction did not appertain to them as a body, but to such as were assigned for that purpose as judges; and when a decision was made, when necessary, in aid of the executive authority, they would enforce the execution of the decision by proscription of the recusant party, and interdict him from the civil and religious rights, which was looked upon as a terrible punishment.

The Druids were not a cast, but a class to which all classes of the people were admitted, who could show sufficient talents, genius and attainments to entitle them to the privilege. The sons of the nobility were the most frequent successful candidates, from their greater opportunities for improvements and acquirements. But no one was admitted without an examination, and being found by an impartial decision to be entitled to the distinction on the account of his talents and acquirements. No distinction was made on account of birth; nor was it at all hereditary. The applicant was also bound to procure the recommendation of a certain number of his people and of the Druids in order to entitle him to an examination.

They were divided into classes, according to their several genius and acquirements, or according to their several professional pursuits. The name of Druid was a *nomen generalissimum*, which included all. But in accordance with their usual preference for a division by three or a triad, into three classes:—1. The Druids proper; 2. the Bards; and 3. the Ovydd, Ovates or Vates. The term Druid, as including the whole, was derived from *derwen*, plural *dervv*, the Cymric word for oak, for which they had great partiality, as the favorite tree of their groves; and as the only tree worthy from which to gather the mistletoe for their religious and medical purposes.

Druidism was undoubtedly brought by the Cymry into Western Europe, and from

the Christians; nor by the established Christianity against the Pelagians; no instruments of restraint used against them except argument and reason.

them passed into all the Celtic people in Ireland, Britain, Gaul and Northern Italy. It was part of the institutions and learning they acquired in Asia Minor, and was carried by them into Britain, where it was said by Cæsar it was particularly cultivated; and where the Gauls resorted to perfect themselves in doctrines and principles.¹ It is there where Abaris on his return from Greece and Asia Minor, imparted to it the doctrines of Pythagoras, and perfected it in those doctrines, which in the opinion of the learned, always connected it with Pythagoras and Asia Minor. They carried it with them as they did the chariot, the harp and other matters which so evidently connected them with the east, and which in this manner the mystery of it is plainly solved, and can be in no other manner. From this class were deputed those who were to officiate as judges, and discharge the higher duties of the priesthood. And from them were to be elected those who were to officiate over the Order as their chief, as the Arch-Druids preside over their general congress as their presiding officer. The great object of ambition with the two inferior classes was to become entitled to be admitted to the highest honors of the order.

The next or second class was the Bards, who were specially the literary class;—the poet, historian, orator and instructor of the people in poetry and patriotic songs;—to eulogize the virtuous and honorable, and to inspire all with patriotism and love freedom. It was also their duty to keep the annals and history of their people and country,—to recite them to the people and instruct them as to whatever might be of interest in such production. The third class, some times called Ovates, were the prophets, and had the immediate care of the sacrifices. They were professors and instructors of the youths, and as such greatly sought for and respected. They professed to be acquainted with the arts and sciences, and were the instructors in them. They were the ordinary priest, lawyer and physician, and assumed to be

acquainted with botany and the medical qualities of plants and herbs. All this they practiced while they were candidates to the higher ranks of the order. They were not received into the class without a severe examination, and proving himself worthy by the head of his clan and twelve Druids; and that he was master of the special art or science he professed to teach or exercise. The same guarded restrictions were required in their admission and promotion from one rank or class to another.

The Druids, as a body, claimed extensive acquaintance with philosophy and the nature of things;—with morals and law; and the triads were the production of their intellect, industry and care. They were highly respected and revered by the people, who universally resorted to them for information on all subjects. It was devoutly believed that they were profoundly acquainted with the character of deity, and they alone were worthy to make supplication and sacrifice to their god. In these respects the Druids, as was the case with all priesthoods, had their doctrines which they held among themselves, and that which they publicly preached to the people; that is, they had their esoteric and exoteric doctrines. One of these Druids was always assigned to certain districts called *Cwmwd*, who resided with the people therein, for the purpose of being convenient to render instructions and the discharge of his holy duties. It is said that the Druids were occasionally accustomed to resort to divination by the sacrifice of animals, and some times upon important occasions would sacrifice human victims, and determine the course of events by the throes of the victim. How far in these respects they violated principles of humanity we can hardly judge from the prejudiced accounts that have come to us from the enemies of these people. There is nothing of it in the ancient history of the Britons as given by themselves. But if true, the Romans of that day were guilty of the same thing themselves. The Romans usually never interfered with the sacrifices and religious performances of a people, but they did with the Britons, upon the pre-

¹ Cæsar's Com., War in Gaul, B. vi, §13.

tense of their opposition to these cruel sacrifices; but in reality it was on account of the patriotic influences that the Druids had over the people, and especially the influences that the bards had by means of their patriotic poetry and song to arouse them against their oppressors. But there are no established facts which will retain the charge of cruelty against the Britons in their sacrifice or other affairs, when compared with the customs of any other people. If the facts were true, that the Britons on extraordinary occasions did sacrifice animals and human beings as convicts in burning wicker work, still it is not in the Roman historian fairly to charge cruelty or barbarity upon the Briton when compared with themselves. Roman history furnishes us instances of human sacrifices and cruelty far greater against the Romans even at a later period, than those found against the Britons. Humanity and mercy is everywhere inculcated by the triads, but very seldom in Roman history either in precept or example. All we know of human sacrifice on the part of the Britons sinks into insignificance compared with the human sacrifice and cruelty of the Roman gladiatorial shows and sacrifices. One instance in the time of Augustus throws the comparison into the shade. On the capture of the city of Perugia, in the valley of the Tiber and not far from Rome, upon the termination of a revolt, "300 of the most distinguished citizens of the town were afterwards solemnly sacrificed at the altar of Divus Julius."² Cæsar's inhuman cruelty, while in Gaul, obliterates all such human cruelty which is either found or imagined in the history of Ancient Britain. And the same may be said of the human sacrifice on St. Bartholomew's day in France; or that of the bloody Mary in England. But the sacrifices of the Druids are represented as less cruel and more refined. At certain fixed seasons, as at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, at the winter and summer solstices, and the like stated periods, the Druids held their solemn conventions in various and in well known and

venerated localities, to which the people resorted for religious exercises and instruction.

On these great festive occasions the best appearances were put on, and everything transacted with great order and propriety. The Druids wore their hair short, and their beard long. The vestments of the different classes were different in order to distinguish each. That of the Druids were white, the Bard were blue, and that of the Ovates green. No service was permitted to be observed or performed except between sunrise and sunset. Every official act was to be discharged in the "eye of the light and the face of the sun." The officiating Druids were dressed in great splendor, in their long robes and regalia. But the great object of observation was the Arch-Druid in his canonicals, which were extremely gorgeous and attractive, who presided upon such occasions. On his head he wore a golden tiara, in his girdle the gem of augury,—on his breast the *ior morin*, or the breast-plate of judgment; and on the forefinger of the right hand, the signet ring of his order. Before him were carried the sacred mistletoe, and the golden crosier with which it was gathered. These conventions were held for festivities and ceremonies; or for solemn and high courts in judicial service, in their sacred groves or in their round temples, as Avebury and Stonehenge.

On these occasions great ceremony was observed. The gathering of the mistletoe from the sacred oak, was done with solemnity and care. The priestly Druid in his white robe, with his golden crosier, plucked the mistletoe without soiling it with human hands, which fell into a white sheet or garment held for the purpose, to be used in their solemn ceremony, and for medicine. Then for the sacrifice two white bulls were selected and offered up in their religious adoration. Milk white horses were yoked in a holy chariot, attended by the priest and chief, who carefully noticed their action and movements as subjects from which to draw their augury; in the belief that those animals were privy to the will of their gods, and communicated it through

² 3 Niebhu's Lect., 107.

the means of these observations. Such auguries were then common among all heathen nations, but attended with much less refined ceremony.

The religion of the Druids was the best and most refined of the heathen of that day. They believed in one supreme and ever-enduring God; and in the immortality of the soul. They also in some manner had some connection in their worship with the Grecian gods, but this may be a misconception of the Greek and Roman writers; or it may be true, and they were objects of adoration between themselves and their true God. Abaris was said to be a priest of a temple of Apollo, and that his arrow (wand or staff,) was the gift of Apollo; and therefore sacred and supernatural.

It was the duty of the Druids not only to teach the people in matters of religion and morals, but also in all secular information;—whatever they knew in the sciences; and they were specially informed in astronomy, law and medicine. But it was the manner in which they stirred up the people to their patriotic duties,—their love of independence and freedom—that marked them out as objects of extirpation and misrepresentation. The spirit they infused into the people, by these means, formed as serious an obstacle to the conquering rules of the Roman, as the military and science of their chiefs; and therefore the Romans did all in their power to extirpate them. But their glory remains to us, in what is left to us in their triads, which proves their high sense of morality, law and justice, and of these it is the most splendid monument of anything that is left to us, of a date older than the Christian era. They were admired even at that time by fair and impartial Greeks and Romans of that day. Diodorus, Maximus, Tyrius and Cicero, quote a Druidic Triad as well known to the Greeks and Romans: "Worship the Gods,—do no man wrong,—be valiant for your country." Valerius Maximus, as illustrative of their faith in a future state of existence, said: "The Druids have so firm a conviction of the immortality of the soul, that they advance sums of money, . . . to be repaid when they meet after death."

And Lucan says: "It is certain the Druidic nations have no fear of death. Their religion rather impels them to seek it. Their souls are its masters, and they think it contemptible to spare a life the return of which is so certain." And Cicero informs us that he knew Divitiacus the Æduan, of whom Cæsar speaks so often, and that he was wont both to profess to be familiar with that study of nature which the Greeks called physiology, and to make predictions respecting future events, partly by augury, partly by conjecture.

It has been already remarked that the Druids were merely the learned professions of that day united in one body as a private corporation, ready to render to the government and people any aid that their science, learning and experience could afford them, for which they received certain remuneration, immunities and privileges, as compensation. If the spirit of Caractacus were able at this day to visit Britain, he would find the island the same as when he left it,—much improved, but not enlarged or altered so as not to be identified. He would find London, and Bristol, and Caerleon and York on the same spots on which were cities of his day. Some of these he would find greatly overgrown, while others were wofully diminished and deteriorated. Over Caerleon,—his beloved Caerleon on the Usk,—his Alma Mater, where the Druids had taught him to love his God, his country, and his people; he would shed a tear over the sad change wrought in the place, by the destruction of the high places of learning, by Roman, Saxon, Danes and Norman plunderers, who labored to destroy the piety, learning and progress of his people. He saw cities larger, population more dense, and fields highly cultivated; but the people upon the whole no better, with greater disparity in the classes, and greater suffering with the lower multitude. But he would conceive that British soil and British blood was still there, in all its pristine vigor,—its *perseverance*, *industry* and *good faith* was still there. He would conceive that all the learned professions were the Druids, and that the arch-bishops were the Arch-Druids; and the judges in

the courts were Druids assigned to hold them as in his own day. In some places he would still find his native language, but everywhere he would find thousands of words borrowed from his mother tongue; though the people were somewhat mixed with foreign blood, yet the people all hailed him as their great ancestor, and gloried over the superb position he occupied before Roman power, and before the Roman people. Through Britain he would find and recognize many things corresponding with the practice and maxims of his day; and the morals, industry and sense of justice of the people agreeing with that of the triads:—all the growth of the British soil. He would take Tennyson to be a chief Bard singing the glorious deeds and virtues of his renowned Arthur.

But we should notice that the Druids did not commit all their teaching to writing, but required their scholars to learn and repeat orally a large number of verses. This is often referred to, as evidence that they did not commit to writing their doctrines at all. But this is a misrepresentation of the subject. What Cæsar has said upon the subject is this: "They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution; for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons: to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar; and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case."³ This is evidence that they did make use of writing for all business, both public and private. But to their disciples they taught orally, for the reason that some part of their doctrines they did not wish to commit to the vulgar, and they wished in that manner to exercise the memories of their scholars; and required them to recite long lessons as a part of their system. The Britons always claimed in their history

and tradition, that the laws and triads came down to them in writing from the time of Moelmud, 300 B. C.; though afterwards revised. The declaration of Cæsar, at that early date is important to prove, they then had writings, and that they committed to the public such matters as they thought proper.

§4.—*The Triads.*

The very fact that the original idea of the triads is founded upon numbers is evidence of their antiquity and originality. In ancient philosophy the notice of the dual was the first;—the perception that the character and qualities of everything were first observed by its opposites and contrasts; and hence the classification of things by two,—the dual. Hence the early distinction of the good and the bad; the good and evil spirits; the right and the wrong; the upper and lower distinction which lie at the bottom of all things; and upon this was founded the ancient philosophy of the Persians,—the dualism; which upon this idea,—the natural and inevitable opposition of some two principles of different nature and origin; and incapable of being derived from one and the same source; as the real and ideal; matter and intelligence or spirit; and which was by them applied to their system of theology and morals; in which they, in their philosophy, assumed that there were two original beings, of good and and EVIL; Ormazd and Ahriman; light and darkness; God and devil; upon this was founded their system of religion and morals.

But by the authors of the triads, it was found that the dualistic system did not so well answer the purpose of philosophy and analysis as the triad. It was readily perceived that the two was useful in the comparison and opposition of things, but these were always more or less interfered with by a third number or principle. There was not only the good and the bad, but also the indifferent. There was not only the right and the left, but the standpoint between them; hence it became apparent that the observing *three* objects and qualities were a better system of arrangement and phi-

³ Cæsar's Com., B. vi, 13; see, also, Ten Great Religions, by J. F. Clarke, p. 98.

osophy than two or the dual.

It is surprising to find in how many instances the number three enters into systems and thoughts of all people. It not only strikes the mind in its commencement of its thinking, but also the mind of the most refined and learned. It therefore enters largely into every system of theology, law and medicine, or philosophy, of every nation. There is the trinity in religion; in government we have the three divisions, of legislative, executive, and judicial. The law consists of three parts,—*public law*, which regulates all public intercourse; *private law*, which establishes private rights as to person, property, and his relation to others; and the law of *civil procedure*, which preserves rights, and establishes justice. All matter consists of animal, vegetable, and mineral. All nature consists of matter, life, and intellect. All our knowledge is derived either from the information of others, or from our own experience, or from our own reflection. Thus all subjects of thought or science may be grouped, or divided, or reflected upon, in their several relations, by threes; depending upon their material, quality or use. This became very soon observed by man in the course of his civilization and progress.¹ Hence the triad; which in the manipulation of science may not answer well in all cases; but in the early stages of civilization would greatly aid in the progress of science and philosophy. But it

was nowhere carried to that extent; and used for all purposes as it was among the ancient Britons; and this unquestionably was the work and industry of the Druids. This shows that they possessed profound knowledge of human nature; great research into the nature of things; as astronomy, botany, and medicine, as well as in their system of theology, morality, and law. Their triads related to all these subjects, and their astuteness and sagacity in developing the nature and property of each, and the grouping, divisions, and reflection upon each subject as they were brought forth in the several triads; which, for their day, put them in mental acquirements and reflection ahead of any other nation.

The triads were divided and classified according to their several subjects. They may be enumerated as triads of—

- I. The History of Britain and the Cymry or Ancient Britons.
- II. The Laws of the Ancient Britons.
- III. The Social Compact.
- IV. The Wisdom of the Bards of the Isle of Britain.
- V. The Sciences and Professions.
- VI. The Learning and Mode of Teaching of the Druids.
- VII. The Language and Literature of the Druids.

And the subjects of these triads might be further enumerated and classified. But under each of these seven heads there are numerous triads to develop and illustrate the subject of each. These are so numerous and full, that nothing less than an examination of the original or the published translation can give an adequate idea of their merits, value, and fullness. Upon all these subjects almost every conceivable idea is touched, enlarged and illustrated with reflection and philosophy, that is at once admirable and astonishing. As the production of one people, and their unaided progress, it is unequalled. The Greeks were aided by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Assyrians and Persians in their learning and philosophy, and the Romans gathered from all these, as aids in the progress they made; but the triads and

¹ The triads are noticeable in all literature more or less. Thus: Aristotle says, the three elements of poetry are the *fable*, the *manner*, and the *diction*, (Eclectic Mag., May, 1866, p. 614.) Plato divided his subjects of philosophy generally into triads,—thus: "The Good, which is beauty, truth, justice, is God—God in his abstract state." (See Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe, 114, &c.) "Matter consists of Earth, Air, Water." "Three primary principles—God, Matter, Ideas." . . . "Our mental struggles arise from a tripple constitution of Appetite, Spirit, and Reason; that Reason alone is immortal, and the others die." (Ibidem.) The Gnostic Triads were: "They classed all nature into three kinds of beings, viz, hylic, or material; psychic, animal; and pneumatic, or spiritual." . . . "They also distinguish three sorts of men,—*material*, *animal*, and *spiritual*." (Buck's Theo. Dict., 199.) Triads in Geology, (Hugh Miller's Pop. Geology, 170,) "The three great divisions of Geology—Tertiary, Secondary, and Palæozoic." There are also three races of men—the White, Red, and Black; or the Aryan, Turanian, and Shemitic; or Caucasian, Mongolian, and African. And so may almost any subject be divided or classified into three, or a triad. See Ten Great Religions, by J. F. Clarke, p. 124.

their learning and wisdom were the sole production of the Druids.

The Welsh antiquaries unanimously claimed that the system of the Druidical knowledge formed the basis of the triads. "If this be the case," says Dr. Giles,² "it must be confessed that the bards possessed a profound knowledge of human nature, uncommon critical sagacity, and a perfect acquaintance with the harmony of language, and the properties of metre. For example the subjects of the poetical triads are: The Cymric language. Fancy and invention. The design of poetry. Nature and just thinking. Rules of just arrangements. Variety of matter and invention. Rules of composition, comprising the laws of verse, rhyme, stanzas, consonancy, or alliteration, and accent." These were some of the various heads and classification under which the triads were given.

Under each head and class above given we shall quote a few triads to show their character, appropriateness, and value in teaching and illustrating each subject to which they refer. I. History. Triads of the Isle of Britain.

VI. The three national pillars of the Isle of Britain. First, Hu Gadarn [Hu the Mighty], who originally conducted the nation of the Cymry into the Isle of Britain. They came from the summer country, which is called Deffrobani (that is, the place where Constantinople now stands), and it was over the Hazy Sea [the German Ocean] that they came to the Isle of Britain and to Llydaw [Armorica], where they continued. Second, Prydain, son of Aedd the Great, who first established government and royalty over the Isle of Britain. And before that time there was no justice but what was done through favor; nor any law, save that of might. Third, Dyvnwal Moelmud, who reduced to a system the laws, customs, maxims, and privileges appertaining to a country and nation. And for these reasons were they called the three pillars of the nation of the Cymry.

VII. The three social tribes of the Island

of Britain. The first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hu the Mighty into the Isle of Britain, because he would not possess lands and dominion by fighting and pursuit, but through justice and peace. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys [Loegrians], that came from the land of Gwasgwyn [the banks of the Loire], being descended from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, having their descent from the same stock with the Cymry. These were called the three tribes of peace on account of their coming, with mutual consent, in peace and tranquillity; and these three tribes were descended from the original nation of the Cymry, and were of the same language and speech.

XXI. The three Sovereigns by vote of the Isle of Britain. First, Caswallawn, the son of Lludd, son of Beli, son of Mynogan. Second, Caradawg, the son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith. Third, Owain, the son of Macsen Wledig; that is, sovereignty was assigned to them by the voice of the country and people when at the time they were not elders.³

XXVII. The three brave sovereigns of the Isle of Britain:—Cynvelyn⁴ Wledig; Caradawg, the son of Bran, and Arthur. That is, they vanquished their enemies, so that, except through treachery and plotting, they could not be overcome.

These instances must suffice as example of their historical triads, selected from numerous others, establishing facts, circumstances and characters in their history. The next class is still more important and interesting, as showing whence so many principles of law in Britain so very different from any other country, and so very valuable.

II. Law Triads.

7. The three pillars of a social state: Sovereignty, the law of the country, and distribution of justice.

36. Three things indispensable to a state

³ The three names in this triad, Anglicized, are, Cassivellaunus, Caractacus and Owain, the son of the Emperor Maxentius.

⁴ This name is Cymbeline of Shakespeare and Cinobelinus of the Romans.

² Six Old English Chronicles, p. 430, in n.

of society: a chief, as king; law, enacted by the general voice of the country (*rhaith gogledd*); and administration of justice.⁵

* The three privileges and protection of the social state: Security of life and person; security and possession of dwelling, and security of natural rights.

* Three things that confirm the social state: Effectual security of property; just punishment where it is due, and mercy tempering justice where the occasion requires it in equity,

8. Three duties incumbent on the three pillars of the state: Justice to all; privilege and protection to all, and competent regulations for the benefit of the community as to its instruction, information, and record.

18. The three guardians of the law: A learned judge; a faithful witness; and a conscientious decision.

53. Every man has a peculiar property in three respects, which cannot be transferred, or be given in payment of a fine: his wife; his children; and his *argyvvren*. By *argyvvren* are meant clothes, arms, and the implements of his lawful calling; for without them a man is deprived of his station as a man, and it would be unjust in the law to unman the man, or uncall the calling.

210. Three that are silent in session (or general assembly). 1. The Lord of the soil, or the king; for he is not to open the business, but to listen to what is said, and, when he has heard all that is to be heard, he may speak what he may deem necessary as to the sense of the law and the decision that the law requires. 2. The judge, who is not to speak till he declares his judgment as to that which has been proved by evidence and declared by the assessors (or jury). 3. One who is surety for another, and who is not bound to reply to any but the judge or the assessors.⁶

⁵ These two triads establish clearly the fundamental principles in all well regulated governments in modern times; and which it is believed was not noticed in ancient times, anywhere, except casually in the writings of Aristotle, i.e. the three important branches of a government: the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. These in ancient times were entirely disregarded, confounded, and frequently united.

⁶ The word assessors refers to important and judicious laymen summoned to attend the court and trial as a jury or more as the *judices assessores* of the Roman law. Of these assessors a number might be

III. The Social Compact.

* There are three ornaments of the social state: The learned scholar, the ingenious artist, and the just judge.

38. Three things indispensable to the social state: knowledge arising from common judgment of the circumstances; justice arising from conscientiousness; and brotherly love between country and united country, between a man and his countrymen, and between man and man. Where these are wanting, it is difficult to guard against great disunion and injustice.

39. The three primary objects of the social state: common defence; common privileges of sciences and arts; and the cultivation of the manners and usages of peace.

IV. The Wisdom of Bards.

1. There are three branches of wisdom: wisdom towards God; wisdom with respect to every fellow man; and wisdom with respect to one's self.

2. The three recognitions which produce wisdom: the knowledge of God; the knowledge of the heart of man; and the knowledge of one's own heart.

3. The three indispensables of wisdom: genius, science and discrimination.

4. The three stabilities of wisdom: what is right, beautiful and possible.

5. Three things will be obtained by wisdom: the good of the world; mental comfort; and the love of God.

6. In three things wisdom is apparent: genius; science; and demeanor.

7. The three exertions of wisdom: to understand nature by genius; to perceive truth by studying it; and to cultivate love and peace.

8. Three things in a man that make him wise and good: qualities; science; and power.

9. Three things with which wisdom cannot exist: inordinate desire; debauchery; and pride.

V. The sciences and professions.

28. Three things becoming civil society: the sciences of wisdom; the useful arts;

selected by the parties to try the facts, from seven to seventy. (7--7 n.) Much in the same way as is now done with an English jury.

and the accomplishment of refinement.

29. The three supports of the arts and sciences: instruction given by teachers privileged and perfectly skilled; privileges conferred for the sake of the sciences or arts to those who are skilled in them; and rewards secured by law to men of science and arts for what is skilfully done by them.

47. The three primary pursuits of a firm government: privileged trades, scientific knowledge, and agriculture; for, from these three arise all other pursuits useful to the state; and, as the secondary pursuits depend on the primary, it is a necessity of state to establish the primary ones in a privileged and regular manner.

VI. The learning and mode of teaching of the Druids.

61. The three special duties of the Bards in teaching: 1. to maintain, preserve, and give sound instructions in religion, science, and morality; 2. to preserve the memory, of the laudable acts of individuals or clans, of the events of the times, and the extraordinary phenomena of nature; of wars, and regulations of country or clan; their retaliations on their enemies and victories over them; 3. to preserve faithfully the memory of pedigrees, marriages, liberal descent, privileges, and duties of the Cymry.

63. Three things that are not to be done but by the joint will of country and district, and the paramount sovereign clan: 1. Altering the law. 2. Deposing the king. 3. Teaching new doctrines, or introducing new regulations in the sessions of the Bards. For these things ought not to be done (by the Bards), until country and clan are informed of their nature, their tendency, and regular order, according to the judgment of the learned who are authorized by law, and instructors of approved wisdom acknowledged by the general session of country and district. The king can be deposed only by the unanimous voice of the country.

* The three foundations of learning are: seeing much, suffering much, and studying much.

* The three things appertaining to proper instruction: the best object; the best or-

der, and the best language.

VII. The language and literature of the Druids.

— The three indispensable qualities of language: purity, copiousness, and aptness.

— Three qualities which come in aid of the purity of a language: it should be intelligible, select, and acceptable.

— The three supports of language: order, strength, and variety.

— The three foundations of thought: perspicuity, amplitude, and justness.

— The three qualities of poetry: endowment of genius, judgment from experience, and happiness of mind.

— The foundations of judgment: bold design, frequent practice, and frequent mistakes.

— The three canons of perspicuity: the word that is necessary, the quantity that is necessary, and the manner that is necessary.

— The three canons of amplitude: appropriate thought, variety of thought, and requisite thought.⁷

These are only a few of the great number and variety of the triads; but they are sufficient to show their form, structure and merits. It is wonderful to see the extent to which they have carried their thoughts and refinement upon all subjects of government, laws, justice, morals and language:—illustrating the duties and obligation in the various positions of human life, either public or private; the rights and duties of the public officer, as well as rights and obligations of the private man, as to his person, property and freedom; while all his moral duties, and domestic relations are fully regarded and enforced.

It is not claimed that these triads now make their appearance as they came from the hands of the ancient Druids, but that they are substantially their work and the merits due to them. The Cymry admit that they have been on some occasions revised, but that they are essentially and substantially the same as they were before the Roman conquest. This is supported not only by the positive declaration of the

⁷ Six Old English Chronicles, p. 430; Richard of Cirencester, B. I, ch. iv, §9, in n.

Cymric writers, but also as clearly proved by the classic writers before the middle of the first century of the Christian era,—and, therefore, before Roman influences had any effect in producing them,—that the Druids and their peculiar learning existed; that the Bards with their poetry and song animated and aroused their people to exertion and independence; and that although they taught their scholars orally, for the sake of cultivating their memory, yet all matters were committed to writing, both public and private, with Greek characters. All this is proved by Cæsar, Tacitus, Strabo, Diodorus, and especially Lucan, who said: “Ye Druids, from you we learn, that the bourne of man’s ghost is not the senseless grave, not the pale realms of the monarch below; in another world his spirit survives still; death, if your lore be true, is but the passage to enduring life.”⁸ No one can read with impartiality what these ancient writers have written, without being satisfied that the claim of the Cymry, that the triads are substantially the work and labors of the ancient Druids. Like all old books and ancient manuscripts, in their being copied and rewritten in their transcripts, some changes or additions may have been made, as is known to be the case in the Psalms of David. To claim them to be the forgeries of the Cymric literature of the sixth or twelfth centuries is as unreasonable as it is unjust. Forgery of this kind is only a modern production, when the various avenues to literary productions became more occupied and closed up. When the door was wide open, men were too fond of claiming for themselves whatever was of any value, to permit them to assign the production to others, or to forego the honors of it for themselves.

§5.—*Civilization and Character of the Ancient Britons.*

We have claimed that the Ancient Britons were a part of the Cimbri of the Ro-

man history;¹ that they were part of the original Celtic family, who were once for some length of time in Asia Minor, where they became acquainted with the then civilization of the world; that they came thence west, through Europe, by the way of the mouth of the Elbe, to Western France and to Britain,—bringing with them many of the arts and sciences, and the civilization of Asia Minor. We have, in tracing their footsteps in this long journey, given some of the facts and reasons upon which our assumption is founded; but those facts and circumstances still continue during the continuance of the whole period now under consideration. These facts support and prove our assumption, and contradict and exclude every other hypothesis at all consistent with history.

These Cymry first settled in Armorica in France; and soon passed on to Britain as their final home; taking with them and cultivating the arts and sciences that they had acquired while in Asia Minor. These are their striking characteristics, which distinguished them from all the rest of Europe. From the time and place where they first settled in Armorica, through France, Britain and the British Islands, we find throughout the production and labors of one and the same people, which history and truth will not permit to be that of any other people. The great monuments of Carnac, those of Avebury and Stonehenge, as well as those of Classensess on the Island of Lewis, and that of Stennis in Orkney; nor must similar antiquities in Scotland and in the Islands of Anglesea and Man be overlooked. All these most wonderful monuments of the labors of man are evidently the production of one thought and purpose and the labors of one and the same people. Standing stones, either single or in a cluster of a few, assigned by tradition as monuments of some burial or event, are frequently found in

not only assigns superior knowledge in matters of theology to the Druids, but great degree of information on all subjects.

¹ Arnold’s Hist. Rome, ch. xxiv, p. 200; Godwin’s France, 60, n. 5; Richard of Cirencester, Six Old English Chronicles, 423, B. 1, ch. 3, §4, n. 5; 3 Niebuhr’s Lect., xxiv, p. 42; Palgrave’s Anglo-Saxons, p. 1.

⁸ This translation of Lucan is taken from Matthew Arnold, in his very able review of the question here considered, found in the English Cornhill Magazine, 1866, and in the N. Y. Eclectic Magazine of that year. See, also, Rowe’s Translation of Lucan, B. 1; Richard of Cirencester, B. 1, ch. iv, §13-15. Lucan

other places, especially in France and Britain; but those great monuments at the places above mentioned, have an uniformity of character and design, and are found no where except in those places where the Cymry and their Druids are known to have been most concentrated and identified as a people; and tradition have uniformly attributed them as monuments of the Druids, that there can be no doubt of the truth of the conjecture. These monuments, consisting of circles and avenues, have uniformly been assigned to have been the temples of the Druids, and by them used for the purpose of religion and the administration of justice.² This is the only theory of their origin consistent with historical facts, and the Cymry the only people who, with justice and consistency, can claim them.

These monuments consist of immense blocks of stone set perpendicularly in the ground in circles and avenues, extending from 6 or 8 feet to 18 or 20 feet above the ground;—sometimes set up in the open plain, but usually surrounded by a deep moat, and wall of earth. Of these the most extraordinary are those of Carnac, Avebury and Stonehenge. That of Carnac is the most extensive,—consisting of ten large avenues some miles in length, and forming a circle at one end. It is the largest, but the rudest. The next in extraordinary dimensions is that of Avebury, which consists of a very large circle of upright stones within a deep moat; then within these again there are two other circles of upright stones, which was supposed to form a temple of large dimensions with wings. But the most extraordinary of these temples is Stonehenge. It evinces greater skill, art and science in its construction; and advancement in architecture. The stones were hewn and dressed with tools of iron; and the top of the upright stone was neatly fitted as a transom, forming an united circle of the whole. Carnac was the first—the oldest—effort of the Cymry and their Druids in these works, and we may well conceive that Avebury

was the next, and probably nearly cotemporary work. But Stonehenge was a later work, and a production when the nation had made great progress in the arts.

In establishing a probable time when these events took place, we are not entirely left to conjecture, but greatly helped by historical data and facts. By the aid of Herodotus, and the monuments of Nineveh, we are able to assign the time when the Cymry left Asia Minor at about 650 B. C. Michelet puts the time when the Cymry came into France at about 600 B. C.,³ which was ample time,—at least one whole generation had passed away. Their works at Carnac in Armorica were soon commenced and progressed. The main part of the nation soon passed over to Britain, and Avebury was commenced.

We have already referred to Abaris and the account the Greeks have given of him. Taking that account, and the description given of him and his people, there is but little room to doubt he was a Druid from Britain, for the facts stated can apply to no other people.⁴ All the facts stated in allusion to him go strongly to support this claim; such as the people and island he was from; his peculiar dress, and the mystic arrow, or wand, with which he traveled, and which he had received from the temple at home as the gift of Apollo; which temple was round, and with wings. His object in traveling east was to obtain information,—in theology and philosophy. In so doing he had an interview with Pythagoras, and learned his tenets and views on those subjects. This must have happened about 500 B. C., as Pythagoras some years after that date died. This would put the time about 150 years after the Cymry left Asia Minor, and 100 years after their arrival in France and Britain; but probably about 140 years before Himilco's visit to Britain. It was long after that, it is probable, that Stonehenge was built, corresponding with the progress that all people make in architecture in the course of their improvement, just as we now find the costly and splen-

² See Logan's *Antiquities of Scotland*, p. 453.

³ See his *History of France*, B. i, ch. 1.

⁴ See ante, and the authorities there cited.

did churches in New York are superceding those of a former and ruder age. There is no reason for ascribing Stonehenge to a different people than the Cymry, as to the Belgians, for they, too, were Cymry, but undoubtedly a ruder people.

Now we humbly conceive that the historical facts and circumstances stated **proves** beyond a reasonable doubt that the Cymry are the same people who took Sardinia in Asia Minor and were afterwards expelled from thence, in the manner stated, and as narrated by Herodotus and others. We think the evidence sufficient, in tracing their marks and footprints, to prove that they were the same people who passed through Europe, upon the route indicated, and settled in Northwestern France and Britain; just as we have stated. The fact that they carried with them the art and knowledge of building and using the war chariot in the manner they did; and exactly like those used in Asia Minor, and they the only people of Europe who did so; that so much in their arts and science which connected them with Pythagoras and the east; connected with the claim they have ever made for themselves, that they came from the *Summer country*, near where Constantinople now stands; leaves no reasonable ground to doubt the claim; and are sufficient to exclude every other hypothesis founded on historical facts. These facts of themselves are sufficient to show that they were not the barbarians and uncivilized people that have sometimes been claimed they were. In other words, these facts prove them to be in a great measure a civilized people. But let this claim be as it may, still the reliable facts, stated by Cæsar and other historians of his day, are sufficient to show that they were a people for that day far advanced on the way to civilization and refinement. To use the words of Mr. Arnold in the Essay above referred to: "That we have the most explicit testimony in classic writers of that day that this race once possessed a special, profound, spiritual discipline; that they were, to use Mr. Nash's words [who opposed it] 'wiser than their neighbors.' The words of Lucan are singularly clear and

strong, and serve well to stand as a landmark in this controversy." A fair construction of the testimony of Cæsar is to the same effect. What Cæsar states upon the subject as to what he saw and encountered is entitled to full credit. But he has stated many things about the character of the people, in relation to matters in which he had not personal opportunity to verify them, or which he merely states in general terms, that cannot be true; as being expressly contradicted by, or inconsistent with what is stated by other historians of the time. It is evident to every one, that Cæsar's expedition to Britain was a failure, and that his account of it was evidently drawn upon with a view to give to his people a fair account of those matters which concerned him, and put his case in the best light. While he does ample justice to the skill and abilities of the men and their officers who were brought against him; yet his account of the people and country otherwise, is either contradicted or not sustained by the historians who follow him. Evidently his object was to represent that the war was conducted on his part with great skill, but that there was neither a great gain in its success or loss in its failure. "If the Britons of Cæsar's time," says Vaughan,⁵ "were wont to delight in human sacrifices, to paint or stain their bodies in barbarous fashion, and to have wives of a family in common, nothing of this would seem to apply to the Britons described by Tacitus and Dion Cassius. This is a fact of importance in relation to our early history, and should be marked by the student."

Although Cæsar in vigor and accuracy of style is unsurpassed, and his information reliable when dependent upon his own observation, yet when such information is second-hand, it is, in his commentaries, subject to many misrepresentations and inaccuracies. Those just suggested by Mr. Vaughan are some of them; but there are many others, as his description of three extraordinary animals of the Hercynian forest;—as the bull resembling the stag; a

⁵ *Revolutions in English History*, p. 25.

kind of wild asses; and the uri.⁶ These descriptions must be inaccurate and false. So must be many matters related of Britain and Gaul. He says of Britain: "The island is well peopled, full of houses built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle." . . . "The inhabitants of Kent, on the sea coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country never sow their land, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons in *general* paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and make them look terrible in battle."⁷ This is not only inconsistent in itself, but contradicted by what he himself says elsewhere, and the whole course of the ancient historians is irreconcilable with it. He found the island well peopled, full of houses built after the manner of those of Gaul. He found the land cultivated, and full of corn; and his army sometimes set to gathering it. He required of the Trinobantes, (a people on the north side of the Thames, and adjoining the Cassi, where he himself had been,) to furnish his whole army with corn, which was accordingly done.⁸ A country well peopled and full of houses; with cultivated fields, and full of corn. With immense droves of cattle, with plenty of horses for their cavalry and chariots, as well for domestic uses. The use and construction of the chariot brought to that perfection which astonished Cæsar himself, and struck his army with terror;—capable of detailing for one single purpose four thousand chariots. Now a people who were accustomed to commit to writing all matters "public and private," which was not withheld for the purpose of improving the memory, or preserving it from vulgar ears;—who had a corporation of learned men whose duty it was to teach the people in all the arts and sciences of which they were masters, and especially in all matters of religions and morals; cannot be the bar-

barous and uncultivated people that Cæsar represents them to be. This subject is not only worthy of the attention of the student, as Mr. Vaughan says, but especially the attention of those persons whom Mr. Arnold designates as "Celt-haters," or prejudiced persons who are fond of perverting everything to their misguided views.

The reader's attention is not only called to these errors of Cæsar's, but there are others equally obnoxious to similar comment. As his statement, that "they think it unlawful to feed upon hares, pullets, or geese; yet they breed them up for their diversion and pleasure." This is not only ridiculous, but controverted by our reason and experience. The author has seen in the marshes of an army through a hostile country, with what exertion the people saved such animals from rapacious soldiery, as though they were their household gods, and might lead a more simple man than Cæsar into his error. The story of the community of wives, is also self-condemned, as contrary to nature and unsupported by anything else in history. But we may also say that the thing was impossible, in the midst of a people whose priesthood (the Druids) guarded their religion and morals with such vigilance. It is an assertion like that we some time find made by inconsiderate and prejudiced travelers in respect to Americans, because they find something of the kind, or polygamy, in some solitary place in Oneida county, N. Y., or at Great Salt Lake, it is charged as a reproach to the whole people. Or because, fifty years ago, it was so common a matter among the English sailors and laborers to mark and tattoo their arms and body with their name or the representation of some instrument, as a chain and anchor, or arrow and heart, and the like, one should assert that the British people "*generally*," were all tattooed. But we frequently find such prejudice and unfriendly remarks made, and are founded entirely upon national prejudice, or "hatred of race."

Many of the points upon which the civilization of the Ancient Britons, and their progress in improvements depended, have already been suggested to the reader; still

⁶ See B. vi. ch. 23-26.

⁷ *Com.* B. v. ch. 10.

⁸ *Com.* B. v. ch. 10.

there are many more worthy of his consideration. Whatever results the investigation might have produced, upon an unfriendly mind years ago, the question now is a very different matter, when aided by what has been discovered and produced by researches in mounds and other objects, where articles of antiquity have been buried and unknown for ages. Such researches in recent time have produced objects of wonderful results in demonstrating the progress that had been made in those ancient times, towards a high degree of civilization. Progress in the arts that would not permit civilization and refinement to lag behind. The arts and sciences are kindred, and dependent upon one another; so that when antiquary finds an object of ancient art, he can well tell much more of the progress which that people have made in the arts if not in the sciences, and establish the progress they have made in civilization; just as a bone will enable an unprejudiced and learned zoologist and antiquary to establish the family of animals to which it belonged, and their characteristics. In the oldest mounds which can be assigned to the Cymry, there have been found iron and bronze, showing that they were in an advanced age of civilization. This must necessarily have been, and they must have brought the knowledge of iron and the arts and science necessarily dependent upon it, with them from Asia Minor; which was necessary for them to maintain and keep up their chariots, which they could never have invented and constructed except as having been instructed in Asia Minor; and iron was necessary to their construction. The chariot therefore was proof of the identity and existence of the Cymry in Western Europe. The arts and civilization which they brought with them to Armorica and Britain, was working out a new civilization in Western Europe, which was crushed and stamped out by Cæsar with remorseless cruelty. No where was this more evident than in the result of the war of Cæsar against the Venetians. Cæsar was astonished at the perfection of their shipping. It was the astonishment experienced by Xenophon

upon visiting Tyre, and witnessing the wonderful perfection of Phœnician shipping. Cæsar found there such wonderful improvements in the arts as applied to their shipping, that he may well be surprised to find that the Venetian cables were made of iron chains; and a person in reading his account of it, would even now suppose he was reading an account of a British modern navy, rather than one of Venetia. That undoubtedly was the triumph and result of the arts brought to the country by the Cymry. At that time there was the most intimate and friendly intercourse between the Venetians of Armorica and the Britons. The historical triads give an account of the aid given by the Britons to the Venetians in that war in opposition to Cæsar, and that for that purpose Caswallon⁹ passed over to Armorica with a large army. There can be no doubt of there being a substantial truth in this legend about Caswallon;¹⁰ for Cæsar complained of it, and made it the cause of the war against the Britons,¹¹ that they had rendered aid to the Venetians against him in their land and naval operations. These statements of the triads and that of Cæsar corroborate and confirm each other. They further show the intimate relation which subsisted between the people of Britain and that of Armorica, and whatever showed advancement in the arts and civilization in the one was equally attributable to the other. Both were Cymry, and had the same arrange-

⁹ Cassivellaunus of Cæsar, B. v. ch. 6.

¹⁰ The triad and legion is this: "The second combined expedition was conducted by Caswallon, son of Beli, * * * and their number was three score and one thousand. They went with Caswallon after the Cæsarians [Romans] over the sea to the land of the Geli Llydaw [Gauls of Armorica], that were descendants from the original stock of the Cymry. * * * And it was in revenge for this expedition that the Romans first came to this island."

¹¹ Cæsar says: "The Venetian state is by far the most powerful and considerable of all the nations dwelling along the sea coast; and that not only on account of their vast shipping, wherewith they drive a mighty traffic to Britain, and their skill and experience in naval affairs, in which they greatly surpass the other maritime states," * * * "The neighboring states moved by their example and authority, by their princes, entered into a confederacy for acting in all things with common consent, and alike expose themselves to the same issue of fortune." (B. iii. ch. S.) "Cæsar resolved to pass over into Britain, having certain intelligence, that in all his wars with the Gauls, the enemies of the commonwealth had ever received assistance from thence." (B. iv. ch. 18.)

ments to their Druids and Bards to teach them in religion, morals and the arts; which accounts for the great advancement made by them in naval affairs, and the commercial relation between the two people.

At Cæsar's time, and previous thereto, the most highly improved and civilized part of Britain was not that seen by Cæsar, but that in the neighborhood of the valley of the Avon, of the British channel, and the isle of Wight. There was the site of the great tin traffic with the Phœnicians and other eastern nations, and the great commercial relation, spoken of by Cæsar, between the Britons and the Venetians; and also the site of the great population of Ancient Britain who carried on that great traffic, and raised those immense monuments of their labors—those of Avebury and Stonehenge, and have left to us the mounds and barrows of the counties of Hants and Wilts, which yield to the antiquary high evidence of the progress then made by the Cymry in the arts and civilization.

One of the greatest evidence of a people's progress, in improvement and civilization, is their acquisition of money and coinage. These objects collected by antiquaries from those ancient mounds and excavations, afford ample proof of the progress made, in these respects, by the Ancient Britons, before the time that the Roman conquest had any influence upon their customs and manners. Cæsar says: "They use brass money [probably bronze] and iron rings of certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those upon the coast iron; but the latter in no great quantity. Their brass is all imported."¹² This shows the unreliability

of Cæsar in his account of Britain, except in those matters which are represented as coming directly under his own observation. The tin was procured near the sea shore, and not from the interior. Iron must have been used in considerable quantity in the construction of their chariots and arms. And we again insist upon it, as a fair and reasonable conclusion, that the Cymry brought with them the knowledge and use of iron, their chariots and other matters, from Asia Minor to Venetia and Britain. This accounts for the liberal quantity of iron used by the Venetians in the construction of their vast shipping, as narrated by Cæsar; even so extensive as to be able to use it in chain cables. This shipping of the Venetians, "wherewith they drive a mighty traffic to Britain, was a traffic between a kindred people, participated in by both;—the Venetians occupying a central point on the route of that ancient traffic in the tin trade between Britain and the Mediterranean sea through Gaul, which accounts for their success and prosperity in it. The knowledge of bronze and iron must have been brought by the Phœnicians to Britain—the Tin Islands—at a very early day, possibly before the Cymry arrived there, when it was occupied by the Gaelic Celts. But when the Carthaginian intercourse commenced with Himilco, the Cymric were there, and besides what they brought with them they acquired much

Romans who were curious in such inquiries." This is evident from these authorities upon the tin trade, and that extensive shipping and traffic (that Cæsar himself speaks of) between the Venetians and Britain, and that commerce was with the western part of the country, of which Cæsar was entirely ignorant; and which, unfortunately, many of the modern authors detract and misrepresent. These same authors also say, "that the Britons were much farther advanced in civilization than the savage tribes with which it has been the fashion to compare them. Were this not the case, the somewhat unsuccessful employment against them of so large an army as that of Cæsar would be disgraceful to the Roman name." (*Ibid.* p. 31.)

¹² *Com.* B. v. ch. 10. The readers of Cæsar are led to suppose that but little was known of Britain previous to his day, and that Kent and that part of it which he had visited was the most improved part of it; whereas both history and the antiquities of the country clearly show that west of the Hampton Forest, in the neighborhood of the valley of the Avon and the Isle of Wight, there was and for a long time had been a superior civilization, in connection with the tin trade, and traffic of the country. The evidence upon this subject is collected by the authors of the *English Pictorial History*, (1 Vol., p. 88, B. 1, ch. iv, also 1 *Giles' Ancient Britain*, 11,) and they say of this: "Indeed, various facts concur to show that, however ignorant of Britain Cæsar himself may have been when meditating his invasion, a good deal was even then known about it by those of the Greeks and

Not only is the importance of the British tin commerce shown by ancient classic historians, but the antiquities of the country illustrate it, even back to the time of the Phœnicians. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. 2, p. 426, B. iii, ch. 115, n. 7; see, also, 1 *Giles' Ancient Britain*, 10 and 11, and 65-6.) One pig of tin has been found in South-western England, so different from that of all other nations, it is attributed to the Phœnicians. "It is remarkable from its shape and marks, evidently taken from its usual form of the trough into which the metal was run. It is preserved in the Truro Museum." (See, also, 3 Niebuhr's *Lect.* 40.)

new improvements in this great traffic. In this way they early acquired the use of money; and many things in their antiquities indicate their connection with the far east—Phœnicia and Egypt. This is demonstrated by what Cæsar says of the use of iron rings and bronze for money; and the great amount of these found in the antiquities of Britain. "The Egyptian monuments illustrate these rings, and in Britain great quantities have been found, some of large size, seemingly worn over the shoulder or around the body as ornaments, but probably serving the purpose of money, as indicated by the fact that their weights are all exact multiples of one and the same standard or unit."¹³

There has been, without doubt, three periods in British history of money and coinage, previous to the Roman conquest. The first is with the money spoken of by Cæsar,—bronze and iron rings. This money probably commenced with the Phœnicians. The second consisted of a coinage of pure gold, of peculiar devices and emblematics, without any literal inscription. Of this sort of coin a considerable quantity was discovered about a century since at Carnbre Hill in Cornwall. This coinage was adopted long before Cæsar's time, but like many other things, was kept out of his sight. And the third sort, was that which came into use about Cæsar's time, and continued until the Roman conquest; when every thing became so changed, as Gildas says, "that it was no longer thought to be Britain, but a Roman island; and all their money, whether copper, gold, or silver, was stamped with Cæsar's image." This is full admission that the kind and character of their money was not changed, but only stamped anew with the imperial insignia.¹⁴

These facts, established with as much certainty as historical facts usually are, would satisfy an unprejudiced mind that the Britons and the Cymric Gauls had, previous to the Roman conquest, made that progress in the course of civilization, which was but little behind the Romans; and that the application of the term of savage or barbarian to them was wrong and unjust.

The character and manners of the Ancient Britons, as delineated to us by the classic writers, agree very well with that of the Gauls.¹⁵ This harmonizes exactly with our theory. What Cæsar says upon the subject leads to the conclusion that these two peoples differed very little from each other, in their houses, language, manners and institutions. In these respects there was a common identity and communication between them. Cæsar found ready communication between the two countries, by means of merchants and others passing from one country to the

armed with flattened knobs, in others they are rounded out into cup-like hollows. Sometimes several rings are joined together at their circumferences; other specimens consist of rings linked into one another." And these all agree in weight to a certain part or multiple of an unit, which is considered to be proof that they were used as money. 2. The Carnbre money and the like; "these were considered to be real British coin. Some were stamped with figures of horses, oxen, hogs and sheep; a few had such figures of animals on one side, and a head apparently of a royal personage on the other. All of them were of gold; and perhaps it was the only money thought to be worthy of being thus pressed." * * * "It is admitted that there were really British money,—that is to say, that they were not only current in Britain, but had been coined under the public authority of some one or more of the states of the island. This we seem to be entitled to infer, from the emblematic figures impressed on them, which distinguished them from any known Gallic or other foreign coins, and are at the same time similar to those commonly found on what appears to be the British money of a somewhat later period." 3. The more recent British coinage of this period was between Cæsar's time and that of the conquest by the Emperor Claudius." The greater number of the coins in question bear, either in full or abbreviated, the name of Cunobelinus who lived in the time of Augustus." Some have this name or another abbreviated.

Of these coins Mr. Logan (p. 369) says: "The coins of the Britons bear the impression of the heads of their princes, with various figures on the reverse side, either symbolical or representing articles, now sometimes unknown; but the figure of a horse, the mystical symbol of Ceredwen or Ceres, as here shown, is frequently introduced. The British coins usually present the inscription Tascio, concerning which there has been so much conjecture. It has been said, with much appearance of reason, to be the native appellation of the nobles, being the same as the Gaelic toshich, which signifies chief, and hence it meant no more than Rex of modern coin."

¹⁵ Tacitus' Agricola, §11.

¹³ 12 New Amer. Cyclo., 443, title "Numismatics." See, also, 1 Pictorial Hist. England, 105; Logan's Antiquities of Scotland, 368.

¹⁴ Gildas, §7; 1 Pictorial Eng., 105. These three different kinds of British coined money deserve a further annotation. 1. The ring-money; of this the English Pictorial History (Vol. 1, p. 104) says, upon the authority of a learned paper of Sir William Betham, they have been found in great numbers in bronze, gold and silver. "Sometimes the form is that of a complete ring; sometimes that of a wire or bar, merely bent until the two ends are brought near to each other. In some cases the extremities are

other. His confidential ally—Divitiacus, who undoubtedly was a British Druid—had been chief with the Suessiones, in Belgium, and had a dominion over which he ruled in Britain;¹⁶ demonstrate the facility and ease of communication between the two countries and people. Throughout the vast territory occupied by the Celts, they are uniformly represented as possessing a striking similarity of character and habits,—quick in their determination and passions, but too soon over with their excitement to be really malignant, often liberal to a fault, and hospital to strangers, and fond of company;—inquisitive as to news, and foreign countries. Distinguished for the wearing of the pantaloons, and gay plaid clothing and cloak, with the Celtic cap, which has since been called the cap and emblem of liberty.

Such was the general character of the Celt, whether British or Gallic. But says Michelet: "a new Celtic tribe,—the Cymry, came to join the Gauls. The new comers, who settled for the most part in the centre of France, on the Seine and the Loire, were, it appears, of a more serious and staple character. Less indisposed to restraint, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—the Druids. The primitive religion of the Gauls yielded to the Druidism of the Cymry."¹⁷

The character of the Ancient Britons, as delineated by Strabo and Diodorus, as they appeared to the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans before Cæsar's time, and that given to us by Tacitus immediately afterwards, perfectly agree. The former authors represent those people as a hardy, persevering and industrious race, who worked the hard earth and rock to procure tin, which they faced and run into metal in bars for exportation. This they took in large quantities in wagons and boats to their seaport,¹⁸ to sell to the merchants who came there for it, or to exchange for such articles as they needed and chose to take in barter.

They are represented to have been a kind and well dressed people; and "from their intercourse with foreign merchants, were civilized in their manners." But Tacitus is still more explicit. He says that Agricola found them capable of education and fond of letters. "By way of encouragement, he praised their talents, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, rising superior to the attainments of the Gauls." Again he says: "The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden and impatient; they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery."¹⁹ Such have ever been the true character of the true Britons;—a brave and determined people; easy led with kindness, but hard to be driven by either oppression or injustice. Ever kind and generous, but ever intolerant of wrongs. Always ready faithfully to discharge their duties in whatever situation fortune may place them; but ever rebellious against tyranny and supercilious arrogance.

¹⁶ Tacitus's *Agricola*, §13 and 21. As to the indomitable bravery of the Britons under every circumstances and adversity we have the frequent testimony of both Cæsar and Tacitus. Cæsar frequently testifies to their bravery and skill in battle, and says of his first landing, after delineating the boldness with which the Britons opposed the Romans in their landing, "the battle was obstinate on both sides." Nothing but the advantage gained by the use of the engines on board of the boats of shallow drafts in shooting missiles with deadly effect upon the flanks of the Britons enabled Cæsar to obtain a firm footing. Tacitus says: "Ostorius resolved to storm the place," being inclosed with a rampart thrown up with sed, difficult of attack by cavalry; "the assault was ordered. The Britons, inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of their heroic bravery."

It seems that the Britons beat the Romans when fighting with missiles and light arms. This was frequently observed, especially at the battles in which Caractacus, and also that in which Galgacus was defeated. It was only when the Romans came into close quarters, where their heavy weapons and superior defensive armor and discipline came into full operation, that they had the advantage, and were successful.

¹⁶ Cæsar's *Com.*, B. ii, §1; Logan's *Antiquities*, p. 44.

¹⁷ *History of France*, ch. 1.

¹⁸ This port was called Ictis on or near the Isle of Wight, or between it and Cornwall.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

BOOK II.—THE ROMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN RULE FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN.

§1—*The Conquest to Suetonius, A. D. 43
to 61.*

In that long period from the retreat of Cæsar to the conquest of Claudius—almost a century—the Britons enjoyed a happy exemption from foreign invasion, during which they made great progress in improvements and national prosperity. During the same time the Romans had also made great improvements of the same kind. Of that period, from the death of Cæsar to that of Augustus, a period of fifty-eight years,¹ it was the spirit of the latter that swayed the Roman world. The material prosperity of Rome was then so great, that Augustus boasted that he found Rome in brick and left it in marble. But that Emperor left to this world a more enduring monument of his wisdom, as a bequest to his country, and an example to mankind, in giving to his successors, in a written will, his advice of confining the empire within those limits, which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwark and boundaries.² Tiberius, his successor, in a reign of twenty-three years preserved the peace of the empire, and followed the wise advice of this predecessor,

more from the want of any laudable enterprise, and that which should distinguish a statesman, than from any appreciation of the moral value of the bequest. In A. D. 37 this worthless tyrant in the midst of his tyranny, crimes and worthlessness, was assassinated; and was succeeded by Caligula, who is represented as a most detestable character, who, after a reign of four years, was also assassinated, by which the Roman empire and the world were relieved of an execrable tyrant; and a worthless and vicious man. He was succeeded by Claudius, a nephew of Tiberius, a cold, phlegmatic man, and but little better than those who had just preceded him. In the third year of his reign, A. D. 43, he ordered his general in Gaul, Aulus Plautius, to proceed to invade and conquer Britain, with as little regard for the wise admonition and bequest of Augustus as for any just cause for the war.³

In pursuance of the orders of Claudius, Plautius collected a large army and naval conveyance at the same port in Gaul—now supposed to be Boulogne—at which Cæsar, ninety-eight years before, started upon a similar expedition. Plautius was an experienced and able general, but like most of the Roman generals of the day, selfish, heartless and cruel. The army collected for the enterprise consisted of four legions of the regular army, making twenty-five thousand men, with auxiliaries of various troops sufficient to make his whole force fifty thousand. A large fleet was prepared to embark them. But notwithstanding the high reputation of their general, he found

¹ From B. C. 44 to A. D. 14.

² It seems that, notwithstanding this, Augustus about A. D. 26, upon some pretence made preparation to invade Britain, concerning which Giles (i Hist. Anc. Britons, 58.) says: "But the emperor had no sooner arrived in Gaul than the Britons sent a deputation to meet him. Some time was spent in negotiating, and it seemed fruitless: for the historian, Dion Cassius tells us, that the Britons would not enter into a treaty, and that Augustus, when on the point of invading the Island, was withheld by a revolt of the Salassii."

³ Vaughan's *Revolutions in English History*, 24 and 44; i S. Turner's *History Anglo-Saxons*, 74, 75. Tacitus? Agricola; i Pictorial *History of England*, 36, &c.

great opposition on the part of the troops to engage in the enterprise. Tradition and history informed them of the opposition, which their great Cæsar had met with from the Britons. They considered the brave and determined defense the Britons made for their country, even in the midst of the waves upon the sea shore. They thought of the chariot, which they had never met in battle, and did not much like the idea of being rode over by its wheels. Besides, they looked upon Britain being out of the world; and said: "We will march anywhere within the Roman world, but not out of it." But at length appeals to their patriotism, and to the glory of the Roman name, and the fame and wealth that they themselves would acquire, overcame their scruples; and they were embarked. The weather turned out to be tempestuous; and their fleet was some scattered, so that they did not make land for two days. This, the veterans claimed, was just as they had predicted, and received the adversity as no good omen. At length they landed in three divisions, somewhere on the coast between Dover and the isle of Thanet. Of course they took Cæsar for their guide; and their landing could not be far from the same place. But this time the Britons did not oppose their landing, deeming it best to make their opposition in the interior. Plautius had under him, as his lieutenants, some of the most able generals, among whom were Vespasian and his son, Titus, both of whom afterwards became renowned for their reign as emperors, and capture of Jerusalem. In this instance the Empire had made every preparation for success, and was not then particularly distracted by engagements anywhere else. With their large army of fifty thousand veteran troops, with the arms, equipments and discipline, produced by Roman arts and experience, this attack upon the Britons was an overmatch for them, in everything except their determined bravery and persevering patriotism.

At this time the leading men in Britain upon whom the responsibility of defending the country would fall, were Guiderius the sovereign, and his brother, Arviragus, two

sons of Cymbeline, who had now been dead a number of years, and their second cousin, Caractacus; men whose names are deservedly retained in merited renown in British history, as well as known in classic literature.⁴

The Roman army soon advanced into the interior, in the direction of London. The Britons watched their movements, and attacked and annoyed them upon every opportunity. Before they reached the Thames above that city two severe battles were fought, in the last of which Guiderius, [Togodumnus,] their sovereign, was slain. By this unfortunate event Arviragus became sovereign of the state of the Trinobantes, but it was desirable to elect a supreme sovereign for the whole nation, whom they denominated their Pendragon or Wledig,⁵ as commander-in-chief. From the position and influence of the Trinobantes it would seem that this official appointment should be theirs; but the established reputation of Caractacus, and his known patriotism was such as to point him out as the prominent candidate. At the general assembly or congress held to determine the question, Arviragus, with equal patriotism and self denial, was the first to cast his sufferage for Caractacus, and he was duly elected Pendragon.

The Britons having thrown every obstacle in the way of the enemy's crossing the Thames, they withdrew to the north

⁴ Three persons in names and identity are most singularly mixed up, in history and the classics. Cymbeline, as he is called by Shakespeare, is known in the history of the Ancient Britons as Cynfelyn, which name the Romans latinized as Cunobelinus. Guiderius' British name was Gwydyr; but historians sometimes (and often) call him Togodumnus. Arviragus' British name was Arifog; and that of Caractacus was Caradawg.

These names and the history of the time from A. D. 43 to 77, a period of thirty-four years, when Agricola was appointed governor of Britain, are very much confused and mixed up. Vaughan (and other historians) says: "Cunobeline, the king of the Trinobantes, deputed the command to his sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus." Cymbeline (Cunobeline) had been dead, and Guiderius (Togodumnus) had succeeded him as ruler for a number of years; and Caractacus was not his son, but his grand nephew, and was the son of Bran, the son of Llir (Llir, of Shakespeare), who was the brother of Cymbeline. Unfortunately, four books of Tacitus' Annals, from B. vi to xi, for A. D. 37 to 47, covering six or eight years of the first of this war, are lost; or we might be furnished with more reliable account of it.

⁵ In British history these terms frequently occur; Pendragon may be translated as commander-in-chief; and Wledig, as emperor.

side above London, it is said at Chertsey, and prepared to defend that point as the most probable place where the Romans would attempt to force a crossing. After an obstinate resistance, and several attempts which failed, the Romans were successful. In the last attempt, Plautius divided his army into three divisions, one of which was under his own immediate command, and another under that of Vespasian, the future emperor, with a determination that it should be a success. They entered the river at the different points assigned them, while a strong body of German cavalry, which had swam the river below, attacked the Britons in flank. After the passage, a desperate engagement continued on the north side, for two days.⁶ At last the Pendragon was defeated by an unexpected and daring movement on his flank and rear by Cneius Geta, the recent conquerer of Mauritania. This exploit of Geta was so highly appreciated by the Roman senate that they awarded to him a triumph,—which was considered most extraordinary honors to a person who had never attained the consular dignity. Caractacus did not despair, and instead of retreating into the interior, led his forces to the north of London into the morasses of Essex, where his movements would be at greater advantage over his enemies. Here Plautius found his operations so rough and discouraging he withdrew to the south side of the Thames, and sent an invitation to Claudius, his sovereign, with so favorable an account of his operation, as to induce that emperor to come to Britain with a large amount of additional aid,⁷ with a view to enjoy the glory and reputation of the final triumph. The artful general had two objects in view by this maneuver:—to secure more immediate aid; and then to gratify a weak and inefficient master, and share with him the victory he expected to make. Claudius took the bait, and hastened to join his general, and share with him in the glory of the conquest. He immediately ordered the necessary re-enforce-

ment, and pursued a journey for himself by the way of Ostia and the Mediterranean to Marseilles, and thence through Gaul to Britain. Landing at Richborough, he was soon at camp, where they were impatiently waiting him, and where the soldiers were highly gratified with having an Emperor with them in camp,—then an entire new thing. But what was undoubtedly the most gratifying to them was the aid he brought with him, to insure their success. It is said that some elephants⁷ were included in the forces he brought; and though this has been doubted, yet it is probable, for the bones of an elephant has recently been found in an excavation made in that part of the island, as though it might be one of those there buried. Besides Geta with his experience in Africa must have been perfectly acquainted with their use and management.

The Roman army being thus re-enforced, again moved to the north side of the river,—first to Verulam, and then against Caer Col, now Colchester, while the Coritani under the guidance of the traitor Adminius joined them, raising the standard of rebellion in the rear of the Pendragon. Caer Col was said to be the capital and royal city of Cymbeline, the father of Arviragus, the late Pendragon, and king of the Trinobantes. It was then one of the most important places in Britain, yet Caractacus, as a matter of sound policy, was opposed to hazard his army and the place in its defense. He was, however, over-persuaded by the importunities of his people to make a stand in its defense. Contrary to his own judgment he was induced to risk another pitched battle. His defeat was decisive; for the preparation which had been made against him was too great and decided, to admit of his success. After this resistance Colchester was surrendered, and made the principal of the Roman stations, and called Camulodunum. Claudius being satisfied with this success, made a treaty of amnesty with the Coradidæ and Iceni,

⁶ Dion Cassius, B. lx, 20, 23; Morgan's *Cambr. History*, 94; 1 Giles' *Ancient Britons*, 70; 2d. *Ibid.* 117.

⁷ Pictorial History of England, 90. The idea of the Romans was that the elephants would be successful in disconcerting the chariots, as horses are very fearful of elephants.

by which it was stipulated that on their payment of a certain tribute they should, under the Roman Protectorate, be guaranteed the retention of their lands, laws, and native government. Claudius, leaving the further prosecution of the war to his generals, hastened his return to Rome, where he was to enjoy a magnificent triumph prepared for him by the senate, with the title of Britannicus, as a reward for his success in Britain, which so little depended on his own merits. The Roman people in their great rejoicing over the events in Britain did not neglect to remember and reward the generals by whom it was accomplished.

This expedition of Claudius, so remunerative in cheap honors,⁸ and so little dependent upon his own efforts, was accomplished in six months; of which time only sixteen days were spent in Britain,⁹ when he hastened to return to Rome, to enjoy his ostentatious triumph.

The Roman generals were thus left to accomplish the conquest of Britain, in the best manner they could; which they found by severe experience to be a hard and tedious task. The Britons were not the people to submit tamely to the unjust demands of those who would enslave them, because they were once stricken down, or menaced by overwhelming power, so long as human perseverance and endurance held out a hope to them. Caractacus and Arviragus were deeply inspired with these patriotic sentiments, and the people supported them with resolute confidence. The views of their chief were now adopted. Instead of risking pitched battles, where Roman discipline and arms had so greatly the advantage, it was determined to harass the advance of their enemies, and strike in battle only whenever the opportunity would favor success.

Plautius had become well aware of the task he had before him. As yet he had only conquered that part of the country in the vicinity of London, principally the territory of the Trinobantes, whose people

were only overcome,—not conquered. He saw that the settled and improved parts of the country, along the valley of the Thames, in the direction of Gloucester¹⁰ on the Severn,¹¹ and from the isle of Wight,¹² by the valley of the Avon to the same place on the Severn, must be subdued or Britain must be given up. In these directions were the most populous part of the island, where there were numerous towns and cities, and the country much cultivated. The first of these routes of conquest was taken by Plautius himself, while Geta was left with a sufficient portion of the army to hold possession of the territory they had already subdued in the neighborhood of Camulodunum,—Colchester—which they were now making their headquarters and the basis of their operations. The second line of operation, from the isle of Wight to the Severn, was assigned to Vespasian and his son, Titus. Plautius, on his route, was watched by the vigilance of Caractacus, and constantly annoyed by severe opposition and constant fighting. The states, towns and settlements, he passed through only yielded to his power when superior force compelled them. He succeeded in

¹⁰ Caer Glou. Glevum.

¹¹ Sabrina.

¹² Vecta or Vectis. In this vicinity were those whom Caesar and others called Belgæ. But it is insisted upon that what Caesar so often speaks of as the Belgæ in South Britain must have reference to the same people, whom the Ancient Britons called *Lloegrwys* (Logrians). Caesar called them Belgæ, because they represented themselves as having emigrated from Gaul (Belgium) since the first Cymry. But they were all of the same race and language; having come together peaceably, as friends and brethren. They were called Logrian Cymry. Since Caesar's time, in pursuance of his authority they have been called Belgæ; but all done on this mistake. Richard of Cirencester falls in with what Caesar has said without inquiry. (B. i. ch. v. §12.) He says: "Below towards the Ocean lived the Belgæ, whose chief city was Clausentum, near where Southampton now is. * * * All the Belgæ are Allobroges or foreigners, and derived their origin from the Belgæ and Celts." [This is not very intelligible.] Again he says: "All the region south of the Thames were, according to ancient records, occupied by the warlike nations of the Senones. These people under the guidance of their renowned Brennus, penetrated through Gaul, forced passage over the Alps," &c. * * * "In consequence of this vast expedition, the land of the Senones, being left without inhabitants, and full of spoils, was occupied by the above mentioned Belgæ." The original Senones were seated on the banks of the Seine; and when a portion of these went on the expedition to Italy, a portion of the British Senones joined them, and other Cymric Celts from Gaul took their place in Britain; and probably these were those called the Logrians. This is perfectly consistent with their being all Cymry,—and that is more consistent than any other theory.

⁸ See Tacitus' Annals, B. xii, §3, as to the estimation in which they were really held by the people of Rome.

⁹ In the summer of A. D. 44.

establishing the authority of the Roman government in the country through which he passed, and stations and fortifications were placed along the line of the Thames to the Severn. Vespasian succeeded to do the same on his route,¹³ along the line of the Avon, until they met on the Severn in the vicinity of Gloucester. But this campaign was not accomplished without great efforts, and in the midst of scenes of terrific warfare. It was here that Vespasian established his reputation for high military genius, which eventually created him emperor of Rome. The whole route was through an old and well cultivated country, full of towns, and filled with a brave and determined people, who had resolved to do their utmost to save their country and be free. While this general was thus engaged, he was so hemmed in by his enemies on one occasion, that his escape seemed to be impossible. But his danger was observed by his son, Titus, who rushed to his assistance with such ardor as to repel the danger and rescue his father. In the midst of such efforts to save a country from such a conquest and unjust war, one is led to inquire, who were these brave people who so Spartan-like defended their country? They were Britons, and at least Cymric Celts; and it was Arviragus who led them during the campaign.

These operations enabled the Romans to hold in subjection the country between the two lines, from Dover to Gloucester and from the Thames to the Avon. This cost them the exertion of at least four costly campaigns, in which there had been much fighting; and much blood and lives lost on both sides. But as yet only a wedge had been run into the heart of Britain. It was a staggering blow; but Britain still held out many a year, with a devotion and endurance not excelled by any other country or people.

For the next two years Plautius was engaged with an unusual effort, backed by the resources of the empire, to extend his lines to the next valley north, and some farther to the southwest, in the direction of Cornwall. During all that time he was vigorously opposed by Caractacus and his people, with astonishing perseverance and success. He found his progress slow, and attended with unexpected difficulties; and opposed with great skill. It was a war of post,—from station to station,—attended with numerous battles and bloodshed. When a territory was conquered it was reduced by the war from a flourishing country to a ruin, and what remained of it not worth the cost. Along these lines were left extensive fortifications and encampments as evidence of that cost, and the determined resolution with which the country was defended.

In A. D. 50 Plautius was superseded by the appointment of Publius Ostorius as governor of Britain and general-in-chief. He came there late in season, and found matters in great disorder. So far the prospects of a Roman conquest was not encouraging; and that of the Britons hopeful. They were preparing for a vigorous campaign against their enemies the next season. They thought themselves safe during the winter; but Ostorius anticipated their designs by precipitating upon them an unexpected winter campaign, in which he gained unusual success; and greatly disconcerted the well intended plans of the Britons. With a greatly increased army and resources, he was determined to push a vigorous campaign and teach his opponents that their cause was hopeless. Caractacus, however, never despaired of the cause of his country. His own principality was that of Siluria, situated on the west side of the Severn, and including a large portion of South Wales. The Silures, being the bravest and most skillful warriors among the Britons, with alacrity rallied around their chief, with confidence in a war that had not yet reached them.

In the meantime Geta had secured the line of the Nen, from the bay now known as the Wash to the Severn, by a chain of

¹³ Richard of Cirencester, p. 465, B. ii, ch. 1, §14, 4945 A. M. *i. e.* A. D. 44, says: "Vespasian, at that time in a private station, being sent by the emperor Claudius with the second legion into this country, attacked the Belgæ and Dannonii, and having fought thirty-two battles, and taken twenty cities, reduced them under the Roman power, together with the Isle of Wight." See, also, *Ibid.* ante, 412. This information is taken from Dion Cassius.

forts along the Nen and the Avon to the Severn; and within this line and the Southern Avon, Ostorius was determined to reduce the people to subjection; and for that purpose he proceeded to disarm the inhabitants. This aroused the people to a new revolt, and another exertion for their freedom. Foremost of these were the Scenians, the inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the adjoining country to the west of them, who rallied and fortified themselves in a place which afforded much natural means of defense. Ostorius resolved to take the place by an immediate assault, and with his legionary troops with great exertion carried it by storm. "The Britons," says Tacitus,¹⁴ "inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into confusion. Yet even in that distress, and seeing no way of escaping, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of their heroic bravery."

This success restored peace and submission in that quarter, and enabled Ostorius to proceed to the west. He this time proceeded, beyond his former lines, as far as the channel separating the island from Ireland; and wherever he encountered opposition he laid the country in waste, and his soldiers carrying off considerable booty.¹⁵ While here intelligence was received of the insurrection of the Brigantes against the Romans, which called his attention in that quarter, which was soon reduced to submission. Having now reduced everything in his rear to subjection, Ostorius determined to turn his whole powers to the west, and against Caractacus and his Si-fures. That chieftain was now the soul of the war, and it was determined he must be conquered. "Renowned," says Tacitus, "for his valor, and for various good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had spread his fame through the island. His knowledge and skill in all the wiles and stratagems of the war, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a stand against a well disciplined army. He therefore marched

into the territory of the Ordovicians. A hill in Shropshire at the junction of the two rivers,—the Bolu and Teme, was selected with great skill as the scene of his final efforts. That hill is known as Caer-Caradoc, and was by him skillfully fortified. There had been gathered those brave spirits who considered peace with the Romans to be only another term for slavery. When Ostorius came to see the difficulty of taking the place,—the dubious ford of the river,—the rugged ascent of the hill defended with walls and palisades, he hesitated. These, with the intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the spirit that animated their whole army, struck him with astonishment. The chieftains of the various tribes were busy with their men; they exhorted them to new efforts by every generous motive, and aroused their ardor. Caractacus inspired them anew with his noble patriotic sentiments; and assured them that the day had come which was to decide the fate of Britain. In the midst of his address he exclaimed:—"The era of liberty, or eternal bondage begins from this hour. Remember your brave and warlike ancestors, who met Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased him from the coast of Britain. They were the men who freed their country from a foreign yoke; who delivered the land from taxation imposed at the will of a master, and above all, who rescued your wives and daughters from violation."

Ostorius was aroused from his astonishment by the general cry of his army that all things would give way to valor; and gave the signal for the attack. The river was passed, and the Romans advanced to the parapet. The struggle there was long and obstinate; and while it was fought with missile weapons, the Britons had the advantage. The Romans were ordered to advance under the protection of a military shell, and level the pile of stone which protected the Britons. A close engagement ensued in which the natives were driven from their breastwork, and retired to their fortification on the hill. The enemy pursued with eagerness, and forced their way to the summit, under a heavy

¹⁴ The Annals, B. xii, §131.

¹⁵ Tacitus' Annals, B. xii, §32.

shower of darts. The Britons with their inferior weapons were unable to maintain the conflict; and the legions with their superior arms bore down all before them. In the midst of a terrible havoc, the victory became complete. Caractacus succeeded in making his escape; but his wife and daughter with his brother were made prisoners.

This was as sad a day for Britain as Hastings;—a battle as well fought against the conquerors of the world. But the Britons with their usual perseverance and determination, resolved not to yield to a foreign master while there remained life and hope. With all their adverse fortune, the people were only hushed into silence,—not subdued. They could not complacently think of the hard and unjust cause which prevailed against them, but with just sentiment determined again to try to retrieve their disastrous cause upon the first fair occasion, as we shall see.

Caractacus had fled for refuge to the large state of the Brigantes. He put himself under the protection of Cartimandua, the queen of that people. With the hopes of gaining the favors of the Romans, that princess betrayed her guest,—loaded him in chains and delivered him to his conqueror. Upon this event the Romans had great rejoicing; not only in Britain, but in Rome itself. The war had now been continued for nine years, and it had become to the Romans a deadly and expensive war, and they became very anxious to see an end to it. During all that time Caractacus had identified himself with it as its most active and efficient agent; and by the Romans he was looked upon as the heart of the war. They flattered themselves, that, as they now had him in their power, the war was at an end and the conquest complete. As evidence of the opinion entertained of him by the Romans themselves, we quote the words of Tacitus:—"His fame was not confined to his native island; it passed into the provinces, and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the

name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valor of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter and his brother followed next; he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to the mean and abject supplication. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin."

When he was brought before Claudius he behaved with his usual dignity, and addressed the emperor fearlessly. He stated his position by birth and fortune; and did not disguise his resistance to Roman power. "My present condition," he continued, "is proportionately a triumph to you. I had arms, men, and horses; I had wealth in abundance; can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? You aspire to universal dominion; does it follow that all must stretch their necks to receive the yoke? I am now in your power, betrayed, not conquered. I stood at bay for years; had I, like others, yielded without resistance, where would have been my name or your glory? If you are determined on vengeance, execute your purpose; it will soon be over. But if you bid me live, I shall always survive in history as one example at least of Roman clemency." Claudius granted him a free pardon; and he, his wife, and daughter, and brother, were released from their fetters. What became of them is not for certainty known to history; but tradition says that some years later they returned to Britain.

Ostorius, having enjoyed his triumph, and the rejoicing of the Romans over it, soon thereafter began to experience the

reverses of fortune. Contrary to expectation the conquest was not yet accomplished. The Britons soon rallied and were again upon their defense. A camp had been established in the country of the Silures, and measures taken to connect it by a chain of forts with their other establishments in the country. The Britons in a body surrounded them, and if they had not been immediately relieved by reinforcement from the neighboring garrisons, the place would have been taken, and the troops cut to pieces. As it was, however, the præfect of the camp, eight of the centurions, with many of the bravest soldiers, were killed in the attack. Soon after that a foraging party, and a detachment sent to support them, were attacked and put to the rout. Another body of troops has been sent out by Ostorius and fiercely encountered by the natives. Legionary troops were sent to their relief. The battle was renewed, for some time upon equal terms, but eventually to the defeat of the Britons without any great loss. From that time the Britons kept up a constant alarm. Frequent battles and skirmishes were fought. Detachments and parties were attacked in unexpected places, and making it dangerous to be at any place not protected by a large army. The natives were still actuated with hopes to expel their enemies, and led on, sometimes by their chiefs and sometimes without them, to seek every opportunity to take advantage and annoy their enemies, as resentment or a good opportunity excited them. "Of all the Britons," says Tacitus, "the Silures were the most determined. They fought with obstinacy, with inveterate hatred. It seems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures must be extirpated. . . . That expression reached the Silures and aroused their fiercest passions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom the avarice of their officers sent in quest of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made prisoners." This success brought on a new confederacy of the neighboring states, and rendered the condition of things daily more dangerous to the Romans. "Ostorius, by these un-

toward events, was worn out with anxiety. He sunk under the fatigue and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a great and able commander, not, indeed, slain in battle, but overcome by the war."

Before a successor was appointed, or order restored, Venusius was in command of the Britons, as successor of Caractacus, and gained a considerable victory over the Romans under Manlius Valens. This Venusius was a considerable figure in Britain during these times. He had been married to Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, who had betrayed Caractacus. This act of treachery, and her discarding her husband, Venusius, and taking to her bed her armor-bearer, was an act equally odious to the people and the Druids; and made her unpopular.¹⁶ This induced her to seek Roman protection. Venusius became separated from her and firmly attached to the interest of the country; and by the Romans he was looked upon as the next in ability and importance after Caractacus; but in British history and tradition, it is said that Arviragus was the successor as pendragon. The country had become every way much distracted. Aulus Didius Gallus was sent by the emperor, Nero, to take command as successor of Ostorius. He was a man of great ability and experience, but aged. He was soon able, however, to restore confidence by some decided success against the Britons. He remained in command but a few years, and without any extension of the Roman conquest. He was succeeded by Veranius, who died within a year, without accomplishing anything more than maintaining the position they had already acquired.¹⁷

16. Tacitus History, B. iii, §15.

17 It is difficult to establish the precise dates and events between the death of Ostorius, [A. U. C. 803, — A. D. 55; and the accession of Suetonius, [A. U. C. 813, A. D. 60, a period of five years of the most calamitous time to the Romans in Britain; and Tacitus says of it, "a dreadful calamity befell the army in Britain;" but does not inform us what it was. But it must be the defeat of the army under Manlius Valens by Venusius, the then British chieftain. That affair was so great a matter as to be looked upon by the Roman people as "a dreadful calamity." That event took place after Ostorius' death, and before Didius assumed command. (See Tacitus' Annals, B. xiv, §29, and Agricola §14.) The same year that Ostorius died, witnessed also the death of Claudius, and the accession of Nero as emperor of Rome.

These were gloomy times for the Romans, and their success in retaining Britain was as much accomplished by the means they used in distracting the country and dividing the different states, as by the force of their arms. Wherever there was a prince or government in dissatisfaction, or a weak one that they could flatter or inveigle, they were sure to do it; for their policy was "to divide and conquer." This was done at any cost, where it was dangerous to plunder and gain booty. To such frail princes they would assign territory, over which they would rule to the interest and satisfaction of Roman power. "Exhibiting," says Tacitus,¹⁸ "a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome, to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind."

§2.—*Suetonius to Agricola, A. D. 61 to 78.*

Eighteen years had now transpired since Plautius entered upon the conquest of Britain, and the Roman conquest still remained within the lines by him established. The affairs and condition of the country were in a most deplorable situation; and those of the Romans in Britain were equally so. Suetonius was now sent as governor of Britain, and Roman interest stood much in need of such a man.¹ He was an officer of great merits, experience and activity, and with all deliberate and judicious. He inspired hope and some confidence into the deplorable affairs of the Roman army. The command given him introduced him at once into a field where the success of the Britons had been such that it required of him the greatest activity and vigilance. "A more active campaign," says Tacitus, "had never been known, nor was Britain at any time so fiercely disputed." He had not only the military elements of the country to contend with, but also its moral and religious instructions. Suetonius had been made well aware of the influence the Druids had upon the spirit and patriotism of the people. He knew that they in their

moral and religious teachings, aroused the people to an active sense of their duty to themselves and country, and to those objects of love and attachment which are everywhere honored under the name of patriotism. These subjects would be glowingly dilated upon by their bards, until the general spirit of the people were aroused to do or die. These elements were more hateful, if not more fearful, to the Romans than the military. Long before was this order of men suppressed in Gaul; and contrary to the principles of the Romans as to the toleration of any religion or morality in other countries, they had ordered the Druids to be suppressed, as the avowed enemy of Roman power. Suetonius, from motives of interest and means of success, was determined to execute this Roman decree, and destroy the Druids in Britain.

Previous to this invasion of the Romans, the great central resort of the Druids was the valley of the Southern Avon (the Alanas of the Romans²); for there was their great temple Stonehenge, the most dense population, and the greatest improvement. But Vespasian had, many years before Suetonius' time, thoroughly subjugated that interesting part of the country to Roman power, and made it dangerous for Druids to be there; who had fled for safety to the isle of Mona, and deserted their great temple to go to neglect and ruin. It was Suetonius' first determination, after peace and order within his lines, to extend his conquest over Cambria and Mona; to bring those resolute people to subjection and exterminate the Druids, who were so obnoxious to him. On this subject his fierce resolution was as fixed as that of Ostorius had been. The Silures and Ordovices were to be the first people he determined to subdue and conquer. He, therefore, with all the force he could muster made a rapid march to the west, crushing every opposition as he passed on his way through the country of the Ordovices, until he came to the banks of the Menai Strait, which separated him from Mona, the object now of his hatred and devastation. So far the march of his legions under the Roman eagles had been unob-

¹⁸ *Agricola*, xlvii, in which he gives a remarkable instance of such policy.

¹ *Pandinus Suetonius*, appointed by Nero (U. C. 101, A. D. 61). See Tacitus' *Ann.*, B. xiv, §29.

structed; the old British roads facilitating his movements, and the country afforded him forage and sustenance as he proceeded. But now he was obstructed by the beautiful Strait,—a new Bosphorus, which must be crossed. On the other side, on Mona, had been gathered many of the people and the Druids with hopes of protection and safety. But this obstruction did not long delay the experienced general; for he ordered boats to be constructed for the transportation of his men, and his cavalry to either ford or swim. All were busy and excited on both sides;—the one in preparation to cross and conquer, on the other to defend, and, if needs be, to die for their country. But the decree had gone forth that Mona must be subdued, and no longer afford an asylum for the Druids, or a refuge for the discontented and enemies of Rome. A Roman,² who wrote from his own memory, thus describes the scene, in language, probably some colored, in order to excite its horror: "On the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, bearing flaming torches in their hands, and their whole appearance resembling Furies. The Druids standing around, with uplifted hands invoking the aid of heaven, and pouring forth imprecations upon their enemies. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, unable to move; but the exhortation of the general inspired new vigor in the ranks, and the men excited each other with reproaches at their disgrace. They felt the reproach, advanced their standards, and rushed with impetuous fury to the attack; bore down their opponents, and involved them in their own fires. The island fell: a garrison established to retain it in subjection; and the religious groves were levelled to the ground."

While Suetonius was thus busily engaged in bringing the island into subjection, and exterminating the Druids, he received ex-

citing information of a rebellion raised in the eastern part of Britain. This was produced by a revolt of the Icenians caused by such outrage on the part of the Romans, which produced sympathy and union with the injured throughout the whole country. This brought forth a renewal of the war in its most terrible aspect, and one the most renowned in the history of the country.

The late king of the Icenians, in a long and prosperous reign, had accumulated much wealth, and was celebrated for his wishes. With the hopes of making secure to his family and people, a part of what he owned, he made his will, bequeathing the whole in equal shares between the emperor and his two daughters; and placing them and his kingdom under the protection of Rome. He deemed this stroke of policy would ensure sufficient protection to his family, and to the interest of his people. But amidst the licentious soldiery, and the corrupt and plundering officers commanding in Britain, this was a frail dependence, and a fatal mistake. Upon his demise his dominions were seized and ravaged, his house pillaged, and his effects taken as objects of plunder. The widow of Prasutagus, the late king, attempted to resist these wrongs, which only produced greater outrages. She was taken and infamously scourged with stripes; and her daughters taken away from her by the officers, in wanton license, and dishonored. The people were treated as slaves, and their property as lawful prize. These acts of outrage and tyranny aroused the whole country in a revolt; who chose rather than to submit to such injuries and insults, to abide the result of their rebellion, let the consequences be what they might. The Icenians immediately rushed to arms, and the neighboring state joined them in a new confederacy against the Romans. An army was brought into the field, and Boadicea came forth to receive the sympathy and homage of her people. Everywhere the men rushed to arms—indignant at their injuries, and determined to revenge. A sense of a just resentment united them in any enterprise which promised to punish their enemies or redress their wrongs.

² Tacitus' *Annals*. B. xiv. §3.

The Romans and their allies, becoming frightened by these just demonstrations, and conscience-stricken with a sense of the injustice that they themselves had perpetrated, became fearful of the consequences, thought they saw terrible signs in the heavens, and heard woful forebodings from many objects on earth.³ Suetonius, almost the only one who preserved his equanimity upon hearing this news, and being well aware of the frightful storm which then threatened them, hastened back from Anglesey (Mona) to London; passing through the heart of the country, with the hopes to awe the people into subjection. But they felt their injuries too deeply, and too sensitively imbued with the hopes and justice of their course for that. As he proceeded he gathered in his forces to meet the coming storm. Previous to his arrival the Britons had attacked the principal colony—probably at Colchester—and the inhabitants, for safety, had gathered within a temple erected there by the Romans. This was soon surrounded, besieged and taken; and the inhabitants slaughtered. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded a neighboring camp, marched with his legion to the relief of the colony; was met by the Britons, flushed with their recent victory, who attacked him, put his legion to rout, and cut his infantry to pieces. Cerealis escaped with his cavalry to his intrenchments. The procurator of the province, being alarmed at the scene around him, and fearing the indignation of the people on account of his tyranny, fled to Gaul for safety. On the arrival of Suetonius at London, he saw the precarious situation of affairs, and the preservation of the place so hopeless, that he came at once to consider whether it was not his duty to abandon it, and to concentrate his forces at some place further in the interior, where he would have a larger force and greater hopes of success. Against the urgent remonstrance of the people, he determined to abandon London to its fate. The people were permitted either to follow his army, or remain where they were; those who remained, being either Romans

or traitors to the British cause, were soon captured and put to the sword. Verulam, another Roman colony, and London, then as well as now the commercial emporium, were equally unfortunate. Tacitus assures us, that the unfortunate people thus slaughtered amounted to seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome.

The forces that Suetonius was able to collect together amounted only to about ten thousand men; but these were mostly veterans. With these he was determined to bring on immediately a decisive engagement. With this view he selected an advantageous situation, so surrounded as to protect him from ambuscades; and where his opponents had no approach except in front. The army was posted and disposed of by their general with that skill and ability characteristic of a Roman veteran. It was otherwise with the Britons. They had an immense army, but had neither of their great generals to command them,—neither Caswallawn, nor Caradoc, nor Arvaragus, nor Venusius or Arthur. They had no experience in discipline, and were overconfident in their numbers and enthusiasm. The army was arranged in immense numbers, but in irregular divisions by states, on the plains in front of their enemy. Being confident of success, they thought they had him within their grasp, and acted accordingly. In their confidence they invited their wives and daughters to come in carriages and chariots, to witness their success and triumph.

The queen, Boadicea, rode forth in a chariot, elegantly dressed and ornamented with a golden girdle. Her yellow or auburn hair, properly clasped, hanging to her waist; and displaying in her gestures the white complexion of her arms,—characteristic of her race; with her injured daughters sitting before her. She drove through the ranks, and addressed the men in appropriate terms for the occasion. Both Tacitus and Dion give her a speech, and attempt to repeat it; so that there can be but little doubt that she harangued her troops in a manner well adapted to raise their patriotism. She referred to the intolerable injuries received by herself and

³ Tacitus, who remembered these matters of which he wrote, is eloquent in describing them.

daughters, which was responded to with irrepressible indignation by every Briton. She appealed to her people to expel the unmerciful tyrants and plunderers from their shores;—to imitate the glorious deeds of their forefathers, and save their country and freedom. Her resolution, she said, was fixed, not to survive the defeat of her people on that day.

Suetonius was equally engaged to encourage and raise the spirits of his troops; and upon doing so, he gave the signal for the attack. The Britons advanced with ardor to meet them; but the Romans had the advantage in the attack, for they advanced in a narrow front between the elevated grounds which protected their flanks; and thus like a wedge entered the heart of the British army. Then the auxiliary troops and cavalry of the Romans rushed on their flanks, with a force and shock so unexpected to the Britons, that it threw them into confusion, if not into a panic. Of this the discipline and steadiness of the Romans took advantage, and the defeat soon became complete. The Britons fled; but in their retreat they were obstructed by their carriages and chariots in their rear, so that the Romans came upon them in the midst of the obstruction, and slaughtered without mercy and without regard to age or sex. It is said by Tacitus that eighty thousand persons were thus slaughtered, while on the part of the Romans only four hundred were killed and about the same number wounded.⁴ All people have occasionally met with such reverses, which are oftener attributable to over-confidence in superior numbers than the want

of the proper courage and resolution of a good soldier or patriot. That night, as she predicted, Boadicea did not survive the dreadful calamity of her country.

Suetonius was determined to follow up his success in this battle, by pressing severe measures upon the Britons until he should suppress all opposition, and compel them to submission. For this purpose large reinforcements were sent to him from Germany by order of the imperial government. This enabled the commander to strengthen every post within his lines, where any danger was apprehended. Wherever any rebellion manifested itself, or was apprehended, the country around was laid waste with fire and sword. These severe measures of the merciless Roman general brought on opposition and contention from some of his own officers, as being unnecessarily severe and cruel. They believed the Britons to be a peaceable and passive people, when well treated; but courageous and vindictive when ill used and oppressed. They contended that more conciliatory measures would be more politic and successful. These representations were made to the emperor, and efforts made to have Suetonius removed.⁵ To these difficulties was added that of a severe famine, brought on by the war, and the distracted state of the country. The emperor, at length, was induced to make an inquiry, and sent his freedman, Polycletus, to inquire into the state of Britain. This man came upon his high and important mission in the spirit of an upstart; everywhere making ostentatious display of his power and importance, which, on the part of the officers of the government, were everywhere submitted to with humble complacency; but, says Tacitus, "his magnificent airs, and assumed importance, met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought

⁴ Such is the substance of the account of the battle as given by Tacitus. But there is reason to believe that the battle was not so easily gained; nor the result so terrible to the Britons; though truly a calamitous defeat. Mr. Vaughan says: "The first charge, however, did not decide the fortune of that dreadful day. The Britons rallied once and again. The legionaries were in danger of being exhausted; but the issue was in their favor. The natives, once disordered, the wagons served to impede their flight, and the destruction which followed was horrible."

Another historian, who assumes to take his authority from Dion Cassius, says: "The fortune of the day towards sunset inclined to the Romans. The Britons were driven back within their entrenchment, leaving large numbers dead on the field or prisoners in the hands of the enemy. In the course of the night Boadicea died a natural death, which put an end to the contest in that part of Britain."

⁵ Tacitus' *Annals*, B. xiv, §38.

with valor, and a general who led them to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondman." This vain creature made a favorable report, and Suetonius was continued in his command a while longer. But soon events happened which caused his removal. He was succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, who had just served out a consulship. He commenced his rule under the policy which had been pointed out in opposition to his predecessor. He saw the kind and obliging disposition of the Britons, and forbore to provoke any hostilities; which produced, as its natural results, the fair fame of an administration of peace.

From the termination of the administration of Suetonius to the commencement of that of Agricola, there transpired sixteen years.⁶ During that period the times were very unpropitious;—much confusion, bad administrations and crimes in the Roman government, both at home and in Britain. After Turpilianus, came Maximus, then Bolanus, then Cerealis, and lastly Frontinus. The first three who ruled for nine years, pursued a peaceful administration within their lines; while Arviragus and Venusius, as the British chieftains, were, on the outside of those lines, keeping and restraining the Roman power within those bounds. The peninsula of Cornwall, all Cambria west of the Severn, and thence to the Humber, and all north of that line, was still in the possession and under the government of the Britons. When Cerealis was appointed by Vespasian, it was with a view to change the state of things in Britain; and therefore an able and experienced officer was sent there. Cerealis immediately fell upon the Brigantes, a state with the

most numerous population, and extensive territory. Numerous battles were fought with various success; much blood was spilt, and where the country did not submit it was involved in all the calamities of war. When he was succeeded by Frontinus, the same state of things continued, and he carried the war against the Silures. After a most severe struggle with these people, so distinguished for their able and obstinate resistance to the Roman conquest, this experienced general was able to reduce the country to submission. It was in this war that Arviragus and Venusius fought their last battle for their country and the freedom of their people. The first named was the younger son of Cymbeline, and, after Caradoc was taken prisoner, was the pendragon, or chief in command of the Britons. He fought in all those battles with Plautius, at the commencement of the conquest in Eastern Britain; was the general who commanded in those numerous and terrible battles with Vespasian and Titus, along the line of the Avon; and then in all those fearful contests with the Roman generals in the West, and Siluria. Until Agricola was able,—when supported by the power of the Roman empire,—to suppress the war, and subdue that part of the country, this hero, for nearly forty years, was in continued service and battle for his country and its freedom, and always with the most disinterested and self-sacrificing patriotism. When he fell and ceased to oppose the ambitious advance of Roman power, Juvenal in poetic terms announced the glad tidings to the Roman people, that, "Our great enemy Arviragus, the car-borne British king, had fallen from his battle throne." Few heroes of any age are so

⁶ From A. D. 62 to 78. The following list gives the names of the first Roman Governors of Britain during the conquest, with the dates of their appointment.

		A. C. U.	A. D.	served	7 years.
1. Aulus Plautius,	sent by the Emperor	Claudius	79	43,	" 2 "
2. Publius Ostorius Scapula,	" " "	Claudius	83	50,	" 1 "
3. Aulus Didius,	" " "	Claudius	84	51,	" 1 "
4. Quintus Veranius,	" " "	Claudius	85	52,	" 8 "
5. Suetonius Paulinus,	" " "	Nero	83	50,	" 2 "
6. Petronius Turpilianus,	" " "	Nero	85	52,	" 1 "
7. Trebellius Maximus,	" " "	Nero	86	53,	" 0 "
8. Vettius Bolanus,	" " "	Vitellius	82	50,	" 2 "
9. Pettilius Cerealis,	" " "	Vespasian	84	71,	" 2 "
10. Julius Frontinus	" " "	Vespasian	86	73,	" 5 "
11. Cneius Julius Agricola,	" " "	Vespasian	83	78,	" 7 "

Which makes this period, from the commencement of the conquest A. D. 43 to the end of Agricola's service in 85, in all 42 years.

much entitled to patriotic commendation as this cousin of Caractacus, and so little known. Venusius, too, the hero of the Brigantes, was well worthy of being the distinguished associate of his chief. These two distinguished generals of the Britons, from their long service in active conflicts for the right, and the demands of old age, now gave way to the more youthful service of Galgacus, a chief of Strath-Clyde Britons, who is now about to rise to add new luster to the heroes of Scotland, and to the distinguished generals of Britain.

§3.—*Agricola to Severus, A. D. 78 to 193.*

In A. D. 78 C. Julius Agricola was appointed by Vespasian governor of Britain, and took command there. He was a general of great experience and ability; had long before served in the wars in Britain, and was well acquainted with its people. Though a Roman general, he was kind and humane;—particularly characterized with good sense and judgment. Of all the Romans he was the best adapted to conciliate and subdue the Britons by a just and kind government; and to refrain from those acts which would justly provoke indignation and resentment. He commenced his administration by giving evidence of an undoubted good intention towards the inhabitants, and to reform all those flagrant abuses of which they justly complained, and which, undoubtedly, was the principal cause of continuing the unhappy war. But the war was on hand and had to be closed; and those who still continued it did not know his kind intention, and were taught by sad experience to hold the Romans as their most cruel and deadly enemies. His first object was to bring to an end the fatal war which had been prosecuted by Cerealis and Frontinus in Cambria. Thither he marched his army, and by a decisive victory gained in a severe battle with the Ordovices in North Wales, he spread a knowledge of the general they had to deal with; but what was still more important for the preservation of peace, he also at the same time took every means and occasion to satisfy them, that he was their friend and protector. This policy soon produced a re-

conciliation with the several states in that part of the country, which had been engaged in the war; and peace was restored. "That peace," says Tacitus, "which, through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all." This historian and biographer is eloquent and happy in describing all the means Agricola took to restore the people to confidence, and the arts, peace and civilization. He found the people highly capable of appreciating improvements and learning; and he by all honorable appliances encouraged them in it. Instead of the devastation produced by the war, the country began to exhibit, in some measure, its restoration to its former happy condition; to which were added such arts and improvement as might be borrowed from the Romans. This induced the people to settle down into a permanent and durable peace.

In the meantime, after the first campaign, and after all the south had submitted, Agricola was obliged to pursue five or six other severe but successful campaigns, in order to reduce to subjection that part of the island north of the Humber and the Mersey. This was the great war in which Galgacus acquired his deservedly great renown. He first proceeded against the Brigantes and brought them to submission. His third and fourth campaigns were occupied in bringing to Roman subjection the British states occupying the country north of the Brigantes and south of the waters of the Forth. Galgacus and the Britons, after disputing with Agricola every favorable locality, was compelled to withdraw north of the Forth. According to Roman policy elsewhere in Britain, the Roman general was determined to secure what he had taken possession of by a line of intrenchments, stations and fortifications from the Forth—near Edinburg—to the mouth of the Clyde. This fortified line was intended as a means of compelling the North Britons to keep north of it, and secure to the Romans all south of it; but such intention turned out to be very delusive. In after ages the northern people

found it but little obstruction to their progress south. Agricola determined that this line should not be the terminus of his progress north. In the fifth campaign he placed a large fleet in alliance with his army in a progress he made along the north-east coast, for some considerable distance north of the Forth. In this campaign all the forces at his command were most singularly combined, and most heartily entered into the attempt to conquer this northern land; and the legion allies, cavalry, engineers and sailors, all united in one effort; very creditable to the tact and skill of the general, but which produced but a very temporary conquest. At the end of the campaign his fleet was ordered to proceed north around the island, and return south on the west side; which was done, and then the Romans for the first time were assured that Britain was an island.

But Galgacus was still at liberty to operate with his Britons against the Romans whenever a fair opportunity presented itself. This Agricola determined should not be. He therefore prepared his sixth campaign against him, and marched north from the valley of the Forth, for the purpose of bringing him to a decisive engagement. He came up with him at the foot of the Grampian hills, where was fought one of the most celebrated battles of Britain. On the side of Galgacus there was a greater union of diverse elements of people than in any former battle. There were the Caledonians, who possessed the northwest and were the ancestors of the Scotch and Highlanders. They were of the blood of the ancient Gauls—the primitive Celts—known as the Gaels. There were then also the men of another family—from the northeast—the ancestors of the Picts. These were Cymry who fled from the Roman conquest in the south, to the north, seeking the protection of a harder soil and a harder climate; though its tendency was to render them more barbarous. They were the men who fondly adhered to that favored word of their ancestors,—the Aber.¹ There were also the people of Gal-

gacus—the Cymry from Strath-Clyde. Thus was united as one people—the Gael and Cymry—united as Celts, fighting the last battle for Britain.

At last the two armies were drawn up in battle, arrayed opposite to each other, ready for the conflict. The commanders of each being thoroughly imbued with the importance of the result, made long and passionate harangues to his respective army, impressing upon them the importance of the occasion, and enlisting their men to an exertion equal to its importance. All saw that on one side the issue was country and freedom; on the other—Roman dominion, honor and life itself. They became impatient on either side, and excited for the engagement. The Roman general had placed his ten thousand auxiliary infantry in the center of his line, and his cavalry, about three thousand, divided upon each flank. The legions were stationed in the rear at the head of the intrenchments as a reserve, only to be used in case extreme necessity required it, as Roman blood was considered too precious to be exposed upon any less occasion. Galgacus had his army marshalled with equal skill. His first line was mustered in a long line near the foot of the hill, with the plain in front of them. The second line further up on the hill. His army being most numerous, enabled him to extend his lines to a great extent, which induced Agricola also to extend his line; which enfeebled it, and rendered it dangerous to his safety. Considerable space was left on the plain between these contending armies. This space was occupied by the chariots and cavalry of Galgacus who rushed to and fro, creating great excitement, and impressing their enemies with their power. Agricola, having fully observed all before him, and confident in his position, dismounted, took his position near the colors of his infantry, where he knew the greatest danger would be, and gave the signal for battle. While the battle was fought at a distance from the respective army, with missive weapons, the North

¹ The word Aber, as the beginning of a name for places, is as numerous in Northeastern Scotland as

in Wales,—as Aberystwith, Abergavenny, Aberdare in Wales. So we find in Scotland Abernethy, Aberfeldie, Aberdeen, and numerous others in both countries, but no where else.

Britons were gaining the advantage, as was observed in the great battle with Caractacus. With missile, light weapons the Britons were superior to the Romans; but when these came in close quarters, where their superior weapons, shields and discipline would have their full advantage, the Romans everywhere had the advantage, and were successful. The Roman general therefore ordered some of his cohorts to make a charge. This produced its expected effects. The cohorts used their short, heavy swords with dexterity, and cut directly through the light shields of the Britons into their heads and bodies. Other cohorts followed the example with the same success. With this part of the army all was giving way before the Romans. But the Caledonian horsemen and charioteers came with such a furious charge upon the Roman cavalry, that they in turn gave way to this enthusiastic onslaught. The narrowness of the plain, and the inequalities of the ground, prevented proper military movements, and great confusion ensued. Horses without a rider and chariot deprived of its master, were madly running in every direction and adding more noise and uproar to the confusion. On seeing this the Caledonians on the hill in reserve, descended to aid their brethren in the strife, and attempted to outflank the enemy and attack them in the rear. But Agricola having some of his cavalry still at his command, ordered them to charge this reserve. They did so, and cutting their way through, turned and charged them again in the rear. This successful movement and charge produced a crisis in the struggle, and decided the fate of the day. All now was irretrievably lost to the Britons, and became indiscriminate slaughter and carnage. Some of the Caledonians fled to save themselves; others refused to do so, resolutely determined to sell their lives dear as possible, like brave men devoted to their country. Night only put a stop to the pursuit and carnage. All was lost to Caledonia and to Britain, and to Rome nothing gained but the battle. The next morning the Romans found nothing but a solitary and devastated land, for the inhabitants had fled from it, having

burnt their houses and destroyed everything which gave any evidence that that part of the land had ever been inhabited. It is said this battle cost the lives of ten thousand men to the Britons; with not as many hundred to the Romans. But notwithstanding this victory, Agricola and the Romans were never able to hold any part of Scotland, for any length of time, north of his line of fortification between the Forth and the Clyde.

Agricola, A. D. 85, was recalled by a bad, and jealous, and vicious master, the emperor Domitian, after having served as governor of Britain seven years. Of all those who ruled Britain in that capacity, he was the best, and best qualified to rule the people, for their own interest and for that of the state. Had he been permitted to remain there it would have been a great blessing to the people and country. He was succeeded by a Lucullus, who was distinguished for nothing in history except as an inventor of some improvement in arms; but to Britain was of no account.

With Agricola the wars of the conquest may be considered as terminated. During that time, a period of forty-two years,² Britain experienced but little else than a series of calamities, but maintained commendable and glorious efforts in opposition of that wicked conquest, and in an endeavor to preserve her independence and freedom. At its commencement she had been making a most laudable progress in improvements and civilization. She then had a large population with cultivated fields, numerous houses, and vast herds of cattle. She had cities and towns fast growing to cities; extensive systems of roads, which the Romans turned to their own use in accomplishing her conquest; she had commerce and shipping; and used coined money in her traffic. The arts were making progress, with a chosen body of men, the elite of the people, whose duty it was to teach and instruct them in religion, morals, and the arts; who were fond of literature, poetry and music. All this progress, improvement and hope must be

² From A. D. 43 to 85.

forcibly put down to gratify Roman ambition and robbery;—to compel them to pay tribute as compensation for injustice, and oppression; but which was resisted with genius and talents,—with patriotism and perseverance, that has become the admiration of history, and never excelled. But the war is now over; and Britain is to begin a new career, under the oppression of supporting a foreign government, with a large standing army to enforce their tribute and unjust demands; with a large portion of their population having been slaughtered, and their country having been terribly devastated by war. But submission was compelled by the irresistible decrees of the sword, and henceforth Britain suffered or endured a bad, or a better government, in common with Rome herself.

The Roman people, always selfish and cruel, had degenerated into luxury, voluptuousness and wickedness; even into total disregard of the rights of humanity, as to require innumerable lives to be sacrificed to gratify a vicious curiosity, in their slaughter by gladiatorial exhibition; and to demand the fattest of slaves to feed their fish ponds. This disregard of humanity produced with it all manner of corruption and perversion of morals. In the midst of this degeneracy, the government itself became more and more degenerate. Still there were times when the government would be improved, and appear like an oasis in the midst of a general degeneracy and depravity. In ten years after the recall of Agricola by Domitian, that “unrelenting and insatiate tyrant,”³ the world was relieved of this vile and cruel monster, by the hands of an assassin, (A. D. 96,) after an inglorious reign of fifteen years. Britain had now become so much a part of the Roman empire as to suffer or rejoice in the good or bad character of the emperor or whom destiny placed over her. Upon the departure of Domitian, it was the good fortune of Rome to enjoy the consecutive rule of five wise and just, if not really the good emperors, for more than eighty years⁴ until the accession of Commodus in

A. D. 180; in which the people of Britain enjoyed its benign and peaceful blessings in common with those of Rome. Of these distinguished emperors, two of them—Adrian and Antoninus Pius—were particularly attentive to the interest of Britain. The former, while making a tour of inspection throughout the empire, visited Britain in A. D. 119. This visit was made for the purpose of rendering himself better acquainted with the wants and interests of the provinces. While in Britain, for the purpose of rendering South Britain more secure from invasions by the Caledonians and Picts, he ordered the celebrated wall, first erected by Agricola and finally rebuilt by Severus, to be rebuilt or renovated, from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. His wall was built of earth and sod, with a large ditch on the north or outside of it; and protected at proper intervals with forts and towers. This was done in A. D. 120, in consequence of frequent invasions disturbing the South. Twenty years later in the reign of Antoninus Pius, Lollius Urbicus, his governor of Britain, cleared the territory north of the Adrian wall to the northern wall of Agricola; and substantially rebuilt that wall from the Forth to the Clyde.⁵

Adrian in 117, Antoninus in 138, Marcus Aurelius from 161 to 180. Adrian is often written Hadrian; Antoninus called Antoninus Pius; and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Gibbon calls these two the two Antonines. ¹ Gibbon's Hist., ch. iii, p. 38.

⁵ We have from time to time noticed the custom of Roman generals in Britain, that when they had subdued any portion of the territory they secured it by a line of intrenchments and fortifications, so as to hold that secure from its being reconquered by the natives: as the line of the Thames, the Severn, the Nen, &c. But those most noted were the two selected and adopted by Agricola: 1. that from the Tyne to the Solway; and 2. that from the Firth of the Forth to the mouth of the Clyde. These two lines have become celebrated in history and antiquities. The space between the Forth and the Clyde is not over thirty miles, and seems almost to cut the island in two. Upon this line there are to be seen the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain, within a small distance of each other, beginning at Dumbarton, and thence eastward to Arthur's Oven near the Firth of the Forth. This line was reconstructed under Antoninus Pius, about A. D. 140. That work was at the time substantially done, but no attempt was ever made to repair it.

But the most distinguished and greater work of the two is the most southern one, from the Tyne to the Solway; and generally known by the appellation of “the wall of Severus.” This line selected by Agricola about A. D. 81, was afterwards very thoroughly and substantially repaired and strengthened by Adrian about A. D. 120. But what rendered it so remarkable and durable work was that of the Em-

³ Tacitus' History, B. v, Appendix, §23.

⁴ These were Nerva in A. D. 96, Trajan in 98,

From this time to A. D. 208, when the emperor Severus came to Britain, a period of nearly seventy years, history gives us but little information as to Britain, or who its rulers were; and the same remark might also be made of the previous fifty years, except during a portion of the time of Adrian and Antoninus. During those times, so vacant in history, we know but little of the actual condition of the people, or the progress made by them. We learn more about York and its vicinity, than of the Thames, or that which lies south of it. It is claimed by British writers that the south was in a great measure under their own rulers and laws, either as independent princes or tributaries to Rome; and there are many reasons to believe that this was substantially true.

§4.—*Severus to Diocletian, A. D. 193 to 284.*

Severus was elected emperor A. D. 193; and during the fore part of his reign, Britain was much disturbed both for the want of a stable and efficient government and on account of the constant invasions made by the Caledonians and Picts. The Roman historians give us the names of several governors who ruled in Britain during that time, without being apparently able to accomplish any decided benefit. At length one of these governors, Claudius Albinus, was by the army in Britain declared to be emperor, and became a formidable rival of Severus, who was then engaged in the far east. Albinus crossed over to Gaul, on his way to Rome, with a view of contest-

ing his claim with his master; taking with him in his army a large force of Britons. Severus hastened to meet him, and they came to a severe conflict near Lyons A. D. 197, each with an army, it is said, of 150,000. At midday the victory appeared to be decided in favor of the British, who with a violent charge routed the center of Severus' army; who, himself in despair, fled in disguise from the field. But fresh troops coming up to his rescue, and attacking the Britons in the disorder of the pursuit, retrieved the otherwise lost battle. Albinus was taken prisoner and beheaded. The Britons of the army were sent back, under Virius Lupus, Severus' lieutenant, as governor. Lupus did not very well succeed in keeping the northern enemy quiet, and the country generally was in a distracted and lingering condition. This produced the impatience of Severus, who with his usual vigor determined to change and retrieve the affairs of Britain. He came with a large army, and made York his headquarters in A. D. 208. He proceeded with an efficient army and vigorous measures to punish and drive the invaders to the north. He found the wall of Adrian to be dilapidated and not worth repairing; and the difficulties of the country had cost the lives of many of his soldiers. Though now aged, and under the necessity of being carried in a litter, yet he was ever at the head of his army, pushing vigorously all his measures. For the purpose of securing, at least, the south he ordered a new wall to be built, near the line of that built by Adrian, from the Tyne to the Solway. This was now to be very substantially built of stone, with many improvements in the engineering and art of war, to render it permanent and efficient. In the midst of these enterprises, before he could be ready to return to Rome, he sickened and died at York A. D. 211. And was succeeded by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, both worthless, and inimical to each other;—more of a curse than a benefit to the empire. They soon left Britain, where they were of no benefit to it, to be governed by the officers and army of the empire, as well or as indifferent as they might without

peror Severus about A. D. 210. It was then about 90 years since the line had been repaired by Adrian; and was then in a much dilapidated state, being originally principally constructed of a ditch and rampart of earth and sod. Severus therefore determined to build an entire new line a little north of it. The distance was about 74 miles, beginning $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of New Castle, and ending 12 miles west of Carlisle. The wall was built of stone 8 feet thick, 12 feet high to the base of the battlements; on the north side there was a ditch 36 feet wide and 15 feet deep; and on the south a permanent road for the convenience of passing from one end of it to the other. On the line there was erected, as part of the work, 81 castles and 330 turrets. So important a work is a striking evidence of the difficulty encountered in opposing the invaders from the north, and the importance of doing so. It seems that the wall with the army rendered effectual protection to the south from such invasion, until about the time that the Roman army and officers were withdrawn from Britain—being about 200 years.

their care or attention. Soon after the death of Severus that part of the island between the wall of Severus and that of Antoninus, was surrendered to the possession and care of the native government; its possession being too precarious and too frequently disputed to be any longer worthy of the protection and care of the Roman government.

But the formidable stone wall of Severus was of great service to South Britain, in preserving their tranquility and securing them from invasion from the north. For no invasion from the north passed that wall, until long afterwards, when a new enemy made its appearance under the name of the Scots and Picts; and then only when the Roman government had become far more degenerated and decrepit. In the meantime the Britons had become and were considered free citizens of Rome, by a general decree passed in the reign of Caracalla. This boon reconciled the people to their condition, by being placed in the same situation, politically and as to the administration of the law, as other Roman citizens of the empire. In the long lapse of time—seventy-three years—from the death of Severus to the accession of Diocletian in A. D. 284, Rome was governed by twenty different emperors, four of whom were good men, many bad and some indifferent; but none of them were able to make a mark, or produce an epoch in history, like that which distinguished Diocletian. During that undistinguished time no event of any importance transpired in Britain connected with its political or civil history with Rome. The history of the empire during that period leaves that of Britain almost a blank; for their history is generally silent, except when it is connected with war and revolutions. But as to the Britons themselves, as to their domestic, religious and civil affairs, they did progress, and have many interesting facts in their history which must be left for a chapter on that subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE RULE OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE END OF THE PERIOD. A. D. 284—420.

§1—*The Times of Diocletian to the Death of Constantius, A. D. 284—306.*

In the history of the degenerate era of the Roman people, the reign of Diocletian is a striking epoch; especially to Britain, as well as to the Roman world. The long period of seventy-three years, of unimportant events since the death of Severus, had now come to an end, leaving the history of Britain almost a blank. There now came a period of more stirring and interesting events; but nothing to save the downward course in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Upon the election of Diocletian, his attention was called to a people who then began to vex his empire, and who never ceased to trouble Britain. They were known as the Saxons, and had become distinguished as pirates, engaged in plundering every cultivated country, along the shores of Gaul and Britain. In this business they had become extremely expert, as well as unscrupulous. It is said that they had been taught and disciplined in this vocation by the result of a singular event, narrated in the history of the times and repeated by Gibbon.¹ The home of the Saxons was the country north of the mouth of the Rhine, but principally between the Elbe and the Eider. Some years before this time the emperor Probus had taken a colony of Franks from the northwestern Germany—neighbors and relatives of the Saxons—and settled them on the northwestern shore of the Black Sea, with a view of placing them there, as a barrier against the inroads of the Huns. The Franks soon became dissatisfied with their new home, and determined to return again to their fatherland. They determined to do this by water rather than by land; and neither the compunction of morals or civilization being in the way, they seized the shipping in the port as their own property; and with it sailed across the Black sea,

¹ Gibbon's Hist., ch. xii, p. 123; also ch. xxv, p. 340.

down the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, through the Ægean and Mediterranean seas; by the Gibralter, Atlantic and the British channel to their native home. On their way every country they passed they robbed and plundered; every town convenient on the way they sacked and pillaged; and even Syracuse and Carthage fell to their rapacity. On their return home, they were the wonder and admiration of North-western Germany;—the Saxons admired their story and adventure; the plunder shown them excited their cupidity rather than either their morals or humanity.

The Saxons taught by this example, and disciplined by some of the adventurers, soon became apt scholars and expert pirates in their new vocation. They soon became adept seamen, courting the storms and waves, and fearing neither dangers nor death. In the course of their voyages of piracy and plunder they soon became objects of terror along the coasts of Britain and Gaul. The shipping in the commerce between those two countries became the special object of their piracies; and every town an object to be sacked and plundered. In this exegency Diocletian was called upon for the aid and protection of the imperial government. It was found to be a pest difficult to cure. It was found that when the Saxons were sought for by an armed force, they were not easily to be found. With their light, shallow and piratical built vessels, they easily avoided pursuit by hiding themselves in the shallow streams and bayous, in the uninhabited part of the country; and when there were frightful storms, they sallied forth rejoicing in the dangers of the waves, which permitted no commercial or civilized craft to be out; and no part of the country knew which would be the first to be attacked and plundered. A large Roman navy was collected at Boulogne to protect the country and guard against these piracies. But it was a difficult matter, and the whole country were loud in their cries for protection and relief. And it was equally difficult to find an officer of the proper skill and abilities to command the naval force against them.

In this dilemma an officer known by the name of Carausius offered his services to the emperor. He was a skillful and experienced navigator; a man of great resources and abilities; well acquainted with Britain and the channel between it and Gaul. He was sent by the emperor to take charge of the imperial navy in the British channel; and he immediately showed his skill and success in the object of his appointment. He made Boulogne his headquarters; and his success against the piracies of the Saxons and Franks was apparent, and the people rejoiced in their improved security. But it was soon represented to the emperor that Carausius was becoming faithless. That he was in the habit of permitting the pirates to pass south on their voyages of plunder with impunity; and only sought to catch them on the return, when he might gain by taking their plunder,—that he was using them as a sponge, to promote his own interest. Whether these accusations were true or false, his sagacity enabled him to see the danger of his life, and to induce his whole fleet to turn over to him as independent of the empire. The great wealth he had acquired in the service greatly facilitated this transaction. The army and people readily declared for him, and proclaimed him emperor and governor of Britain.

The revolt of Carausius and his accession to the government of Britain, with the whole Roman fleet in the British channel, was accomplished A. D. 287; and from thence for seven years he was the prosperous and successful ruler of his country. The success and ability with which he had managed the Roman fleet, and suppressed the Saxon piracy, had rendered him popular with the Britons, and rendered his assumption over the government and army of the country easy; besides the Britons have ever claimed him as their countryman,—as a native of Menapia, now Menapia or St. Davids, on the western coast of Wales. He put his navy into a first rate order, and commanded with supreme rule, whatever belonged to the sea, from the

mouth of the Rhine to Gibralter.¹ It was the third time that British naval affairs had commanded the attention of European powers, and commenced to be the mistress of the sea. He was equally successful and prosperous in the government of his country; and perhaps at no time was Britain more prosperous. Though a thorough sailor, he was a man of taste, and encouraged the arts. He coined money and metals;² patronized artists, and invited superior ones from the continent. He displayed his ability and capacity to govern to that extent that the Roman government acknowledged his rule and independence. But in the midst of his prosperous reign death overtook him, by means of an assassination, by Allectus, one of his ministers, who usurped the government, and held it, against the efforts of the Roman government, for three years longer, A. D. 297.

In the meantime Diocletian, with all his abilities, found the administration of so extensive a government as that of Rome to be arduous and difficult. He therefore associated with him, in the administration of the government, Maximian, another soldier of fortune like himself. Generally the first overlooked the affairs of the east, and Maximian those of the west. He was for some time engaged in suppressing a dangerous rebellion in Gaul, and restoring it to order. After a reign of six years Diocletian recommended the adoption of two assistants as Cæsars and not as Augustus. Diocletian selected Galerius, and Maximian

took Constantius, who on account of his pale complexion had received the appellation of Chlorus. The latter was to see to Western Gaul and Britain, while Maximian was engaged on the Rhine. Carausius had now been in the prosperous possession of Britain for five years, and Constantius was determined if possible to reclaim it, to the Roman government. Carausius had the possession of Britain; but also that of Boulogne and the adjacent country. Constantius determined first to recapture Boulogne,³ and then to retake Britain. After a long siege the place was taken, and with it a considerable portion of the British fleet. In the meantime Carausius was assassinated, and Allectus held the government. After much delay Asclepiodatus, the lieutenant of Constantius, succeeded to evade the British navy, with his army and transports, landed safely on the western coast, and immediately burnt his shipping, as a decisive indication there was to be no retreat. Allectus immediately marched west to meet his enemy; but his march was so hurried and disorderly, that upon being soon met he was defeated and slain. Soon afterwards Constantius landed in Kent, where he found grateful and obedient subjects. Their loud and unanimous acclamations gave assurance "that they sincerely rejoiced," says Gibbon, "in a revolution, which, after a separation of ten years, restored Britain to the body of the Roman empire."

Constantius, during the nine years from the time he landed in Britain until his death, never left the island; his principal residence being at York. Of all the persons, during this period, into whose hands the sovereign power of Rome was confided, he was the best. With all the ability and resolution of an active and efficient officer, he was kind and affable; and void of the love of that ostentatious show and assumed dignity which sometimes characterized his distinguished associate, Diocletian. He found Britain, after the death of Allectus, in a deranged condition and much al-

¹ Pictorial History of England, 103. "The navy of Carausius must have been manned in a great measure by his own Britons; and the superiority which it maintained for years in the surrounding seas, preserving for its master his island empire against the superb fleets that were built and equipped simultaneously in all the rivers of the Gauls to overwhelm him," [quoted from *Mamertinus*, and in *Britannia* after the Romans, p. 10.] may be taken as evidence that the people of Britain had been long familiar with ships of all description."

Again, p. 109: "British builders had acquired considerable reputation for skill. The panegyrist, Eumenius, tells us that when emperor Constantius rebuilt the city of Autun, in Gaul, about the end of the third century, he brought the workmen chiefly from Britain, which very much abounded with the best artificers."

² See 1 Giles' History of the Ancient Britons, 202, where he says: "But a more undoubted source of information for the reign of Carausius in Britain, are his coins, which remain in such abundance that every one who founds a numismatic cabinet may without difficulty procure a large number of those which were struck by Carausius in this island."

³ Then known as Portus Itus, Bonaparte's Caesar, 173; Gesoriacum, 1 Gibbon, D. & F., ch. xiii, p. 130; on maps as Bononia.

tered from what it had been under Carausius; and much afflicted by incursions from its enemies at the north. They were repelled and driven back by Constantius, who soon brought about a prosperous and happy state of affairs in the country, rendering him one of the best and most prosperous rulers; and entitling him to the warm reception the people had given him.

In the meantime changes had taken place in the rulers of Rome. Diocletian had been and was the ruling spirit of the time, yet he took the extraordinary resolution to abdicate all his successful and dazzling powers and to retire to a private life; and persuaded his associate, Maximian, to do the same.⁴ This step of the two Augustus, brought forward the two Cæsars into their positions as emperors of Rome. This in Galerius produced some additional display of his natural arrogance and love of the exercise of arbitrary power, but in his associate, Constantius, it produced not any change in his excellent character. It was then thought necessary to select two new Cæsars in their places; and this was done by Diocletian and Galerius without the consultation of Constantius.

But this produced but little or no effect on Constantius, who pursued the even tenor of his way, for the prosperity and welfare of his island home, as well as for the good of the empire. The persons thus elected to these distinguished positions were known by the names of Maximin and Severus, who, until then, were to the public unknown and undistinguished.

§2.—*Constantine and his Time, from A. D. 306—367.*

The last exploit of Constantius was an easy victory over the Caledonians, in driving them back within their own dominions. "He ended his life," says Gibbon, "in the imperial palace of York,¹ fifteen months after he had received the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen years and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of Cæsar." His son, who had been with him

upon the most affectionate terms, from the time he last entered Britain when the son was eighteen years of age, was now immediately proclaimed emperor in his father's place. This was thought to be due him by the people and army of Britain, as well on account of their grateful remembrance of the father, as the birth and merits of the son. He had now been with his father about twelve years, receiving his example and instruction; and becoming well acquainted with all the business and interests of both Britain and the empire. Few men ever elevated upon an exalted position, entered it under more favorable auspices. By his merits and illustrious deeds he afterwards acquired the distinction of Constantine the Great. After a limited campaign north of the wall of Severus, engaged in repelling the constantly recurring invasions from the north, this prince left the island, being called to the continent by important business; and taking with him vast number of British youths as addition to his army. He never returned to Britain; but until after his death in 337, this country seems to have enjoyed a tranquil and prosperous times, founded upon the reputation of the vigor and success of his reign and that of his father.

The elevation of Constantine was resisted by Maximin and Severus; and various changes and revolutions took place in the administration at Rome, for the following six years, while in the meantime Constantine was left to rule in the empire west of the Alps. In 308 so distracted were the times at Rome, that there were at once six emperors contending against each other, or forming combinations of one set against another, or engaged in civil war. There was Galerius, the old emperor; then Maximin and Severus, who had been exalted as Cæsars; then Maxentius, the son of Maximian, who had abdicated with Diocletian; then Licinius, who had been elevated by the choice of Galerius; and Maximian, who had returned from his abdication to power. All this produced in Rome the utmost confusion, corruption, treachery, and civil war. Maximian and his son made some attempts against Constantine, while in Gaul, which

⁴ In A. D. 304.

¹ A. D. 306, July 25.

were unsuccessful. During these six years that Constantine governed Gaul, that country was in a very unhappy condition, arising from the war and distracted government that had ruled, and the continued pressure and invasion of the barbarians upon it. The demands of the government and the taxes the people had to pay became burdensome and oppressive. Constantine was kept busy in repelling the enemy of the country, and in relieving the people. So well did he discharge these duties, that historians speak of it as the best performed, useful and innocent part of his life.

At length in A. D. 312, in consequence of the hostile attitude of the rulers at Rome, and the solicitations of the people and senate there, to be relieved of an intolerable tyranny, Constantine determined to march into Italy with a large army, though he sincerely opposed war, and loved peace and good government. The safety of Gaul would not permit him to take with him all his troops, nor so large an army as would ensure the enterprise from great danger. The army with which he marched over the Alps did not exceed forty thousand soldiers, and not exceeding one-fourth of the number that his enemies might bring against him. But he confidently relied upon the superior character of his troops. He knew that those of Italy were enervated by corruption and all manner of dissolute practices, his own army had been accustomed to local services and strict discipline. He had formed his resolution; passed the Alps, and was at the foot of them before the court of Maxentius at Rome were aware he had left the Rhine. With no obstacle which much detained him he was on the plains in the vicinity of Turin. The principal force brought against him, under the command of the officers of Maxentius, was a body of heavy cavalry, formed after the manner and discipline of the east. The horses and men were clothed in complete armor, and their aspect was formidable and appalling. On this occasion their generals had drawn them up in a compact body in the fashion of a wedge, with the point in advance towards their

opponents; and they flattered themselves that their onslaught would be irresistible. But the experience and skill of Constantine enabled him to so order the arrangement of his own army as to baffle and defeat this formidable attack of the cavalry. Upon being so defeated they fled to Turin, whose gates were unexpectedly shut against them. They then fell an easy prey to the army from Gaul. Two more battles,—that of Verona, which was severe and well fought, and another in the vicinity of Rome, where, after a severe conflict, the Roman army was totally defeated, and many of the troops, with the emperor Maxentius, in their attempt to escape were drowned in the Tiber; and the possession of Rome, Italy and the empire was readily yielded up to Constantine. From that time to his death in 337, his career was that of perfect success and triumph, in comparison with other imperial crowned heads; but these matters more properly belong to the history of the empire, except as its results may reflect upon Britain.

The great revolution produced by these events, was the transfer of the imperial influence from the predominant Pagan religion to that of Christianity. The Christian religion had now, for nearly three hundred years, been making its way and gradually spreading its truths and beneficence throughout the civilized world. But it had thus far progressed and maintained its influence and power, as a religious and moral instruction, independent of the government and the influence of all secular power. It made its way among the humble, the honest and conscientious, against the opposition of the powerful and the severest persecution, until it had its congregations and churches, its priests and bishops, in every country, and its influences began to be everywhere felt and acknowledged. During late reign of Diocletian as most severe and sanguinary persecution had existed for years, still the Christian church was able to sustain itself, and gradually make its way. How far Constantine had observed these matters, and had become convinced of its truth and eventual triumph; and determined in due time to

embrace it as his best policy; or was, as sometimes asserted, convicted by a miraculous interference, may be a question for the casuist. But it is said that on the night before his great battle on the banks of the Tiber, in which his opponent, Maxentius, in endeavoring to escape was drowned, he was assured in a dream that under the insignia of the christian he should be victorious. Others say, that before the battle there was manifested to him in a cloud in the heavens, and to the astonishment of the whole army, the sign of the cross, with an inscription that under that sign he should conquer. Be that as it may, it is certain that from that time Constantine favored the Christian religion, and gave it the protection and influence of the imperial government. This became a new era and influence in the church, which had as great an influence upon Britain as any country; for there Christianity had made a great progress.

Another great event of this reign, which greatly affected Britain in common with all Western Europe, was that of the emperor removing the seat of government from Rome to Constantinople. That act undoubtedly diminished the power of the western part of the empire to maintain itself against the encroachments of the barbarians, and hastened its decline and fall, though at the same time it strengthened and prolonged that of the east. The building of this city on the site of Byzantium, and making it the capital of the empire, was commenced by Constantine A. D. 324, thirteen years before his death. The selection of this place for his new capital, was guided by its great beauty, as well as by its great commercial convenience between the two continents, which have ever since rendered it one of the most important cities of the world. The choice of the place and the erection of this city, were worthy of the perpetuity of his name, as well as the other great services and achievements of Constantine.

Though the reign of this emperor was eminently successful and splendid, yet it was kept continually in commotion, either by civil war or the encroachments of bar-

barians or religious controversy. These were successfully and judiciously disposed of, and many laws and regulations adopted of great importance to the public. One of these was that which separated the military department from the civil; and prohibited the military officers from interfering with the administration of justice, or the collection of the revenue. This was a matter of importance to Britain, as well as to other portions of the empire. Another regulation was that which was specially for the benefit of Britain. The Saxons had continued their depredations upon the people and towns situated near the seashore; which had been increasing, and becoming quite annoying since the time of Carausius. To remedy this evil Constantine established certain officers called Counts of the Saxon shore, whose jurisdiction extended around the southeastern portion of Britain, from the northern coast of Norfolk to Portsmouth in Hampshire, and whose duty it was to protect these shores from the Saxon invasions; and for that purpose they had under their command a certain number of troops, foot and horse; and also there were built at different important places along the shore nine forts and castles, in order to secure those places from the depredations of these pirates. Besides these counts of the Saxon shores, there was the governor, or count of Britain, as commander-in-chief and vicegerent over the whole Roman dominion on the island. For the convenience of the administration the Roman part of the island was divided into five parts:—Maxima and Valentia were made consular provinces, and Prima, Secunda, and Flavia² præsidial districts; each having its military force, and also its proper executive and judicial officers. But as has been remarked, each department separate, and the military prohibited from interfering with the judiciary or the collection of taxes.

Constantine the Great expired A. D. 337, after a most distinguished and prosperous reign of thirty-one years, greatly mourned and lamented by his people. He was suc-

² See the map for these divisions: see, also, Richard of Cirencester, p. 437, B. i. ch. 6, §3.

ceeded in the empire by his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius, after much contention among the relative claimants and much bloodshed. They soon demonstrated that they were unfit to rule the empire. Two deceased in a few years; but the youngest, Constantius, succeeded in holding on for twenty-four years, when he was succeeded by Julian the Apostate in 361. In the next six years followed three more emperors, and a permanent division of the empire into the East and West. During this time the empire was making rapid decline towards its final fall; and the barbarians of the north making much progress in aiding it, to accomplish the event. Britain in the meantime suffered in common with the rest of the empire;—frequently depressed by a bad government, oppressed by excessive taxation, and heavy drafts upon her men to recruit the imperial armies. Besides all this, she was frequently attacked on the one side by the Saxon pirates, and on the other by invasions by the Caledonians and Picts, while at the same time she was robbed by the imperial government of her means of defense. During the reign of Julian the country was so reduced in its means of defense that their northern enemies triumphantly passed over the wall of Severus, and were pillaging even London; while at the same time the Saxons were ravaging the shores,—carrying off their property as plunder, and their people as slaves.

§3.—*Theodosius, the General, and his Time to the Departure of the Romans, A.D. 367–420,—53 Years.*

The Roman empire was now pressed on all sides, and at all points manifesting its decay. The barbarians crowding upon it on all sides, and coming upon it with all kind of people, and under every name:—the Huns and the Goths, the Alans and Vandals, as well as the Saxons, the Franks and the Burgundians. All heathendom let loose upon civilization and Christianity; and the latter in morality and patriotism debasing itself, so that the former in its rudeness, paganism and ignorance might

triumph over it; while at the same time this overwhelming flood of barbarians were the principal cause of its decline and overthrow. Among the officers of the empire who were battling to preserve its existence along its frontier on the Rhine, was Theodosius, an able and successful general, and whose son, of the same name, afterwards became an emperor of great distinction. This able general in 368 was sent to Britain to retrieve the country, if possible, from the poverty and degradation to which it had been reduced, by the bad care and protection given to it by the Roman empire. This general did all that it was possible for man to do with the reduced means of the empire, to restore order; to repair the walls, the forts and defenses of the south; for the country had been reduced by plunder, by taxation, and by taking off the men as recruits for the imperial army, so that it had been made helpless. But Theodosius, by the help of the Roman army, was able to give to Britain, for a while, at least, a relief by repelling and chastising the invasions from the north and pursuing and punishing in blood the Saxon pirates,¹ who had been engaged in robbing the country.

Theodosius was permitted to remain in Britain during two campaigns only, before he was recalled, by the necessities and decline of the empire. During that time, in addition to the expulsion of the northern invaders, on the one hand, and the dispersion and punishment of the Saxon pirates on the other, he was able to do much toward a restoration of the former prosperous condition of the country. So successfully had he been in his measures in the north that he was able to restore to the government the province of Valentia, north of the wall of Severus, which had been for years in the possession of the northern tribes. The whole country, which had been so subverted by every species of lawlessness and wickedness, was reclaimed to the demands of justice and the rights of humanity. The citizens of London, grate-

¹ 1 Pictorial Hist. Eng., B. i, ch. 1, p. 49; 1 Gibbon's Decl. and Fall, ch. xxv, p. 340; Ibid. ch. xxxvii, p. 503; Richard of Cirencester, B. i, ch. 6, §3.

ful for the benefits conferred upon them by the happy restoration of their affairs, acknowledged their obligations to the able general for his efficient and successful measures, and for the order and justice he had established in the administration of their affairs. But the benefits conferred upon Britain by their connection with the empire, was at all times temporary and spasmodic, and always leaving them helpless; by having been prohibited from adopting any military or other measures for their own good and protection, and being also constantly robbed of means and men, for the benefit of other parts of the empire.

Gratian was emperor of the West from A.D. 367 to 382, and he was among the most worthless and inefficient rulers. The only good we know of him was his permitting the general Theodosius to spend two years in Britain. He neglected the affairs of the government for the amusement of the chase, shows, and every object of luxury and degradation, and consequently every part of his empire was falling into disorder and ruin. At the same time that the barbarians were attacking his empire on the outside, on the inside he was taking them into his employment in the army; and making a body of Alans, his household troops. Everywhere dissatisfaction and dilapidation prevailed. This state of things reached Britain and reversed the prosperous state of affairs established by Theodosius. This produced a revolt, and the soldiers and people of the province with great unanimity proclaimed Maximus their emperor.² Among them he was acknowledged as an able officer and a favorite citizen. He has ever been claimed by the Britons as a native, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that "he was born in the land of Britain." There he had married a Cambrian princess,—Helen, the daughter of Eudaf, a ruler in North Wales; and there were his children as pledges for his faithfulness and patriotism. This new emperor had been a fellow-soldier with

Theodosius, and possessed much of his experience and ability. It is said that with his ability he was a modest and unassuming man, and at first earnestly declined the honors proposed to him, but was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple. He thought it necessary and politic for him to pass over to the continent, and claim his rights and dignity there, as safer and easier to maintain his position there, than to preserve it in Britain. He therefore passed over with a large fleet, and an immense army of his countrymen. The emperor Gratian fled from Paris to Lyons, where he was soon betrayed by his officers and beheaded. Theodosius, the emperor of the East, thought it prudent to negotiate with Maximus, rather than to contest his position. By treaty it was arranged that Maximus should confine his rule west of the Alps; and accordingly he turned his attention to the West, and made Treves the capital of his dominions, which consisted of Britain, Gaul and Spain. If his wisdom and prudence had been equal to his ambition, he might have been satisfied with so splendid a dominion, capable of being made equal to all that the most exalted ambition could desire; which with its natural boundary of the Rhine and the Alps, might have been made an effectual barrier against the barbarians north and east of it. To have accomplished this, within these boundaries, might have been a wise and sagacious object of ambition; or to have confined it to Britain. "The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity," says Gibbon, "could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of Northern Europe." But he was led astray by wild ambition and false glory; and possibly lacked the taste and real ability requisite to produce his true glory from the resources of his country, and the prosperity of his people. He was therefore induced, by the example set before him, and the fashion of the age, to seek the gratification of his ambition in too wide a field and in the glory of war, to his entire ruin. He was induced to march

² See Nennius' History of the Britons, §28, p. 395; Pictorial Hist. of England, p. 50; Gibbon's Decl. and Fall, ch. xxvii, p. 370.

with a well disguised haste over the Alps, and into Italy against a feeble government; and for a while with success. But the emperor Theodosius was induced to come to the relief of Italy, whose combinations were such as soon to overcome Maximus, who was utterly defeated and beheaded.³ While Maximus ruled in Gaul, he made Conan of Powys in Cambria, cousin of his wife, Helen, king of Armorica.⁴ From him descended the sovereigns and dukes of Brittany, which terminated in Anne of Brittany, queen of France in the fifteenth century. The vast army of Britons who followed Maximus into Gaul and Italy never returned to their native land, but were induced to settle in Armorica under Conan. This is only another instance, of the many, in which large bodies of Britons have been induced to return to their Cymric relatives in Gaul.

For some years after the death of Maximus we are again left in the dark as to the history of Britain. It is probable that the restoration given to its government by Theodosius and Maximus may have lasted for a few years; but soon the old story returns, of a bad government, or none at all; and the return of invaders and pirates to break down and destroy all prosperity as an incubus and blight upon the land. Some five or six years after Maximus' death, Chrysantus, an efficient lieutenant of Theodosius the Great, was sent with a sufficient army to relieve Britain. He was able again to expel and punish the invaders and pirates; and afford another temporary respite to the afflicted country. In A. D. 395 Theodosius died, and the rule of the West was given to Honorius; and within eight years terrible calamities and dissolution befell the empire, and parts of it taken away by the barbarians; and we find barbarian officers high in command in the

government. Stilicho, of barbarian origin, but an able general, was the leading spirit in the government. He was in command in Gaul, and being informed of the usual difficulties of Britain having again occurred, provided means by which the invaders were repelled and severely punished. But soon, in consequence of the necessities of the empire, and its invasion by the Goths, Stilicho was recalled home, and his influence, and probably most of the troops, were withdrawn.⁵

In this situation, while still pressed by their enemies, the people permitted the soldiers to elect one Marcus emperor of Britain A. D. 407; and soon after permitted the same soldiery to dethrone him and put him to death. In this manner was this unhappy country buffeted about, between the protection that the empire pretended to give and anarchy induced by the Roman army, as to be unable to help themselves.

It is not probable that at any time previous to A. D. 420 the legionary troops of the Romans were entirely withdrawn from Britain. But after Maximus was proclaimed emperor, the Roman civil authority was so reduced, that they were frequently under the command of some usurped authority, or that of the natives of Britain. But the civil authority, or that which controlled the judiciary and the collection and disbursing the revenue, was always kept separated from the military, and continued to represent the Roman sovereignty in Britain. It is therefore probable that the civil administration continued on, though the military government changed from one hand to another. These changes in the government, by which a new emperor was proclaimed, or governor, or tyrant elected, were produced by the interference of the military, or the legion, very much in the same way as such changes were accomplished in the empire. Sometimes such

³ In A. D. 388, after a reign of five years, which until the last were years of success.

⁴ With Conan is connected the legend of Ursula, in which she and a large number of British women attempted to furnish his colony in Armorica with wives. On their voyage thither a storm drove them from their course, and they were landed on the Rhine in Germany, where they were badly treated. On account of her conduct and virtues she was celebrated as St. Ursula. There is probably but little truth in the legend.

⁵ Nennius' Hist. Britons, §30, p. 396, in speaking of some one or all of these reliefs given by Rome to Britain, says: "Once more the Romans assisted the Britons in repelling their neighbors; and, after having exhausted the country of its gold, silver, brass, honey, and costly vestments, and besides having received rich gifts, they returned in great triumphs to Rome." See i Gibbon's Decl. and Fall, chap. xxx, p. 413, as to Stilicho.

change was effected with the aid and consent of the people, and sometimes entirely without their interference. The last remarkable change of this kind in the government of Britain occurred during the acknowledged sovereignty of Honorius, A.D. 407, when the legionary troops again sought to raise some one to the throne; and not knowing whom to elect, it is said that they found some one of the name of Constantine, and on account of the reverence they had for the name, they elected and adorned him with the purple. But it is probable that this part of the story is a mere witticism of the historian, for a sensational effect; for the British historians say that he was previously a person of distinction, and a grandson of Conan of Armorica; and a man of considerable ability, as the sequel will demonstrate. If this Constantine, when thus proclaimed emperor, had the patriotism and good sense to confine his jurisdiction to Britain, he might have been a great benefactor to his country; but he was compelled, either from choice or from circumstances and the example of those vicious times, to claim what he could of the empire, and soon arranged to pass over to the continent, after the manner of Maximus. Like most men, having more ambition than wisdom and patriotism, and having taken one step he must take another in the same direction, rather than make good and wise use of what he already had. For that purpose he enlisted and disciplined a vast number of British youths, and took them with him in his career. He soon made himself master of Gaul and Spain. He had a son who had previously been a monk in a monastery at Winchester, who was taken into public service and made governor over the latter country. In his Spanish campaign he had in his service not only a large force of Britons, but from the north of the island two bands of Scots and Attacotti.

For four years Constantine successfully held rule of the three countries, Britain, Gaul and Spain; and with energy and success making headway against his northern enemy on the Rhine, and his imperial foes who attempted to cross the Alps. He

made Arles the seat of his government and his imperial residence. Thus was the humble soldier playing the roll of fortune in royal dignity. But fortune often changes, even with great men. He had in his employment a Briton, known to fame as Count Gerontius, a most able and experienced general, with a determined and more than a Roman character. His master could ill spare his services, but for some reason the employee had taken an offence against his employer, and determined on revenge. The son was taken prisoner and put to death. The father was besieged at Arles; and would also have been taken, had not an Italian army unexpectedly come to his relief. But upon its being announced to be the army of Honorius, the legitimate emperor, the commanders of both armies declared for him. Gerontius being thus left, was obliged to flee for safety. But he was able in his retreat to rescue his name and fame from oblivion, by a romantic defense and death. He was pursued by a treacherous body of his troops, who at night surrounded his retreat, in order to triumph over him and put him to death. His retreat was a fortified house, and well supplied with light arms and missiles. With these he resolutely defended himself, wife and servants, who were devotedly attached to him and determined to die with him. He held out in his defense with much skill and determination, that at daylight he had killed three hundred of his assailants, and had exhausted his missiles;—some of his servants having deserted him, and his enemies having surrounded his house with fire. He might himself have escaped, but he was determined to die in the defense and protection of his wife; and she was equally resolved not to live to suffer a life of misery and disgrace. She therefore caused her own death on his sword, and he upon seeing all lost, caused his own death by a plunge of his dagger at his heart. The usurper Constantine soon after this was taken prisoner at Arles, and sent to Honorius at Ravenna, when he suffered death. This restored Honorius to the government of the West, and his rule over Britain was never after that contested

until after he himself had expressly renounced it in A. D. 420. During the nine years in which the power of Honorius had been thus restored, he on two or three occasions had furnished Britain with additional troops for her protection, against those enemies who were constantly attacking her both by land and sea,—both as plunderers and pirates. At length, contrary to the wishes of the Britons, Honorius was compelled, by his own exigences at home, to withdraw all protection and power from Britain, which was done without any hostilities or enmity on either side; but mutual friendship for a long time continued to subsist between the Britons and the Romans; and upon that event the emperor Honorius, in a letter addressed to the states and cities of Britain, formally released them from their allegiance, and acknowledged their⁶ independence.

§4.—*The Close of the Roman Period.*

We place the close of the Roman rule over Britain in A. D. 420, after they had held their heavy hand upon it for 377 years, from the time when Claudius commenced his conquest. When this unjustifiable conquest—founded only upon wicked and wild ambition—was commenced, the Britons were a prosperous and happy people, having made great advance in all the elements which constitute progress and civilization. In the reign of Cunobeline, the paramount sovereign, whose long reign ended just before the conquest, both history and antiquarian researches prove that the Britons were in the possession of all those things which rendered them a civilized people. They had made great progress in agriculture; having large herds of horses, cattle and farm stock, and raising grain in large quantities; having numerous towns, with extensive systems of roads from one place to another throughout the

country; having a large export trade to Gaul, and the civilized countries of Europe, in which the metals of tin and iron constituted an important item; having extensive commercial business between them and Gaul,¹ with a large shipping interest; having extensive manufactures of articles of domestic utensils and uses, as well as the larger articles of chariots and wagons, and the necessary harness; having a learned society, of priests, bards and teachers, who were charged with the duty of teaching the people in matters of religion, morality and the arts, and who practiced writing, both public and private, except when teaching, for the purpose of improving the memory of their pupils, and retaining improper matters from vulgar ears, it was done orally; and finally, having a system of coined money, in gold, silver and bronze, to transact their business. Such was the character of British society and civilization when the Romans made their conquest, and converted it all to Roman greediness.

When the conquest was accomplished, at the end of a hard fought war of forty-two² years, for their independence and freedom, the people returned with their usual character to persevering industry and the arts of peace. Agricola discovered this, and testified in strong terms of their capacities for it. But they had to begin this new career, after many thousand of their people had been slaughtered, many of their towns laid in ashes, their houses burned, their property plundered, their fields laid waste, and the country generally devastated by war. But still, with their known energy and industry, the people made wonderful progress, not only in recovering their former situation as to property and circumstances, but in adopting and using all the arts and improvements, that the Romans were capable to introduce to them. This was continued under very adverse circumstances for two hundred years, until about the times of Constantius and his son Con-

⁶ Nennius, in §28, says: "Thus, agreeably to the accounts given by the Britons, the Romans governed them four hundred and nine years;"—169, and before the conquest 43, which would be 452 A. D. The date of the separation is very uncertain. Turner puts it at A. D. 410, and possibly that may be the true date; but there are many reasons for putting it at A. D. 420. It is so stated in the English Pictorial History. See Appendix O.

¹ It was on this commerce that Augustus and other emperors before the conquest collected large import duties in Gaul, upon the British goods and shipping.

² From A. D. 43 to §5,—42 years.

stantine; during the latter part of which time they were subject to frequent and devastating invasions from the north; and being plundered by their government of their property and their young men, for the benefit of another country and people. After the conquest, the people were subjected to all kind of difficulties. They were not permitted to form a government of their own, or bear arms in their own defense. This was the peculiar province of the Roman government, and that which they furnished was often as bad and detestable as it could be. From that time forth, with a few exceptions, they were cursed with a bad government, and subjected to intolerable taxation both as to men and money, which was constantly taken out of the country. Then the country was constantly devastated by the invaders from the north, and plundering expeditions of the Saxon pirates from the sea. These intolerable evils were perpetrated upon the country, until it was reduced to utter feebleness,—until the country was prostrated as by a paralysis, which a brave and energetic people could not resist.

This state of things went on from bad to worse, until Rome herself was utterly prostrated by the continued invasions of the northern barbarians;—until Rome—who alone claimed the right to rule and govern—was taken and sacked by Alaric the Goth, and until Britain was reduced to entire helplessness. Such was the boon conferred upon Britain by the Roman conquest. Such was her situation when Honorius in 420, being no longer able to protect or plunder her, declared her free and independent in her then helpless condition. She was declared to be independent and free, after she had been so taxed, and robbed, and plundered; that there were hardly enough left to go through that operation again. Such was her condition for thirty years previous to that time, and such it unavoidably continued to be for thirty years after that event. Besides these operations of the Roman government which so reduced and depleted Britain of her wealth and prosperity, there are two more subjects that should be noticed in this con-

nection: (1.) That Rome was continually taking away from Britain her able-bodied young men to fill her armies, who were never permitted to return. This was done by Constantine, then by Maximus, then by Constantine the usurper, then by Stilicho, and by Ætius in the great battle against Attila the Hun. These men so taken away from their country were scattered over the empire, or colonized, but never permitted to return. Once or twice they were colonized in Armorica. (2.) Immediately upon the accomplishment of the conquest it was found dangerous to leave arms in the hands of the Britons, and therefore the Romans took good care to disarm them, and to keep them so. During the whole time of the Roman rule in Britain, the people were not permitted to have any control over the military affairs. That was a matter that the Roman government were pledged to do; and the Britons prohibited from doing. All this was so done by the Roman government in order to secure their rule over them. When, therefore, their independence came, they were in a helpless condition, having been plundered of their property and wealth both by their government and their enemies; and then placed in a situation they should not become acquainted with military affairs, or defend themselves. Because they were thus deprived of their property, of their arms, and all acquaintance with military affairs, they were not the soldiers who met Cæsar, or fought with Plautius or Ostorius; but in everything else they were the same Britons,—bold, hardy, fearless and persevering; and always found to be such when incorporated into the Roman army, where they frequently furnished some of the ablest generals.

§5.—*The Sequel of the Roman Period.*

Such was the condition of the Britons, when about A. D. 420 they found themselves liberated from the Roman sovereignty, by the letters of Honorius, directed to the cities and states of Britain, announcing to them that he was unable to render them any further assistance against their

enemies;—that they were free to govern themselves as best they could, and urging them to make efforts to defend themselves.

Although this date of the letters of Honorius has been contested, and placed some years previous to the death of Constantine the usurper in 411, yet it is insisted that the date stated is correct, for the reason that it is supported by the old authorities; and the events previous to the death of Constantine are inconsistent with its being previous to that time. After Count Constantius had taken Constantine prisoner at Arles, he proceeded on the commission that Honorius had given him, to restore Gaul and the west to his command. This he did do during the three succeeding years, both in Gaul and Britain. In 413 Adolphus the Goth had become, by most romantic events, the brother-in-law of Honorius, and faithfully supported him with his army of Goths. The next year he was engaged in Southern and Eastern Gaul in assisting Constantius in preserving Roman authority in that country, which he efficiently performed by repelling the barbarians on the Rhine, and taking off the heads of two usurpers, Jovinus and Sabastian, which were sent as trophies to Honorius; while the General Constantius was holding the seaports of Gaul, and, as it is supposed, of Britain also. In 414 there can be no doubt but that between the General Constantius and Adolphus all the western territory of the empire was held for Honorius; nor that but Britain was equally protected with Gaul.

"From that time," says Bede,¹ (*i. e.* after Count Constantius had taken Arles, and the death of Constantine,) "the south part of Britain, destitute of armed soldiers, of martial stores, and of all its active youths, which had been led away by the rashness of the tyrants, never to return"; and on account of the eruption of the northern nations, the Britons sent messengers to Rome, praying for succor to drive away their threatening enemy. "An armed legion was immediately sent them, which, arriving in the island and engaging the

enemy, delivered them from their cruel oppressors." They advised the Britons "to build a wall between the two seas across the island," and "returned home with great triumph." This wall the islanders accordingly did build, on the Antoninus line, between the Forth and the Clyde.

This assistance so rendered by the Romans can be assigned to no period so well as that between 412 and 414; and to its having been done by Count Constantius. It appears from Bede, Gildas and Nennius, that two or three such reliefs were granted to the Britons within a few years before it was finally refused, and Honorius' letters sent. Nennius describes the last of these thus: "Once more the Romans undertook the government of the Britons, and assisted them in repelling their neighbors; and after having exhausted the country of its gold, silver, brass, honey, and costly vestments, having besides received rich gifts, they returned in great triumph to Rome." Taking these statements together, with the known historical facts of that period, it can apply to no time as well as that which just precede 420.²

The British (Cambrian) historians say in confirmation of Bede's chronology, that after the death of Constantine the Roman forces returned to Britain three times,—*i. e.* A. D. 414, 416 and 419 or 20. In Rev. Theophilus Evans' Primitive Ages it said: "A council of the leading Britons was held, at which it was determined to invoke once more the interposition of the Romans, and offer them tribute and the entire submission of the country. The names of those who were deputed to carry this resolution into effect were Peryf Ap Cadifor and Gronw Ddu Ap Einion Lygliw. Notwithstanding the affairs of Rome could scarcely justify any expectation of assistance, yet, by the importunities of these men, they obtained a legion of troops, who returned with them to Britain; and soon dispersed or destroyed their enemies. This occurred in the year 420." This authority

² Turner, Gibbon, and Giles, put the time of issuing Honorius' letters previous to 410; but it is believed that they are not supported by any ancient authority, nor by the facts of history. See Bede; Pictorial History of England.

then states the assistance received of the Roman army, in expelling the enemy, in repairing the defences, and encouraging the people to make arrangements to defend themselves; informing them they would be able to aid them no more; they then bade the country and the people a final adieu.

It was then upon this final separation that Honorius issued his letters to the cities and states of Britain, acknowledging his inability to defend them, and their entire independence; and advising them to make arrangements to defend themselves. Historians of the times represent that all this was done in friendship and on good terms between the two countries, which for a long time so continued; and that it was with great regret, and slowly did the Britons give up their connection and hold on the empire; and their right to demand of the Roman government a protection against their enemies. They were still anxious, after so long a habit, to retain, and depend upon, the majesty and power of the Roman name as a guaranty for their protection. This, therefore, could not have happened before the death of Constantine and the capture of Arles A. D. 411; because he was in enmity with Honorius; and all the movements before that were made by the soldiers and officers of the Roman army, and in the name of Rome. That was the case with Maximus Constantine, and all the usurpers and tyrants set up in Britain, which was said to be so fertile of them. All those revolts were produced by the Roman soldiery; and the usurpers assumed the purple under the Roman name and organization. But after the letters of Honorius in 420 it was otherwise.

The letters of Honorius came to the Britons with regret; for, although the Romans had reduced them to their present low condition by taking from them in large amounts both men and money, yet they had become accustomed to their government; and now in the midst of their adverse circumstances and surrounding enemies, their offer of freedom was not a boon. The cities and states to which those letters

were directed were regularly organized as municipal governments, as stipendaries and subordinate to the Roman government. To this state of things they had been long accustomed, and wholly deprived and unaccustomed to, a military organization. Surrounded as they were with so many enemies, their independence appeared to them as appalling as it was unexpected. They therefore retained their several municipal organization, and for some years delayed the organization of a general or national government with the hopes the Roman government would return and come to their aid against their numerous enemies—the pirates from the seas, the Picts from the north, and the Scots from the west. Being surrounded by enemies, they knew not which would strike first, or where; and the Romans had left them unprepared for either. It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that they thus acted.

From the limited history of the times, it pretty evidently appears that the Britons for a number of years remained under their municipal government, without any general or national organization. Between A. D. 429 and 447 Bede gives considerable history of the times in narrating an account of two visits in that time paid, by bishop Germanus and some other clergy of the Gallican church, to the British clergy at their request to aid them in refuting the Pelagian heresy. The two visits were some years apart; but much was said and done in both. Large meetings were held for the purpose of discussion and controverting the doctrine; concerning which great excitement prevailed, and interest taken. Kings of special districts and nobility are spoken of, one person of the quality of a tribune, and "one Elafius, a chief of that region, hastened to meet the holy man," as mentioned; and we are also told, that when in the west part of the island, near Mold in Flintshire, the Saxons and Picts with their united forces were about to attack the Britons, the bishop "declared he would be their leader." And though the battle was fought and victory was gained by a miraculous interference of

heaven, yet it seems that the bishop took good care, as a skillful general, to choose his ground; "he picked out the most active, viewed the country round about, and observed, in the way by which the enemy were expected, a valley encompassed with hills, in which he drew up his inexperienced troops." When the multitude of fierce enemy appeared, the bishop, "bearing in his hands the standard," took the enemy by surprise, by all crying out three times Hallelujah; the enemy were so struck with fear and terror, that "they fled in disorder, casting away their arms;" glad to escape the danger, though many were drowned in crossing a river in their precipitate flight. Yet in all this account of those years, as given by Bede, and Gildas, and Nennius, not a word is mentioned about a sovereign, or a supreme chief, or pendragon or wledig, until we are told of Vortigern about the time that Saxons came under Hengist and Horsa.

After the Roman army had finally withdrawn, it is easy enough to understand the condition the Britons were left in, for a number of years, without a general or federal head. The several cities and states had their several domestic, stipendary and municipal governments in full operation for many years, to which they were accustomed and attached. They were in the same condition as the cities and states would be in the United States in case the federal government should be withdrawn from them. The governmental organization of the several cities and states would remain in full operation.

At the termination of the Roman power in Britain there were in it ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and distinguished,³ and were probably capitals of certain districts or territories. Formerly these thirty-three cities were ranked thus: two municipal, nine colonial, ten cities under the Latian law, and twelve stipendiary. "But," says Richard of Cirencester, "let no one lightly imagine that there were not many others besides these."

But in A. D. 312, the emperor Caracalla, (the son of Severus), by a perpetual edict conferred the right of citizenship on the Roman world, (and it is said that this applied only to communities and not to individuals,) at once abolished the above distinction between those cities, and all became alike Roman cities. These cities were permitted to rule and govern themselves, and adopt their native laws, not contrary to the Roman sovereignty or inimicable to their political laws. The cities were governed by a senate, usually one hundred more or less. The senate was not exclusively a Roman institution, for it was well known in Gaul and Britain before Cæsar came.

Generally the Romans permitted the states and cities in the provinces to govern themselves, where they paid their taxes, were peaceable and did nothing contrary to Roman interests. The cities were organized with its senate on republican principles. The Romans in former times called the senate of every city by that name, and the members senators; but in latter times they applied that appellation only to the senate and senators of Rome, and those of the provincial cities were called curia, and the members decurions or *decuriones*. The curia or senate were elected from the principal citizens⁴ and the curia elected all the magistrates, and in their own affairs their laws were administered by themselves. In many respects the laws thus administered, deduced from the British triads, peculiar to British institutions, were superior to the Roman law. In relation to this subject, Savigny says: "The communities of these citizens [in the provinces] were subjects of the Roman people, yet the internal administration of the communities belonged to themselves. This free municipal constitution was their fundamental characteristic; and the same remark will apply to both principal classes of such constitutions, municipal and colonia,"⁴ [or state]. And Cicero says: "As in Rome, so in the colonies, the popular assemblies had originally the sover-

³ See Richard of Cirencester, B. i, ch. 7; Nennius' st. Brit., §7, in Bohn's Library; Six Old Chronicles, pp. 386 and 456.

⁴ See Smith and Anthon's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, title Colonia and Provincia.

eign power; they chose the magistrates and could even make laws."⁵

The large and distinguished cities, the capitals of districts, had considerable territory attached to them, more or less, which constituted a part of their government. In a number of instances there were states organized in the same manner, with their king, *brenhin* or chief; and assembly to carry on their municipal government. By the Roman law the military government was entirely separated from the civil; and as to the former the Britons were not permitted to interfere, nor with national affairs.

Such was the condition in which the letter of Honorius left the Britons to take care of themselves. They had their municipal government throughout Southern Britain fully regulated, and had been so time out of mind. They were satisfied and pleased with it; and there was no change except the Roman army had been withdrawn, and they were not compelled to pay the Roman taxes. These, under the circumstances that then surrounded them, they would be glad to submit to, for the sake of the protection it rendered them against their enemies. For many years they remained in *statu quo*, with the hopes that the Roman army would return. When that army last departed they had just repelled the northern invaders, and these invariably remained quiet for some years after each severe repulse. They remained quiet for some time, but at length there came Scots and Picts as usual. What year that was it is hard to tell from the confused statement of facts as stated by Bede, who says that, "Some few years before the arrival" of the Saxons, which is stated under the date of A. D. 429, bishop Germanus of Auxerre in Gaul came over to aid the British clergy, as already stated, against Pelagians. Much is said about that visit and the great assembly of the people to listen to discussion on the Pelagian heresy; but everything is indicative that the people were then at peace and prosperous. Probably the attacks of Scots and Picts were

after the visit of this bishop, and before his second visit. But it is represented that the people after that became ungodly and wicked, and their foes returned upon them worse than ever;—the northern enemy by land, and the Saxons by the sea, each plundering and devastating the country. Both Gildas and Bede represent that the people, "putting their trust in God and not in man," rallied, and overthrew their enemies";⁶ and the Britons recovering their courage, "at length began to inflict severe losses upon their enemies, who had been for so many years plundering the country." The "robbers thereupon returned home, and afterwards remained quiet in the farthest part of the island"⁷ for some time. "When," however, continued Bede, "the ravages of the enemy at length ceased, the island began to abound with such plenty of grain as had never been known in any age before; with plenty luxury increased, and this was attended with all sorts of crimes."

And Turner, in reference to these same events, says:⁸ "In this extremity the Britons displayed a magnanimous character; they remembered the ancient independence of the island, and their brave ancestors, who still lived ennobled in the verses of their bards; they armed themselves, threw off the foreign yoke,⁹ deposed the imperial magistrates,¹⁰ proclaimed their insular independence, and with the successful valor of youthful liberty and endangered existence, they drove the fierce invaders from their cities."

The Britons being thus left by the Romans, and their independence acknowledged contrary to their wishes, they remained for many years under their old organization of municipal government of city and state,

⁶ Gildas, §20.

⁷ Bede, B. i, ch. 14. From chapter 12 it appears that the people repaid the northern, Antoninus', wall, at public and private expense."

⁸ History of the Saxons, B. ii, ch. vii, p. 126.

⁹ There was no throwing off of a yoke, for that had been taken off by Honorius, without their consent. They were left at liberty to do what they pleased or could.

¹⁰ All imperial magistrates had been withdrawn with the Roman army; and the Britons were left with their own domestic and municipal magistrates, under their old organization.

without any federal organization or national head. In the rebellion under Maximus and Constantine the people had nothing to do with it, except to rejoice over it. It was a movement of the Roman soldiery, in the Roman name and organization. But now, if the people are to assume a national organization instead of the Roman, they determined, when it became apparent that it was necessary, that it should be a return to their old Cymric Confederation;—a federal government which would retain their state and city governments just as they were, with a national union and federal head—a pendragon, as in the time of Caswallon and Caractacus. None were willing to surrender their state or city organization and government for a consolidated and central government. Each loved his respective local government, and insisted upon it as a means of preserving their individual liberty against an arbitrary and powerful consolidated government. They feared that in a consolidated government the liberties, rights and interest of the minor and feeble would be sacrificed to subserve the interest of the great and powerful. They therefore insisted that their city and state governments should be preserved, under an union, with a pendragon at its head, to transact national and general affairs. Upon this question there were probably two parties; though all were for preserving the old municipal governments, yet they were divided as to the form of its organization. One party was for adopting the Roman form of government over the provinces; the other for the old Celtic form, a union, with a pendragon and a general assembly. The question was not settled for a number of years, partly on account of a hope that the Roman army would return and that they would be again taken in as citizens into the Roman empire,¹¹ and partly on ac-

count of a division of opinion on the subject of the form of organization. The subject was kept open by disputations on it, as well as by the religious matters then pending; and the great meetings of the people held by bishop Germanus on the question of the Pelagian heresy. The people were intelligent, and took great interest in these polemic discussions.

At length the question as to the political organization was settled; this was urged by the repeated attacks of their northern enemies, and of the pirates of the sea. This was settled by the election of Gwrtheyrn,¹² known in English history as Vortigern;¹³ as their federal chief or pendragon. He was a prince of a tributary or stipendiary kingdom in the south of Cambria or Britannia Secunda, in the midst of the ancient Silures, and included what is now the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan. He was then a man in the prime of life, having a son grown to a man-estate,—Guortemir (Vortimer), who became distinguished in the approaching war. Vortigern was a man of prepossessing and popular address, artful and wiley, and experienced in political affairs; but destitute of sound principles and judgment. His personal appearance and arts rendered him successful against his competitors in the election to the office he now held; of whom Ambrosius¹⁴ was one; who was a son of the king of the Damnonii, whose country was around Exeter. He was from among those people in the south part of Britain,¹⁵

support of our view.

Mr. Turner in this note, as well as in a number of other places, contends that the emperor's vicarius, as governor of a province, would not command the military force, because Constantine the Great had ordered the civil and military departments to be kept separate. This is true, and it was so generally done in time of peace. But a vicarius, as governor of a province, acted as the superior, and had in his hands the whole power of the government, and controlled both the civil and military matters. But with the officers under him it was otherwise; for there the two departments would be kept distinct.

¹² Miss Jane Williams, in her *History of Wales*, (p. 96,) says: "Vortigern, a Cymric king, whose hereditary dominions lay along the vale of the river Wye, was elected Gwledig or Pendragon about the year 448." And cites her numerous authorities. She is very accurate and investigating; and her history is an interesting portion of British history.

¹³ Nennius, §31, and note * by Giles.

¹⁴ Bede, B. i. ch. 16, and note * by Giles.

¹⁵ Richard of Cirencester, B. 1, ch. 6, §18.

¹¹ Turner says (B. ii, ch. viii, p. 128): "When Zosimus mentioned Britain, for the last time, in his history, he leaves the natives in a state of independence of Rome, so generally armed as to have achieved the exploits of Roman soldiers, and to have driven the invaders from their cities. This appears to be authentic history. We may assume the governing powers of the island, at that period, to have been the civitates or the territorial districts, because the emperor would of course have written to the predominant authority." See, also, his note *a*, which is also in

who were most favorable to the Roman rule, and was himself half Roman by descent. They were the people so anxious for the return of the Romans, that they sent the petition to Ætius, begging his protection, and saying: "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea drive us back to the barbarians: between them we are exposed to two sorts of death,—we are either slain or drowned." Vortigern opposed the views of the Roman party, and headed the native party, and for a while was successful. For a while this division of parties produced the most virulent and acrimonious feeling, which in a great measure is the foundation of Gildas' querulous history of the animosities of the Britons.¹⁶

We have no positive history to fix the time when Vortigern was elected to the pendragonate, but it is probable that it was in 447 or 8, after bishop Germanus had left the second time. It was then apparent that they were to receive no aid from the Romans; and the continued and increasing difficulties around them drove the Britons at length to the measure of forming a confederacy and electing a general head. The spirit of their ancient laws and the principles of their triads continued with them, and had never left the British soil. They therefore chose their ancient constitution in preference to the arbitrary one of the Romans. The form of government that has always prevailed among the Cymry, both in Gaul and Britain, has been a chief executive head officer, controlled by a general assembly, who possessed the only legislative power. Cæsar when in Gaul, in time of extreme difficulty, several times called a general assembly of the states in certain districts. We know of no other country, except in Gaul and Britain, where it was common to hold such general assemblies. In more recent times they have generally received the French name of parliament. This matter being thus settled, and Vortigern having been elected their chief federal officer, he was called in the discharge of his duties from

Cambria to London. He there found the whole country beset with difficulties. Their old enemies were again threatening them on either hand, and the country greatly reduced in its resources and wealth. For years the Romans had been taking from it its active young men for their armies abroad, and its wealth for tribute and taxes. The country had recently suffered by famine and pestilence. And then it had suffered from the frequent attacks and excursions of their enemies in various parts of the island, where their property was taken or destroyed by their plundering foes. They were now threatened with a more severe invasion than ever, when it appeared that Scots, Picts and the Saxons were acting in concert. During all the time the Romans had possession they kept the people entirely unacquainted with military affairs; and it is doubtful whether, when the Roman army left, there were any arms and accoutrements left to arm the people against their foes. Although these difficulties were great and apparently overwhelming, still we are not aware that any part of the country or states were treacherous or disloyal. There may have been divisions as to who should be elected, and as to the form of government to be adopted; but now when those questions had been settled, all were more or less enthusiastic in a loyal defense of the country. We have no reason to suspect otherwise, except that the Coritanians, of foreign origin, were sometimes charged of not being as loyal as they should be; and the Loegrians, who occupied the whole east part of the island, were not looked upon to be reliable and determined in their loyalty and defense as those of the west—the old Cymry.

It is sometimes charged that the Britons were very contentious with each other, and given to civil war, and therefore their misfortunes were not deserving of public sympathy, and as a reason for their misfortune being a just retribution. But it is believed that the charge is not just or true. It is believed the Cymry were as peaceable as any brave and decided people, and as the usual character of human nature would

¹⁶ B. i. §25.

permit them to be:¹⁷ certainly as much so as their neighboring people in the Saxon Heptarchy, who, nearly for four hundred years after their possession of the country, were in perpetual war with each other; and whose wars, as Hume says, "were as interesting as the battle of the kites and hawks." Perhaps the Britons were not more so than the Grecian States.

The character and conduct of the Britons, at the close of this period, is grossly misrepresented. This is principally attributable to the querulous and fault-finding disposition of Gildas, almost the only historian remaining near the time. He was a bigoted and superstitious religionist of those ill-informed times. When things went right they were attributed to miracles and divine interference; when wrong, they were the scourge of heaven for the sins of the people. Every person and event that had passed, so that they were subject to be criticised as passed events, were scurrilously abused, and depicted in its most odious colors; when perhaps those events were, at the time, strange and unforeseen by human wisdom; and would have received his own approbation, but when passed he could criticise and censure with impunity. He was probably a monastic preacher, and as an eloquent preacher or poet, he dealt in generalities and extravagant denunciations, to produce a general and vivid impression without any definite fact, date or circumstances. That his history has produced a false impression of the period, there can be no doubt, though a kernel of fact or truth may be deduced from it. Whatever did not meet his approbation he censured in extravagant colors and in general epithets, with the hopes of producing a reform and a crusade against their enemies. For such a sermon it may be eloquent and effective, but, as a history, of little value; and in the general not to be depended upon. His miracles and denunciation of men and their times are equally unreliable.

Vortigern was, without doubt, an active,

plausible and winning politician, but unprincipled and unbalanced, with a feeble judgment; but no worse so than many of the officials of his day. But his lot was unfortunately cast, in the midst of great pending and doubtful difficulties, which were about to produce an unexpected crisis in the affairs of his country. When the matter was first canvassed there was much division of honest opinion about it; when passed and all its consequences well known, then the poorest judgment, when the event is seen to be unfortunate, can easily be denounced as unwise, and that they could have done better. Such was Gildas' position: he, in a few years after the crisis had passed, and could then see all its consequences, pronounced the measure as unwise and wicked, and denounced the men engaged in it as silly and imbecile,—all the opprobrious and scurrilous abuse heaped upon them, and all calumny and scandal believed of them and repeated,—true or false. How much of the abuse repeated against Vortigern were founded in truth and fact is hard to tell, but much of it is connected with monkish legends and miracles, which may well throw doubts over much of it and justify a disbelief.

But be that as it may, Vortigern had come from his hereditary dominions to London to see after the national affairs. He saw the difficulties of his situation. He found all the enemies of his country were upon him at once,—the Scots harrassing the people and plundering upon the western coast of the island, and the Picts doing the same upon the east; while the Saxon pirates were robbing along the sea coast. In connection with Rome, the country had been drained of men and money; and their enemies were then laying many parts of the island in waste and desolation, which had brought upon them famine and pestilence. The question, what was to be done or could be done in that crisis, was enough to distract human intellect and human capacity. Vortigern called a general assembly of the cities and states, as was the custom among the Cymry. He stated to them the difficulties of the country, and the untoward events then threatening them. That Par-

¹⁷ So Tacitus represents them to be, where they had no reason to complain of tyranny or injustice. Agricola, §xii, xv, xvi; the Annals, B. xiv, ch. 35 and 39.

liament debated the question, as Britons would have done in modern times. But the result of the debate and their action upon it, will carry us over a crisis in the history of the country and people; and bring us into another period, to which we must postpone the subject.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD TO THE ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN.

There is every reason to believe that at the commencement of this period the Britons were in a very prosperous and happy condition. About one hundred years previous Cæsar had attacked them with a view of a conquest, as he had done in Gaul, and continued his efforts during two campaigns, with great resources but with such utter failure of success that it was but scarcely believed that it would be ever attempted again. We have seen what evidence there was of the progress the people had made, and were making, in everything that constitute the prosperity and civilization of a country. If it had not been for the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar, we have the strongest evidence that the country was in a rapid course of development of a new and better civilization than that which originated in Greece, whose foundation was borrowed from Egypt and Phœnicia, and adopted by Rome. We have every evidence of this in the progress that the Venetians were making, in the organization of their government, in the commerce they conducted, in the vast amount of shipping they brought together in opposition to Cæsar, and the necessary arts which produced all this; which gives to every candid mind an assurance of the truth of what is here asserted; but which was cruelly and heartlessly crushed and stamped out by Cæsar. At that time there was an intimate connection between the Britons and the Venetians; and everything which constituted progress and improvement were in common between them. They were of the same family of people; and for that great naval battle Britain had furnished

shipping and aid, as alleged by Cæsar as a matter of complaint against them. But Cæsar's operations against the Britons was a failure, and they were permitted to proceed in their course of improvement; and this they did by taking to themselves the former commercial traffic carried on by the Venetians between Britain and the continent, in tin, iron, grain and other products of the island. This is proved by the assertions of the Roman historians in their allegations as to the amount of duties the Roman government were able to collect on the coast of Gaul on this British traffic. That traffic, while principally controlled by the Venetians, was between that part of the island where Portsmouth now is and the mouth of the Loire; but after the fall of Venetia, that commerce was divided between the valley of the Loire and the Seine. The British historians in confirmation of this say that commerce increased rapidly, and the amount of British shipping so great as that when the emperor Caligula attempted to invade Britain he was principally deterred from doing so by the show of naval force against him under Guiderius, the then sovereign of Britain; as we are also informed by Dion Cassius, by the speech he puts into the mouth of Boadicea, that in the latter days of Augustus the British fleet guarded the coast and swept the channel, then under Lear, (Llyr,) as admiral and the brother of Cymbeline, the Sovereign. There is no more doubt that the exhibition made by the British fleet in those days preserved Britain from an invasion, than there is that the same was accomplished about eighteen hundred years afterwards in the time of Bonaparte.

As to the character of the Britons, and the progress they had made in civilization, reference must be had to what has been said in a former chapter. But it is proper here to consider the question more fully whether the Britons, at the commencement of the conquest, were all one and the same people and race or diverse. The assertion of Cæsar, made under a mistake, that the people in the south and east near the sea were emigrants from Belgium, and therefore a different race of people from those

more in the interior, should be considered whether literally true or made under a misapprehension. This assertion of Cæsar has been accepted as true, without a question by the English writers: and without even considering whether there might not be a mistake about it. The British writers have ever contended that they were all of the same race and people, only that those who were called Loegrians, inhabiting the southeast part of Britain, came over from Cymric Gaul after the Cymry had settled in Britain. But they were all Cymry; from the original stock who emigrated from Asia Minor to Gaul, and who considered themselves of the same family and using the same language. They were merely a later immigration of the same people, and received as friends. It was like the people of New England, who settled there in the seventeenth century, receiving new immigration from the British islands in the nineteenth century as their own people and friends. The difference then made between the Loegrians of the east and the Cymry of the west was a mere conventional distinction, which meant no more than when we now speak of the people of the United States we should say the New Englanders of the east and the Virginians of the southwest. They were essentially the same people in origin and language. Neither Cæsar, nor Tacitus, or any Roman author points out any distinction which conflicts with this. Caractacus fought the Romans in the neighborhood of London, as well as among the Silures west of the Severn;¹ just as Washington fought for one and the same people in New England and in Virginia. In the latter instance the fight was successful, but in the former it was not. But it would have been equally unsuccessful in both instances, had it not been that, in the course of the progress of humanity and justice, the French were induced to save the oppressed; but as to Caractacus, there were no ally or friend of humanity or justice capable to save him and his people from the overwhelming

power of the Roman empire. The only meaning that can be put upon Cæsar's assertion² that the people of Southern Britain were from Belgium, is that they were later emigrants from the opposite coast of Gaul, than those who first settled Britain. This did not conflict with their being all the same in language and race. "All circumstances considered," says Tacitus,³ "it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity. You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same superstition. The two languages differ but little."

Previous to the time of Cæsar the best improved part of Britain was that in the neighborhood of what is now Portsmouth and the valley of the Avon, which Cæsar did not see and apparently did not know anything about. Avebury and Stonehenge, the mounds and barrows, and the great body of the British antiquities, are there; and it was there that Vespasian and Titus had their thirty-two great battles in order to reduce the people to subjection. It was there, also, where the ancient commerce and the tin traffic were the most active; all indicating that was the most important part of the country, and the most advanced in improvement and civilization.

We have already indicated the progress that the Ancient Britons had made in improvements and civilization at the commencement of the Claudian invasion. The object of the Romans was not to conquer a people who were mere savages, but a people who were able to pay tribute, who were rich in tin and metals, in grain and cattle, who were able to support the army they should send there, and pay the taxes they should impose upon them. If it had been a savage country, it would have been secure from this invasion; but as it was, as Cæsar represented a hundred years before, a country full of people and houses, with fields of grain and herds of cattle, it was to be conquered for the tribute it was able

¹ Caractacus appealed to the Silures, in his speech before the battle of Caradoc, as descendants of the fathers and peoples who fought Cæsar on the Thames.

² Cæsar's War in Gaul, B. v, §10.

³ Life of Agricola, §xi. It is observed in modern times that the languages of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales differ but little, and must originally have been the same.

to pay. But their civilization does not depend upon what may be thus fairly deduced from what has been said by Cæsar. But we have the positive declaration of Tacitus and other Roman historians; thus Tacitus represents Prasutagus, the king of Icenians, had amassed considerable wealth, and that it was an object of cupidity and plunder on the part of the Romans. His wife and daughters were also represented, in queenly attire, riding in a chariot, addressing her people in appropriate terms as to the wrongs and injuries she had received, and in a manner that has received the sympathy and the admiration of the civilized world.⁴ Equally indicating a high degree of civilization is his description of Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes: "a woman of high descent, and flourishing in all the splendor of wealth and power." The Brigantes were the most northern part of Southern Britain, just south of the wall of Severus. From all that is known of Britain of that date, and all that can be deduced from history, we can find but little or no difference in the people from the wall of Severus to the isle of Wight, and from the British channel to the Irish Sea. They were all essentially the same people in race and language, in laws and customs, in manners and dress. In all free people there is no great deal of difference in the clothing of one class and another. The two queens described would not be likely to be so dressed in the midst of a naked and painted people.⁵ The contest in which the

Britons were able to hold out against the power and arts of the Romans, and the manner in which it has been held up by ancient historians to the admiration of the world, is not only evidence of a high degree of culture, but disproves the contrary, and would throw a disgrace over the Roman name, in being compelled to maintain so long a contest with a savage or barbarous people. "Their war chariots, [four thousand in one select body,] which several times produced tremendous effect on the Romans, and the use of which seems at that time to have been peculiar to the Britons, would of themselves prove a high degree of mechanical skill, and the acquaintance with several arts." Some of those chariots as represented to us were very curiously and ingeniously wrought; and it would be contrary to nature, and all example and experience, that such skill and ingenuity should be exhausted upon their instruments of war, and not upon their houses and domestic utensils." All people as they progress apply their proficiency in the arts, towards all objects to which they are applicable either civil or military; never to one to the exclusion of the other; but always as much to the comfort and happiness of man as to any other object.

We have evidence of the degree of civilization attained by the Britons at this time, before the Roman influence and conquest had affected them, in the minor matters of domestic affairs, and in their personal appearance, manners and customs. The description already given by classic authors of the queens and families of the Icenians and Brigantes should be received as part of it. So also should be the dignified appearance of Caractacus before the emperor and Roman people. But especially the speeches put into the mouths of Caractacus, Boadicea, and Galgacus, by the classic authors, cannot be otherwise received than as evidence of their opinion of their cultivation and refinement. The British authors claim that during the interval of time between Cæsar and Claudius many of the distinguished persons, both male and female, visited Rome, and many

⁴ We may suppose the dress of the Britons to be like those of the Gauls. "Boadicea's royal costume, when she addressed the Britons, was long yellow hair, with a large golden torques; and a Kition or tunic swelling round her bosom in various colors, with a thick cloak thrown over it. Britons had gold rings on their middle finger."

⁵ "The first striking result of an examination is a suspicion, and indeed a proof, that the Britons were much farther advanced in civilization than the savage tribes to which it has been the fashion to compare them." *Pictorial History of England*, B. i, ch. i, p. 31. Mr. Vaughan, *Revo. History*, p. 25, B. i, ch. 2, says: "The Britain which did ultimately submit to the authority of Rome was certainly a country of considerable industry and wealth. If the Britons of Cæsar's time were wont to delight in human sacrifices, to paint or stain their bodies in barbarous fashion, and to have therein a family in common, nothing of this would seem to apply to the Britons described by Tacitus and Dion Cassius. This is a fact of importance in relation to our early history, and should be marked by the student."

were educated there. The classics contain evidence of this;⁶ and both Juvenal and Martial contain poetical allusions to this effect, and specially name Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the proconsul and first governor of Britain, and Claudia,⁷ the wife of Pudens the senator. It would have been impossible that these ladies would have been thus received into Roman society, had they been the woman of an uncultivated and uncivilized people. "The British lawyers," says Turner,⁸ "as well as the British ladies, have obtained the panegyrics of the Roman classics." But articles found among the antiquities of Britain furnish more evidence of the advancement of the Britons in civilization and domestic refinement, than any express declaration of the classic. Among these are found cups of precious materials and highly wrought; showing great advancements in the arts, and that they were acquainted with the turning lathe.⁹ These are proof of the existence of the usual domestic utensils as a necessary concomitant or a prior necessity. On some of the coins of Cunobeline are represented the interior of a habitation furnished,¹⁰ with seats resembling a modern chair, stools and other like domestic articles; with the arms of the family arranged along the walls, like the arrangement of similar articles in the country house of a modern English gentleman.¹¹ And if in Cæsar's time the people

were numerous, and the country full of houses, and the people possessed large herds of cattle, numerous horses and chariots, in the natural course of things, they would have made great progress in the century that transpired from time to that of Claudius.

But it is not alone upon such articles that this question depends. The condition of the country and people is further proved by the towns, roads, density of population, their houses, their chariots, their fields of grain and extensive herds. All these are not only evidence of a civilization, but they necessarily produce it. They are all concomitants and are the necessary production of one another. Where there are towns there must be roads from one to another. Where there are roads there must be towns. Where there is a dense population, there must be a cultivation of the earth, or the people will starve. Where the people are savages, or nomadic, the population are necessarily sparse, in order to furnish food for their game, or cattle. We know from the Roman writers of the time of Claudius, the towns in Britain were numerous. We are told that Vespasian in his march from the isle of Wight to the Severn had thirty-two battles and took twenty towns. Claudius was present with Plautius when the town of Camalodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, was taken. London was then a large town. Cæsar's description of the capital of Cassivellaunus may not answer as a very fair description of other towns, for they depend upon population, situation and business. It may have been merely his *oppidum* or fortified capital, but if it resembled other towns, then the British towns between that time and that of Claudius greatly improved.

ments that they were framed upon the Roman model; and this fact confirms the supposition that Britain made great progress in the arts of social life during the late period before the conquest. As yet, also, a good understanding generally prevailed between the chiefs of the island and the Roman authorities; for there are facts as evidence of very friendly and kind acts passing between them in the reign of Tiberius. On those coins are inscribed the words or letters, in the abbreviated form, of CUNO, BOADI, and CAMOJ, which occurs on some of them, most probably designates the words Cunobeline, Boadicea, and Camalodunum, but the words Tascia and Tascio still puzzle all the ingenuity of archeologists." See Gough's Camden, Vol. 1, p. cxiii.

6 1 Pictorial Eng. Hist., 67; Tacitus' Annals, xvi, §32; Martial Ess., xi, 53.

7 These two ladies were known to British authors, the first as ——— and the second as Gwladys.

8 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxon, 73; see, also, Vaughan's Hist. Revolution, 65, &c.; see, also, 1 Giles' Anc. Britons, §8, &c., as to the intimate acquaintance the Roman classics had with Britain before the conquest.

9 See John Evans F. R. S. learned work on British antiquities in his Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain, p. 400, &c., in which he shows by antiquities taken from the mounds that the Ancient Britons were acquainted with the lathe, and applied its use to many objects.

10 1 Pict. Hist. of England, 118, who cites Pegge on the coins of Cunobeline.

11 See Giles' Ancient Britons, Vol. 1, p. 70, where he says: "If we may trust to the evidence furnished by numismatic science, the name of Cunobeline seems not unworthy to be inserted among those of the greatest men that our country has produced. No less than forty different varieties of coins has been discovered, bearing the name of Cunobeline, or Camalodunum, his capital and residence. It is evident from the inspection of these authentic monu-

Although we do not find the roads of the Ancient Britons described, yet we know they must have had them, for they were necessary to communicate from town to town, also for the passing and operation of their immense number of chariots. Tacitus says that the Britons complained of the Roman tax collectors, that they "compelled them to make tedious journeys through difficult cross country roads, instead of payment at the most convenient magazine." If there were cross country roads, there must have been general thoroughfares. And so the circumstances and the examination of the antiquities of Britain fully prove. This examination proves that such roads existed from town to town and throughout the island, before the Roman roads were made. The Roman roads were generally made on them, except where straightened; and formed with more experience and art. These ancient British roads were used by the Romans in the conquest of the country; and if they had not existed, it might have been very difficult for them to traverse the country.

As to the mental character and capacity of the people, we have abundant testimony of Tacitus, from the best possible source of information. He represents them as a people who had capacity and taste for learning and for the arts and sciences; and manifested great facility in their acquisition. He further testifies to their peaceable character: "They perform all the services of the government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient; they are conquered, not broken hearted; reduced to obedience, not reduced to slavery." The classic historians delineate to us in the most exalted terms the capacities and abilities of their leading men, and the courage, perseverance and patriotism of the people. They appear to delight in the conduct and character of such men as Cassivellaunus, Caractacus, Arviragus, Venusius and Galgacus; and the skill and ability with which they conducted their forces, and defended the country; and their dignified conduct in adversity fully justified their kind partiali-

ty.

Some historians, in modern times, seem delighted in representing the Ancient Britons to have been so divided up by tribes and states, and so hostile and at war with one another that they were a people incapable of any large movement or a confederated or united operation. This needs investigation, for it appears to us unjust. It is very true that it is said that in all Britain there are enumerated forty-five different tribes or states; and south of the wall of Severus there were eighteen. But for the purpose of this examination, the inquiry may be confined to the territory south of that wall, and that includes all that was permanently within the Roman government. Although eighteen states and tribes are enumerated, yet there were not so many states; some states included two or more of them. During the conquest we hardly hear of any other than these ten: 1. Brigantes, who occupied the north between the Humber and Severus' wall; 2. Coritani, south of the last and north of the Wash; 3. The Iceni, south of the Wash; 4. The Trinobantes, between the Iceni and the Thames. London and Camalodunum were within it; and it probably included two or three other states or tribes, as the Cassii and Atrebatii, and Catigenchlanii, and this last name may be intended to include the whole. It is probable that Cassivellaunus, in Cæsar's time, claimed the whole of them as his individual dominion, independent of his being elected the pendragon; 5. The Cantii or Cantium, which included the southeast corner of the island south of the Thames; which included the towns of Daruenum, (supposed to be Canterbury,) and Rutupiae, a seaport near Sandwich; 6. The Belgæ, west of Cantium, on the sea shore, and had Venta Belgarum (supposed to be Winchester) and Ischalis (supposed to be Ilchester) as their towns; 7. Dumnonii (probably Duvn or Devon) included all west from the sea to the Bristol channel, including Cornwall; 8. The Silures, which included South Wales or Cambria from the sea to the Severn, and its principal town was Carleon on the Usk; 9. The Ordovices, in-

cluding all North Wales, or Cambria; and 10. Cornavii, who were east of the last, and are said to include Cheshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, and Warwick counties. Their towns were Denna, now Chester, and Uiroumum, supposed to be Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury. These ten will include all the prominent states and those particularly noticed in the war of the conquest; though there may be as many more swallowed up within them as small states, and perhaps permanently united. But taking them singly as the eighteen or twenty, the smallest of them were greatly larger than the ordinary sized states in Greece. The state of the Brigantes was nearly as large as all Greece—larger than the Morea, which contained seven Grecian states; larger than some of the United States, larger than two of them at least; larger than all Switzerland with her many cantons; and larger than many of the states in Germany, before the late union into the empire. Instead of these divisions of Britain into small states being evidence of the people's want of political sagacity and patriotism, it is right the contrary,—evidence of their several sagacity and wisdom. Why is it not in them as it was in Greece, in the United States, in Switzerland, or in the small states in Germany. These last utterly refused to unite until they were compelled to unite, either by conquest or by the moral force of the war with France. The union in Germany was greatly opposed, as it is always everywhere else, upon the ground of the probability and fears, that—in such union, with all its advantages—the leading state will take advantage of its position and tyrannize over and oppress the other states. For these reasons some of the ablest statesmen of the United States for a long time opposed the Union, contending with great ability and patriotism that there should be further restrictions upon the general government, in order to secure the rights and privileges of the smaller states. Although the Federal constitution of the Union declares in the most explicit terms what powers only the United States government might exercise, yet it was insisted upon, by the pru-

dent and cautious men, that there should be an explicit declaration in the constitution, that, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." This well shows with what jealous patriotism wise and informed men have guarded the rights of their local divisions. They fear that the great advantage obtained by the union to the whole is more than lost to the individual state, unless well guarded against the encroachments of a powerful concentrated government. But by a proper arrangement the advantage of forms of government might be had for the same country, by a confederated government to transact its foreign relations and to regulate and control its intercourse between and among its several members; as we see actually realized by the United States and Switzerland. To this point were the Britons fast coming, when they were interfered with by the Roman conquest. They had been accustomed to hold conventions of the several states for the purpose of electing a general chief, whom they called the Pendragon or Wledeg. The first that classic history gives us any definite account of was Caswallon,¹² (Cassivellaunus,) who reigned seven years after the departure of Cæsar. His influence and command was great, as represented by Cæsar; his command to the three kings (brenhins or chiefs) of Cantium, to attack with their forces the Roman camp on the sea shore, in the rear and absence of Cæsar, was readily obeyed. At the coming of Claudius' invasion under Plautius, we are informed that Gwyddyr (Guiderus) was pendragon, and was slain in battle at that time. Then Caradog (Caractacus) was elected to the pendragonate. His command, as we have seen, extended over the whole of South Britain. After his fall Arviragus was acknowledged the pendragon to the end of the war. Thus we see that the Britons were capable of undertaking and forcing the most extensive combinations. The triads show that the Britons well under-

¹² But the ancient British history precedes this many centuries.

stood the proper division of the government into its three departments,—the legislative, executive, and judicial. The general assembly was the legislative power, and none else had a right to make a law. The king was the head of the government and chief executive officer. The Druids were the judges, to decide cases in accordance with existing law,—they pronounced what the law was, and had no right to make it. With these acknowledged practices and principles, the Britons were well qualified to form the best federated government, for the conduct of their general affairs; and preserving their several local governments for the administration of their domestic affairs and local interest; thus preserving individual rights and privileges from being overridden and crushed by the power of a central government, as in the United States and Switzerland. This we have every reason to believe would have succeeded and taken place, had it not been crushed by the Roman conquest. That Britain at that time was divided up into a number of small states, is no more to be alleged against its people than against the Hephtharchy, Greece or Germany.

Such was the country, its people, and its hopes, that the Romans were able, after a war of forty-two years, to put down and conquer, and utterly destroy its rising civilization and progress;—converting it into a new field out of which to gather more tribute, and in which to rob and oppress other people. It would seem that until very recent times it was generally thought by mankind that one people were expressly made for the purpose of being robbed and oppressed by another. It was thought to be all right and fair, and the accomplishment of it to be the object of a laudable ambition. This was often most manfully and patriotically resisted; but when all the knowledge and arts of civilization were perverted to the accomplishment of this object,—when education, discipline and drill were directed to this sole purpose, it would likely succeed. There were two systems upon which this was done: that of the conqueror, and that of the pirate; but both were founded upon the same princi-

ple,—of taking wherever they could, without regard to the rights of others. The Romans when they did this, did it systematically, with a view of taking what they could safely take then, and preserve the residue for the purpose of taking as much more the next year. But the Saxon pirate took what he could carry off, and the rest he utterly destroyed. There was therefore some choice between the persons by whom a people were robbed, though both were oppressive and equally unjust. The Romans accomplished their conquest and robbery with a great deal of skill and policy. They were prepared, with all the advantage that art and science could afford, to carry their object by military power when necessary, and fight their way through, if needs be; but when policy and cajoling would answer their purpose, they adopted it, and liked it better. It was their constant practice to take advantage of any dissension in the country, to aid the rebellious and fugitive against the established government, and flatter and cajole those who yielded to their power. “Always exhibiting,” says Tacitus, “a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.”

Until after the Roman conquest had been completed by Agricola, the condition of the people in Southern Britain, during that time, must have been terrible, both as to the safety of the person or property, and the administration of justice. Within the Roman lines the country was governed by such rules and regulations as the Romans were pleased to give them. At that time the Romans did not entertain the idea of a separate judiciary from the executive government, and in Britain the commanding general was viceroy and governor-in-chief, though long afterwards a better form of government was established. The Roman lines were confined south of the Humber and east of the Severn and the Avon, until Agricola's time, and outside of these the native government existed and was administered as formerly. In that the Druids were an important part in the administra-

tion of justice; and in matters of religion and morals. But within the Roman lines the powers and existence of the Druids had been exterminated; for the reason that the Romans found them so determined patriots, and so opposed to the Roman conquest, that they were persecuted, slaughtered and exterminated within the Roman bounds. The people were heavily taxed, and oppressed with burthensome assessments; often plundered and compelled to accept such dispensation of justice as they were pleased to give them. But the British historians say that within the Roman lines in a few instances the Romans, in conformity with their usual practice and policy, treated with some of the princes of the minor states, leaving them to rule under their own laws and customs, upon condition that they paid their taxes and tribute. This is very probable, for the Roman authors frequently mentioned at least one of these, by the name of Cogidumnus, who is represented as being very faithful to his engagements with the Romans.¹³ But with whatever there was to alleviate the unfortunate Britons, the rule put upon them by the Romans was very grievous to be borne. They were subjected to all kind of exactions:—to recruit their army, to deliver

over to the tax gatherer their crops as a security for the payment of taxes and assessments, and bear the burthen of supporting the government. But with all this both Agricola and Tacitus represent the people as peaceable and quiet, when they had no cause to complain of oppression and injustice; but impatient and intolerable whenever such causes existed.

Agricola was governor of Britain for eight years, and notwithstanding he brought the conquest to a close, he undoubtedly effected much good in the Roman government, which for a time tended to put the people in a prosperous condition, and to alleviate their oppressive burthens. He left A. D. 85, and from that time until the arrival of Adrian in A. D. 120, being thirty-five years, though there is a want of exact history, it seems the country was generally quiet and prosperous, except repeated attacks on the north made by the Caledonians, which was the principal cause of Adrian's visit. About twenty years later the same state of affairs brought Antoninus Pius to the island, and in A. D. 208 Severus was called there sixty-eight years later. All these visits of the emperors were principally caused by the continued invasions by the Caledonians; still the country made great progress in improvements.

From the time of Severus to that of Carausius, A. D. 290, about eighty years, matters in Britain remained very much in the same condition; and during the whole time from Agricola to Carausius, (about 205 years,) Southern Britain was in general in a very peaceable condition, entirely under Roman rule as its paramount government. In that time the condition of Britain was very much what India is now to the British government. The Roman people never much emigrated to it. It was the station for a large portion of the Roman army, and the country from whence to recruit it, and to collect taxes and tribute. The Roman people did not colonize it as they did Gaul. It was too far off and out of their way; and they had passed the age when the Romans colonized as agriculturalists. The colonies which the Ro-

¹³ Tacitus' *Agricola*, ch. xiv. See also, 1. Giles' *Ancient Britons*, p. 90, ch. vii, and n. k, where there is a long extract from Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, B. 1, ch. 8, where the policy of the Romans in preserving the native government, for domestic purposes, is fully shown. The reader should observe that in all Roman history of Britain we read of no war or rebellion, after Agricola's time, west of London and south of the Thames and the Severn, and the native historians claim that the reason of it was that all that south part of Britain was in the hands of the native government, as stipendiaries, subject to the Roman as the paramount government. They paid their taxes and tribute to the Romans; acknowledged their supremacy and remained quiet.

The evidence in Roman history that British princes and rulers were permitted to retain their position in civil and domestic affairs as tributaries or stipendiaries, occurs so frequently that there can be no doubt upon the subject, as well as it being claimed by the Cambrian writers in relation to Lucius and others. There is another instance given by Giles' *History of Ancient Britons* (Vol. 1, p. 202, A. D. 161). When in the reign of Antoninus Pius, his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, recovered firmly the northern province up to the north wall of Agricola, we also learn that the emperor cut off half of the territory of the Brigantes, because they had invaded another tribe, tributary to the Romans. "Now," says Giles, "as the Brigantes are universally supposed to occupy the territory south of the wall previously erected by Hadrian, we are led to suppose that, though still included in the Roman province, they were still to have their own rulers, and the right to govern themselves, in subordination to the Roman supremacy."

mans formed in Britain were merely army colonies and commercial places. They, who were such colonists, were mere hangers-on to the army; and when that left, there were no Roman people left in the country. The residence of Romans in the country were only temporary residences, connected with the army and government, and with the commerce of the country. There were very few persons Roman born and educated ever finally settled in Britain. The people were essentially Britons of the Cymric race. Gaul was conquered more than a hundred years, before it was accomplished in Britain. Long before Cæsar's time the Romans had acquired a portion of Southern Gaul, a margin on the Mediterranean sea, which they in some measure colonized, and then pushed further into Gaul, which had thus become considerably Romanized in people and language. But it was never so in Britain. The Roman people had passed the time when rural colonization was desirable to them. In Britain their colonial towns were few, and London was not one of them; it was only a large commercial place, where Roman merchants and officials settled in common with Britons, and did business in the midst of the native population.

In all Britain there were only ten towns which at all assumed to be Roman towns, (two municipal and eight colonial,) and these were old British towns, unless it be *Rhutupis*, *Richborough*, where the Romans first landed under Plautius; and these were scattered far apart over the country; and it does not appear that any of these were one of the twenty towns taken by Vespasian in the south part of the island in the neighborhood of Portsmouth. The great mass of the inhabitants of the towns were Britons; in the country they were exclusively so. The army were quartered in their camps and fortresses; and officials only in the towns.

This accounts why the Roman conquest did not Latinize Britain, as it did in Gaul, among the same family of people. In all cases where a conquest has taken place between two different races of people, they become assimilated with the largest body

of people. In Gaul the Romans were sufficiently numerous to create an influence and make an impression; in Britain it was otherwise. And therefore, when the Roman army left, there was hardly a sensible impression left upon the language of the people. The improvements made in the country during the Roman period was principally the labor of the Britons, and whatever was done was paid for by their industry. The roads and the wall of Severus were the joint work of the army and the people; but the towns and improvements of the country were the product of the labors of the people; and all at their expense. The Romans, undoubtedly, taxed and assessed upon the Britons not only all the expenses in Britain, but considerable to be returned to Rome.

The Britons were an industrious people and good mechanics; accustomed to labor and industry, which was applied to the production of articles not only for domestic use but for exportation. This is proved by the great traffic, shipping and commerce that had always existed between Britain and the continent; and the former great shipping interest of the Venetians, destroyed by Cæsar, was the result of it. The people were apt and ready scholars, as testified by Agricola and Tacitus, ready to engage in all or any of the learning and improvements suggested by the Romans. All this goes to prove that the greater part of what is now found in Britain and called Roman antiquities, as the remains of towns and houses, were produced by and for the use of the Britons. The Romans were their teachers as to what was new, but the industry and skill that produced them, as well as the taste that desired or required them, were that of the Britons. The camps of the army, and the residence of the officials, were comparatively few; but the towns and residences of the people were many, and the residents of the Roman towns themselves must have been principally natives.¹⁴ The population of Britain

¹⁴ Richard of Cirencester says (B. i. ch. 7): "Among the Britons were formerly ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and conspicuous; two municipal and nine colonial. But let no one lightly imagine that they had not many others be-

could not have been less than three million, but the Roman army do not usually exceed fifty thousand, or one in sixty of the population; and very few of them would require a residence out of camp. After Cæsar's time the Britons became well acquainted with the continent and Rome, and were accustomed to visit them. During that time until the conquest they made great improvements in whatever they saw abroad. The Britons became a favored people with the Romans. The first governor of Britain, Plautius, took a British lady, Pomponia Gæcina, as a wife; and another Roman senator, who had been an officer in Britain, married another British lady about the same time,—Claudia Pudens. This also recalls to our mind the high eulogy passed by Tacitus and others upon the character of the Britons, which was carried so far in opposition to Suetonius Paulinus as to be the means of removing him from office.¹⁵ The fact that Seneca lent to the Britons an extremely large amount of money, at the very commencement of the conquest, is the strongest evidence that he considered them a highly civilized people or he would never have risked his great capital in such a loan.¹⁶

The course of improvement pursued by the Britons after Cæsar's time, and before the conquest, was continued after the latter event; and, as Tacitus says, they readily adopted such improvements and inventions as the Romans could suggest or encourage. In this respect they appear to have been

apt scholars and skillful mechanics. Outside of the Roman colonial and municipal cities, the British and native cities were large and numerous. Throughout the Roman period Britain continued to be British and Cymric, as much as British India continues to be Hindoo; with the exception that the Britons more readily adopted Roman improvements. The Romans, except in the army and official stations, were too few to change the language or the national character of the people. But they were a more intelligent people than the Hindoos, and as Tacitus shows, readily adopted what was new and desirable in Roman science and arts. The few Romans who permanently settled in the country were so completely absorbed and assimilated with the natives that when the Roman army finally left there were no Roman population, only there was a party with little more Roman blood than the great body of the people; and looked to Rome with greater hopes for protection from the northern barbarians, even while Rome was unable to protect herself.

But still great changes were wrought in Britain by the Roman conquest. The new and rising civilization, that the Britons were cultivating for themselves, was subordinated and made to assimilate to that of Rome. Their ancient government, which clearly divided itself into its three departments, (a triad):—its king, brenhin or chief, to be the head of the government, its executive, the presiding officer of its general assemblies, and commander-in-chief of its army; the legislative—law making power—was confined to the general assembly, in which neither the king had any other power than as a member and presiding officer, nor Druid had any other power than as a man or member, as a learned individual; and the judiciary, which was confided to the Druids, as learned men to determine what the law was—not to make it. All of which was overturned, and a centralized, arbitrary government substituted, and confided to the governor appointed for the provinces, called the prætor or præfect. He exercised arbitrary, imperial powers in all military and

sides those mentioned. I have only commemorated the more celebrated. The Romans for the most part took up their abode in fortresses which they constructed for themselves."

See, also, Henry of Huntington, B. i, p. 3, who says: "Britain was formerly famous for twenty-eight cities, which, as well as innumerable castles, were well fortified with walls and towers, and with gates secured with strong locks. The names of these cities in the British language were Cæter-Ebram, York; Cæter-Cheat, Canterbury;" &c., [see list in Appendix.] "These were the names of the cities in the times of the Romans and Britons."

See, also, Nennius, §7-9, who has a list of thirty-three cities, and says: "The Britons were once very populous, and exercised extensive dominion from sea to sea."

¹⁵ Tacitus' Ann., B. xiv, §39; Ibid. Agricola, xiii.

¹⁶ All the antiquities now found in Britain, and called Roman remains;—the foundation of villas, palaces, public and private buildings, with tassolated pavement and elegance of architecture, were by no means all Roman property, but a vast amount of it must have been that of native Britons.

civil matters; and was at the head of the judiciary.¹⁷ He appointed all officers and magistrates. The exceptions to this was that there were some favored districts, who had readily submitted to the conquerors, that were permitted to keep up a subordinate and tributary government of its own, subject to a revision of the Roman power; and in submission to its will. There were also numerous cities, towns and communities that were stipendiaries, *i. e.* under conventional arrangement by which they were to pay certain stipend or tribute, and then were permitted to arrange and manage their own domestic affairs. But then whatever concerned the Roman government was controlled by them, and absolutely under their power. Whatever was objectionable or dangerous to Roman power, was put down and prohibited; and therefore the Druids and their institution were at first prohibited and crushed; and in the commencement of the conquest the Druids were slaughtered wherever found, not on account of their religion, for that was much better than the Roman's, but on account of its patriotism, power and eloquence in reminding the people of their duty to their country and freedom. In most instances they also disarmed the people; for they thought it dangerous to trust such resolute and determined patriots and lovers of personal national liberty to bear arms, and in this they probably did not misjudge.

It is not an easy matter to determine the condition that the Britons were left in, as to religion, during these times. Though the Druids were proscribed, and in a measure expelled, yet they were not entirely exterminated; for it is certain that they existed there in a modified form as to political affairs, until the Britons had superseded it by the adoption of Christianity, which they commenced doing in the early part of the conquest; though that was not done with the approbation of the Roman government until the time of Constantine the Great.

¹⁷ Constantine the Great long afterwards separated the civil department of the government from the military; and Hadrian before that separated the fiscal from the civil and military part of the government. These were great improvements but late.

In the meantime the Druids and Druidism in some measure existed, but subordinate to the control of the Roman government and in the shade. Though a Pagan religion, it was much better than that taught by the classics. It taught that there was one eternal and infinite God;—that the soul of man survived this life, and that its condition in the next was dependent upon his conduct in this; and “that truth should be sought after against the world.” With these great principles fixed, it was an easy transition for the Britons to pass over from Druidism to Christianity, which probably they did do as readily as any other people.

When the Romans at the commencement of the conquest so cruelly slaughtered the Druids, and excluded Druidism, what remained among the Britons was in a very quiet manner and in a great measure secret and unobtrusive to the Roman government; but many of the Druids fled to the Isles of Man, Lewis, Orkney, and to Scotland; and there built up those great Druidical monuments now left there, as the great antiquities of those countries; and then Avebury and Stonehenge became deserted, when Vespasian and Titus overran that country—the Isle of Wight and the Avon—with fire and the sword; and laid in ashes many of the twenty towns they there took.¹⁸

After the conquest became complete, and the country settled down again in peace, the Druids returned among the Britons, as formerly,—as priests, teachers and judges among the people. This was done in a peaceable and quiet manner, so as not to excite the suspicion of the Romans that they would again interfere with the peace and politics of the country. The Druids and Bards continued to be an in-

¹⁸ The student of ancient British history, in order to become acquainted with the true condition of the Britons previous to the Roman conquest, let him read Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, the first book of Vaughan's *History of Revolutions in England*, and the first book in the *Pictorial History of England*. This book in several chapters, with great caution and fairness, does justice to the question. See, also, first book of Thierry's *History of the Norman Conquest*. This is a very interesting book. As to the special history of the Cymry of Wales, Miss Jane William's *History of Wales* is recommended as very interesting for the general reader; and her citation to her authorities is valuable, and shows on her part great industry and research.

stitution in Britain, until the adoption of Christianity, when the Druid became a Christian priest, and Druidism superseded by Christianity. The Bard is a cherished name throughout Britain to this day, and Druid, with his notion of the eternal spirit,—the creator and preserver of all things as his great God,—that unknown God, whom Paul came to teach to the Greeks; with their notions, also, of a future as a reward for well doing in this, had but a short step to take in going over to Christianity. The Britons were among the first and earliest Christians of Western Europe.

The government which the Romans imposed upon Britain during this period changed somewhat from time to time, but always upon the same principles;—with a view of extracting from it all they could, and as far as possible make it pay its own expenses. Its army and government was not at the expense of the Roman, but at that of the British people. It was retained as the country in which the Roman army, in time of peace, could be cheaply quartered, and at the same time extract tribute and taxes from it. Until about the time of Agricola the Roman government was confined within the military lines, which were east of the southern Avon and the Severn and south of the Humber. Then the government was entirely in the hands of the præfect—the governor—as absolute ruler. Some of these, in consequence of the resistance of the Britons to the Roman conquest, became arbitrary, harsh and cruel. This was especially the case with Suetonius. Some of the better class of Roman officers protested against it, and contended that the natives were worthy of a better government, and that kindness would produce with them better results. Agricola testifies to this, and did all in his power to produce a good government, and it seems to have produced its expected results, for the country became free from the scourge of war for some time. Soon after that the Romans organized Southern Britain into two provinces,—*Britannia Prima*, and *Secunda*. Some time afterwards it was re-organized into six provinces: 1. *Britannia Prima*, south of the Thames and the Brit-

ish channel; 2. *Britannia Secunda*, west of the Severn and the Dee; 3. *Flavia* included all north of *Britannia Prima*, east of *Britannia Secunda*, and south of the Humber and the Mersey; 4. *Maxima* included all north of *Flavia* and south of *Severius'* wall; 5. *Valentia* occupied all between this wall and that of *Antoninus*,—of this province they but seldom had the possession; and 6. *Vespasiana*, north of the last named wall, of which the Romans hardly ever had the possession.

In studying the condition of the Britons while under the Roman empire, it is proper to consider that Britain was the last of the important provinces brought within its subjugation; and that was accomplished a hundred years after that of Gaul. It commenced in the reign of *Claudius*, and terminated in that of *Honorius*; a period of three hundred and seventy-seven years.¹⁹ It commenced after the laws and practices of the Romans had fully settled down in the empire, and terminated before the great changes produced by the later emperors, as *Theodosius* and *Justinian*, and the reform produced in the law by their several codes; which, therefore, never reached Britain as part of their Roman law. During that time the laws in principles and practice remained very much the same, though sometimes modified in its organization of the government, and frequently a great deal better or worse than at others, dependent upon the character of the men who exercised the government. When the affairs of Britain were performed by such men as *Agricola*, or even such men as *Carausius*, the people were prosperous and happy; but when governed by men vindictive and cruel like *Suetonius Paulinus*, or neglected and plundered by a *Catus Decianus*,²⁰ the country ceased to be prosperous and seemed to be stricken with a blight or paralysis. It was the same at Rome itself; whenever the government was in the care of a *Nero* or *Commodus* the evil consequences of their bad administration reached and affected Britain. Until the conquest was fairly over, and the provinces fairly estab-

19 From A. D. 43 to 420.

20 *Tacitus' Agricola*, §32.

lished, the commander-in-chief of the army, as legate of the emperor, was governor, and absolutely controlled everything, both military and civil, as arbitrarily as the emperor himself. But after the provinces were established, the government was usually organized by the appointment of a governor as the legate or vicarius of the emperor, who was generally known as the *proprætor* or *præfect*. Such governor exercised the same arbitrary power in his administration as the emperor would do. He appointed all the inferior officers and magistrates, which belonged to the Roman branch of the government. In time of war and political difficulty, the governor was the commander-in-chief of the army; but in times of profound peace the civil administration was separated from the military, and Constantine the Great rendered it perpetually so. Such legates were selected from among such Romans as had been consuls, or prætors, or from the senators. These held their office and powers at the pleasure of the emperor, and they had *legati* or deputies under them, with such inferior officers, the civil and military officers and duties were kept separate, but not so with the vicarius who represented the emperor. The most striking restraint put upon the governor of a province, was that which the Roman constitution and policy placed upon all delegated power, both military and civil; that is, that the *fiscal* was kept separated and distinct from the other branches of the government. Therefore there was appointed in each province in Britain a procurator, who, with his corps of officers, superintended the collection of all the revenues and settling and paying all accounts and claims; and then, at stated times, he was bound to account and duly settle with the treasury—*ficus*—of the Roman or general administration. This was, unfortunately, the only instance in which the Roman constitution observed any distinction and separation between one branch of the government and another; until the time of Constantine the Great, when in time of peace, the civil administration was separated from the military. In these respects the government and constitu-

tion of the Ancient Britons were superior to the Romans, for they observed the three great divisions in the administration of the government.

When Britain was divided into provinces is somewhat uncertain; but it is said that it remained as one united territory or province for about one hundred and fifty years after the conquest, when it was "divided into two provinces, to which three more were afterwards added."²¹ This would put the first division about the reign of Septemius Severus, and the division of all the provinces above stated did not take place until the reign of Constantine the Great. Whatever changes took place the government always remained the same in principle and practice. It always represented that of an absolute monarchy. Among the official functionaries there was no personal independence; they were all subordinate, one to another, up to the emperor who had the absolute control of their destiny. The avowed principles of the Roman government to their conquered countries were far better than their officials put in practice. The law assumed to prohibit and punish corruption, peculation and plunder, still those things, and arbitrary oppression and injustice, were frequently complained of; and in such a government it was difficult to obtain a redress. It was frequently the practice of the Roman to leave the conquered nationalities under their respective laws and customs, so that they submitted to the Roman sovereignty, and paid their assessments and taxes. The principal object of the Romans was to control the sovereignty, and collect tribute and taxes; so that when these were cheerfully rendered, the Roman government in the provinces,—for one which in form and practice was bad and unjust,—was still, under good officers, tolerable and often prosperous. We believe that, upon historical authority, we are justified in saying that there were several principalities or states, and numerous towns, left to administer their own laws and customs, subject to the Roman sovereignty, and the payment of tribute and taxes as stipendaries. Where-

ever this arrangement could be made, it was very desirable on the part of the conquered people; for when the tributes and taxes were collected by the Roman officers, it was subject to corrupt dealings and oppression, which in a great measure was avoided by any conventional arrangements to pay stipendary sums in satisfaction of the ordinary tribute and taxes required.

The great object of Roman ambition was the empty one of extending the glorious sovereignty and majesty of Rome; and next the substantial one of collecting tribute and taxes, to pay the expenses in the provinces, as well as to support the general administration at home. Where the first was readily acknowledged, the Romans were always liberal in making enlightened arrangements with regard to the latter; and thereby leave the people to govern and control their domestic affairs in accordance with their usual laws and customs. There was, therefore, always in the provinces the appearance, more or less distinctive, of two governments,—the Roman controlling and directing a sovereign power as to all international affairs and political arrangement, and leaving the domestic and local affairs to be controlled and managed by the people and their officials themselves, where it did not interfere with Roman sovereignty.²² This division of

government is easily understood by the people of the United States, as exemplified in the general government of the Union, and the domestic government of the several States; except that here there is a divided sovereignty, each fixed and known by the constitution, and each a sovereign in their respective spheres; and when any dissensions exist as to the rights or privileges of either, it is judicially settled. So we also see in Scotland the general and national affairs controlled and managed by the British government, while their own domestic laws and customs remained to be administered and executed by themselves. But with the Romans these were matters of concession on their part, to which the provincials, as a conquered people, were bound to submit; and their case became more or less stringent, more or less subverted, as the Romans found them more or less submissive and obsequious to the imperial power.

The Britons manifested a fierce and most determined opposition to the conquest. From the mouth of the Thames to the Isle of Anglesea, and from the Isle of Wight to the Severn, and from thence to Caerebrane, York, they united as one people,—as Britons, without regard whether they were specially designated as Lloegrans or Cymry, in one determined opposition to any submission to a foreign rule. Uniting under one chief head, as their wledig or pendragon, (their emperor or commander-in-chief,) they made the cause that of one people, who were determined to sink or swim together; and whether in the midst of the Trinobantes in the east or the Silures in the west, under Caractacus they made every available position a battle field for freedom. So hostile and obnoxious did this determined opposition become to the

²² The separation of the government into two different departments, as it may concern the general government and Roman interest, and that which concerned private, local and municipal affairs, is everywhere noticed in Roman jurisprudence, as extended to the conquered provinces. It has been thus stated: "Thence arose in those towns a separation between the municipal rights and duties and the political rights and duties: the former were exercised on the spot; the latter was controlled by the Roman government. The principal matters which remained local were,—1. The religious worship. 2. The administration of the municipal property and revenues. 3. The police to a certain extent; with 4. A few judicial functions specially connected with it. All these local affairs were regulated either by an individual magistrate, named by the inhabitants, or by the curia of the town, that is the college of *decuriones*, or inhabitants possessed of territorial revenue of a certain amount. In general the magistrates were named by the curia, though sometimes by the inhabitants." (1 Pict. Hist. of England, p. 80, B. I, ch. 111.)

See, also, Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 7, where it is said:—"In the earlier stages of the Roman conquest, the native princes, according to the usual custom of nations, when they dealt with those who dared to struggle against their power, were treated with merciless severity. But this harshness was not always exerted; for some British princes were allowed to retain their dominion be-

neath the Roman supremacy. Cogidumnus, who appears, from an inscription discovered at Chichester, to have reigned in or near Sussex, the ancient territory of the Regni, may be quoted as one of these tributary governors. In such a country, the native population, having a ruler of their own race and blood placed over them, were probably less oppressed than in those parts where they were immediately beneath the rod of the Roman masters." And we have many reasons to believe that this was not a solitary instance, but often repeated in Britain during the Roman rule, to the mutual advantage of both parties. See the note in this chapter ante. (Giles and Whitteker.)

Roman generals that Ostorius and Suetonius Paulinus threatened to exterminate the Britons; but I believe that has always proved to be a pretty hard matter to accomplish. The Silures, as the special representatives of the ancient Cymry, were the most patriotic, brave and determined in the cause; and there was but little exception anywhere;—the king of the Iceni and the queen of the Brigantes were once cajoled to favor the Roman cause, but the people in both instances rebelled against the arrangement. We have no material evidence to the contrary of this, until the conquest became inevitable; and then we are informed of the case of Cogidumnus, Lluryg or Lucius, and other kings or princes of the Britons were permitted to rule as tributaries, and subordinate to the Roman power. We know of but two cities where the Roman law exclusively prevailed—Verulamium²³ and Eboracum,²⁴ as municipal cities. There were a vast number of other British towns, that were such before the conquest, in which the British municipal laws and customs remained, either as stipendiaries or by suffrage. Except in the army, and dependents upon it, there were but few Romans in Britain, and they were principally attached to army stations, such as Carleon, Chester, York, Lincoln, Colchester, Richborough, and other such military posts and camps; and at the fortresses along the line of Severus' wall. But elsewhere the towns and country were exclusively British. The Roman settlements in Britain were never numerous enough to make any impression permanent upon the character of the people or their language. After the conquest and peace restored, the Britons progressed in their improvements as before. Their houses and towns, as further improved, became more Romanized; new improvements and arts were adopted. The Romans there, as architects and civil engineers, suggested these, and they were readily accepted and adopted by the Britons. The great body of the towns,

houses and villas were the property of wealthy Britons, created by their taste, industry and perseverance. This is sustained by the words of Tacitus, when speaking of the facility with which the Britons took learning and improvements. He says: "The Roman's apparel was seen by the Britons without prejudice; the toga became a fashionable part of their dress. Agricola²⁵ exhorted and assisted them to build houses, temples, courts and market places. By praising the diligent and reproaching the indolent, he excited so great an emulation amongst the Britons that after they had erected all those necessary edifices in their towns they proceeded to build others merely for ornament and pleasure; such as porticos, galleries, baths, banqueting-houses, &c."

With all these evidences before us:—the fact that they had extensive and numerous roads throughout the island; large and numerous towns; extensive commerce with the Venetians and the continent generally, in metals, grain and other agricultural productions; that they had coined money, extensive manufacture of chariots, weapons and armor for war, and utensils for domestic uses; a body of learned men whose duty it was to teach the people religion, morals, the arts and sciences; and capable to reduce to writing all public and private matter, not objectionable; and a people who had reduced its government and constitution to their proper divisions, of legislative, executive and judicial,—how maliciously wicked it is to allege such a people to have been savage and barbarous; or to deny that they were civilized before the Roman conquest? It may, indeed, be alleged that because they were such civilized people was the very reason that the Romans sought to conquer them; for savages they did not attempt to conquer, for the reason that from them no tribute or plunder was to be had.

Notwithstanding the great change produced upon Britain by the Roman conquest, and all the benefits conferred upon it by the Roman arts and civilization, it

²³ Verulam or St. Albans.

²⁴ York or Eborac or Ebor.

²⁵ Tacitus' Agricola, ch. xxi; as translated in *Pictorial Hist. England*, p. 109.

may still be questioned whether it compensated for the rising civilization and improvements of its own which was lost by the change. There were many things in the government and civil institutions of the Britons which under proper cultivation were very hopeful. The fact that their king or prince was no more than the head and the executive arm of the government; that no law could be enacted except by their general assembly; that the judiciary was confided to the judges, independent of the other branches of the government, who were taken from the Druids, as the body of learned and professional men, who had no political power except what was due to their learning and wisdom,—who were not an estate, or a hereditary body, but selected from the most promising youths of every class, as the elect of the land, who after a strenuous course of learning and rigid examination were to become the literary men and teachers of the people in religion, morals and the arts and sciences. Now all this was put down and superseded by the Roman institutions; and it is a serious question, whether the loss sustained by the Britons in their own institutions, and the hopes and freedom arising from their independence, was at all compensated for by any benefits conferred upon them by the Romans, subject to the oppressive government put upon them and taxes and tribute they were compelled to pay for nearly four hundred years for the benefit of Rome.

However this may be, as a matter of fact the British form of government and constitution was put down and superseded as the paramount law by the Roman. The Druids, as obnoxious to their political power, were proscribed, and in some instances most cruelly slaughtered; and the people disarmed as persons, with their determined bravery and love of freedom, not to be trusted with arms in their hands. Subject to the payment of such taxes and tribute as the Romans required of them, and these general laws, the Britons were encouraged to progress in their labors and improvements, and probably as well treated as the people of any other province of the

empire. Though the Roman emperors and their officers in times of peace treated the people kindly, and often as favorites, and with the emperors often residing in their midst, yet as a general principle the Roman government was very cautious in withdrawing from them every means which would aid them in a rebellion, or in the gaining of their independence; therefore the standing army stationed in Britain were generally brought there from other countries, and the recruits raised for the army were generally sent to other distant parts of the empire, and the Roman officers of every class were prohibited from purchasing lands or becoming residents of the country. Still the people made great progress under the empire, in improving the country; in the erection of buildings both private and public; in the construction of roads and towns; in their agricultural productions; in their mining operations; and in their manufactures and commerce. In their local, private and municipal affairs they were permitted generally to regulate them as they thought proper, and for that purpose to appoint their own magistrates, and to organize their cities and towns with a proper municipal government, which generally consisted of a senate and necessary magistrates elected by the people. They were also permitted in each city to organize companies, or guilds, of traders and artificers, as a corporation, which have continued in succession, to some extent, until the present time.

Still the people had frequent great cause to complain,²⁶ at least during the frequent changes when the government fell into bad hands, of great oppression, arbitrary and unjust exactions, burdensome taxes, and excessive requisitions to labor upon the roads and public improvements. The greater portion of all that which now goes on in Britain under the name of Roman works and improvements, was produced by British labor, industry and skill, though frequently aided and conducted, in the first instance, by Roman architects and engineers, as such matters are transacted in

²⁶ Tacitus' *Agricola*, ch. xiii, xv, &c.; Tacitus' *Annals*, B. xiv, §38, 39.

the present day. The roads, the walls and fortifications, and other like public works, were the joint work and labor of the army and people; and the latter were frequently compelled to complain of excessive and tyrannical requisitions upon them for this purpose. But then most of the private works and improvements, both in town and country, were the works and property of the Britons; and with the exception of a few Roman cities, were exclusively such; and all of it was either produced or paid for by British labor and industry. Rome did not send any money or capital to Britain except such as would be returned with heavy interest; but she did extract from the island, in annual returns, and profits, all it could bear with safety to Roman jurisdiction. In addition to these Roman public burthens, the Britons cheerfully improved their country with private property and residences, after the Roman models, as Tacitus says, that the building of temples, courts of justice, "and commodious dwelling houses, as well as baths, and porticos, and elegant banqueting-rooms, grew in vogue with them." And all this is now called and attributed to Roman works and improvements, instead, as it should be, that of the Ancient Britons.

During the existence of Roman sway over Britain there we frequent changes in the government from good to bad, and sometimes from bad to better. There were times when the Roman government was so feeble and inefficient that it was not able to protect the people either from being plundered by pirates and barbarians, or from the unjust exactions of the officers and soldiers of the army; nor from what is now called by the English, looting in India. The good times may be referred to as those of Agricola, when peace was restored; of those of Adrian and Antoninus; of Severus, Carausius, Constantius, and Constantine the Great. There were times intermediate of these in which history is silent, almost a blank, for thirty, or fifty, or seventy years, when we know but little of the country, except what we can deduce from what either preceded or followed it. Especially is this the case in a period of sev-

enty years that transpired between the time of Severus and that of Carausius.

It was undoubtedly a great benefit to Britain that so many of the emperors visited it, and that some of them for a considerable time made it their favored residence. During the reign of Carausius,²⁷ who declared for the independence of Britain, the country was especially prosperous, and fully protected from the invasions of the north and the piratical and plundering expeditions of the Franks and Saxons. It is claimed that Carausius by birth was a Briton,—a native of Manavia, or Manapia, now St. Davids; and that the Britons were especially attached to him. He was worthy of their attachment and regard, for very few or none of the rulers of Britain were ever able to accomplish so much for the prosperity and glory of his country. His acknowledged skill in naval affairs was fully equalled by his talent and ability as a civil ruler. The numerous coins and medals still remaining of his production, bear testimony to his taste and capacity, and to the prosperity of his country. Allectus, his principal officer and assassin, was only able to hold the government he had usurped, for a limited time, by being surrounded by a band of Franks and Saxons in his service, until his short reign was closed by the success of Constantius. After Allectus' overthrow, his mercenary foreign troops endeavored to plunder London; but everything was soon restored to order by Constantius.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE FROM THE
ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE END
OF THE PERIOD. A. D. 284-420.

§1.—*The Characteristics of this Time.*

The reign of Diocletian is a prominent point in the history of the civilized world. He himself is distinguished for his great abilities, and his capacity and success as an executive officer; and equally noted for his extraordinary resolution he had taken, in the midst of his successful reign

²⁷ Seven years, from A. D. 287 to 294.

and power, to resign and abdicate all for the sake of enjoying a private and domestic life. It is also distinguished as a point in the history of the Roman world as that at which Roman power and greatness had arrived at its summit; and where a pagan rule and religion were to terminate, and where that of Christianity, under his successor, Constantine the Great, was to commence its benign influence over monarch and state. But especially is it a point in history where the savage and barbarian of the north, by means of its accumulated population without the relief that civilization affords them, began to obstruct and overthrow the progress of civilization and to annihilate Roman power, with its arts, science and civilization, bringing about in human affairs that depression and darkness, called "the dark ages," with the decline and fall of the Roman empire. From prehistoric time, the north had been accumulating in population, until it became an immense hive with numerous swarms, ready to deluge and overthrow the Roman empire and all that distinguished it from barbarian and savage life.

In this terrible change, Britain, in common with the rest of Western Europe,¹ drank to the dregs of this bitter cup. As to Rome herself, this may have been all a just retribution; but as to Western Europe, it was not the result of circumstances, which with them was a matter of choice, but was what Roman ambition and conquest had forcibly imposed upon them. Gaul and Britain were both making rapid improvement and progress in civilization when Cæsar conquered the one and Claudius the other, changed their destiny, and imposed upon them Roman rule, Roman interest and tribute, and kept them subjects to it.

Rome chose a career of conquest, and extracting from other countries taxes and tribute; instead of extending commerce, and the arts, and civilization, by a friendly and national intercourse, like the Phœnician cities, Venice, London and New York; but chose to put herself in hostile

attitude with the rest of the world, and demand of them to submit to their exaction and requisition for tribute and taxes, or be annihilated. The Romans did not cross the Rhine or the Danube until it was too late to do any good; for there were neither town nor roads, nor the necessary wealth to pay tribute:—they were in those northern countries just emerging from a nomadic condition. Roman power, ambition and desire of conquest kept the northern people off at arms length in national hostilities, in a savage and barbarous state, induced to seek no art or science, except that of war, and its fruit,—carnage and plunder, instead of the arts and science of peace, and the general interest of humanity. Thus did Roman power keep these northern people at bay, in their rude and uncultivated state, from the earliest period in their history to the fourth century, a period almost of five hundred years, until they had accumulated in numbers so that the natural production of their country would not support them; until they were compelled to rush, like an avalanche, upon the Roman world to its destruction. This was to the Romans a just retribution for the course they had pursued,—of conquest and taxation, instead of the extension of commerce, friendly intercourse, and civilization.

The Roman empire, soon after the commencement of the fourth century,—soon after the accession of Constantine the Great to the empire, A. D. 306, and his departure for the east, and his heart bent upon Constantinople as the accomplishment of his glory, began to feel the pressure of the northern nations, and the trouble they were about to give them. By A. D. 406, the swarms from this northern hive were ready to subvert the western empire, which they soon accomplished. Britain was amongst the first of the provinces to endure this attack, which the Britons in their triads called "the Black invasion;" and the fatal result of the movement became known to history as "the dark ages." These nations were known as the Huns, Goths, Vandals, Alani, Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons; and produced a movement which terrified and convulsed all Europe. The

1. Britain, Gaul, Spain and Italy.

Huns were from the farthest east,—from Eastern Tartary and the border of China; and after marching through and convulsing Europe, some of them finally settled in what is now called Hungary. The Goths, or Getae, proceeded from Southern Russia, near the north-western angle of the Euxine or Black Sea, and eventually occupied various portions of Central Europe, or became lost amidst other nations. The Vandals moved from Eastern Europe, moving through Central and Western Europe, prostrating everything before them as they proceeded whatever constituted objects of civilization and refinement as though they detested them, and thereby acquiring for their character the appellation of vandalism. These finally passed into Spain and Africa, and also became lost in the midst of other nations. The Alani and Burgundians moved south from Central Germany, settled in Gaul and adjoining districts;—the Burgundians settled in, and gave name to, what is now Burgundy in France. The Franks from Western Germany proceeded into Central Gaul, and settled in Paris and its vicinity, and imposed upon the country the name of France. And the Saxons, at least one branch of them, moved from the low lands in the northwestern and the maritime part of Germany, in the neighborhood of the Elbe and the Eider, and after vexing the southeastern coast of Britain and the opposite coast of Gaul as pirates for about one hundred and fifty years; they then commenced their settlement in Britain, which they were able to accomplish after a similar length of time,² to establish along those southeastern shores seven small kingdoms, called Heptarchy, which since has received the name of England, from one branch of the family known as the Angles, which has since grown up into a mighty empire, now united with the rest of the British islands in the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

These changes in the condition of Eu-

rope and the Roman Empire sadly affected the condition of Britain and its people. We have sketches of the history of Britain going back probably about a thousand years before the commencement of our Christian era. It is now necessary briefly to review the condition of the Britons as they progressed, from time to time, from the earliest notice of them in history to the time when they were relieved from the Roman yoke—a period of about 1420 years—the same length of time as from the commencement of the Saxon conquest to the present time. It is probable that there was a pre-Celtic race occupying Britain. This is proved by the difference of character in the mounds and burial places and their contents, and the skeletons found in them; so differing from those which are known to be Celtic. But they were of the Celtic race when the island was first visited by the Phœnicians and Greeks in the tin trade and other traffic; and the people represented as "being rich in tin and lead. They were numerous and high spirited, active, and eagerly devoted to trade."³ Publius Crassus made a voyage to the island at an early time, and says, "he found the inhabitants of a peaceable disposition and also fond of navigation; he gave them some instructions which implied their carrying it on upon a larger scale."⁴ They were reported to be respectably clad, inquisitive, and kind, and hospitable to strangers. Like most Celts, they were not too selfish and hostile to receive a stranger with open arms. This characteristic is directly contrary to that of many nationalities. Some of this historic account transpired before the arrival of the Cymry, in the time of the old Gallic Celts, and some after their arrival, which we have set B. C. 600.⁵ Abar-

³ From Himmlo's report, i. *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, p. 87, B. i., ch. iv.

⁴ From Strabo, in *Pict. Hist.* Ibidem.

⁵ Previous to their arrival was the stone and bronze age of the Britons; after that it was the iron age; for the Cymry came from Asia Minor with their chariots and other objects of arts and science, and full knowledge of iron. Iron was always used in the construction of chariots. Their chariots have been exhumed in modern times with their wheels properly ironed; and instances have happened where the iron axle of the axle-tree have been found.

² The first period extended from about A. D. 300 to 450; and the second from that time to about 600. See Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 93. Also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, i. S. Turner's *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 210, 220 and 242.

is we claimed to have been a Druid of the Cymric Celts, and his travels in Greece and the east to have been about B. C. 500. His case was like that of Franklin, as a philosopher returning to visit the land of his ancestors within a hundred years after their settlement in a new home. Himilco's visit was probably in the time of the Cymry. The next noted period in their history is the invasion of Cæsar; and their condition at that time has been commented upon in a former chapter. But what is the most interesting, is to fully understand the condition of the Britons at the invasion of Claudius, and how it was changed by that conquest. It must be true that the Britons had greatly improved their condition between the time of Cæsar and that of Claudius, or the former has misrepresented them in a number of particulars; for they are differently represented by Tacitus, Cicero, and other classic writers, both by their expression and their science. What Cæsar says of them puts them far above the condition of savages or mere barbarians, if not entitling them to be classed as civilized. They possessed all the elements of civilization. They worked in iron, tin, bronze, used money, had numerous houses, roads and towns. They cultivated agriculture, had extensive fields of grain, numerous herds of cattle and horses; brought into requisition all the arts in the construction and the use of their chariots; had a learned body or corporation of men, whose duty it was to teach the people religion and morals, the arts and sciences; cultivated botany, astronomy, and philosophy; were able to commit to writing private and public matters, except in their lectures to their students, which, for good reasons, were orally delivered and studied. All this we learn from Cæsar,⁶ and what he says incidentally adverse to this is

wholly ignored by the later writers.

From Cæsar's time to that of Claudius, the Britons greatly improved in the progress of civilization. We are informed that during that time it was customary for the distinguished Britons, both male and female, to resort to Rome for education and information, where it had been gathered and accumulated from Greece, Phœnicia, Assyria, and Egypt, as the spoils of human thought, ingenuity, and invention, for more than a thousand years. All that was not Roman production, but the fruit of the labor and thought of humanity for the common benefit of mankind. To the great progress that the Britons had made for themselves they were now adding those which had been previously adopted in the progress of civilization: as we are fully advised by the character given of such persons as Cunobeline, Caractacus, Arvaragus, Pomponia, Claudia, and others. Tacitus represents the Britons as a brave and patriotic people,—lovers of freedom and liberal privileges; and detesting and intolerant of arrogance, oppression and injustice:—intelligent, fond of improvement, and apt in learning:—quick in observation, as their noticing readily the character of Polycletus, sent by Claudius from Rome to inquire into the condition of Britain, who, with his assumed air and authority, produced "overawe upon the Roman officers and soldiers, while from the Britons it only met with contempt and derision."⁷ He also represents that a large portion of the Roman officers observed the Britons to be peaceably inclined, and only intolerant and resentful when injured and oppressed;—"they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery."⁸ "They were fierce and determined in the cause of liberty; they were rendered still more obstinate by ill usage; the war would never be brought to a conclusion except by moderation and humanity."⁹ Such were the people that the Ro-

There is also evidence that the stone of Stonehenge were dressed with iron tools.

⁶ It should be remembered that Cæsar saw but very little of Britain, and that portion of it which he passed over was the newest and the least cultivated. The best cultivated part was in the neighborhood of Portsmouth and the southern Avon, where the ancient commerce prevailed, and where Vespasian and Titus found a numerous people and twenty towns. See ante, §—

⁷ Tacitus' *Annals*, B. xiv., §39.

⁸ Tacitus' *Agricola*, ch. xiii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ch. xii. Such was the character given to the Britons by Roman officers of the army for the purpose of removing Suetonius for his cruelty and tyranny.

mans had to deal with, and to bring them into the condition we find them after the conquest. That conquest cost a war, of terrific exertion on both sides, of forty-four years; and was terminated as much by the good conduct and humanity of Agricola, as by their prowess and victory. Tacitus also shows that when peace came these people readily entered into the spirit of improvement and learning, and adopted Roman ideas in the improvement of their houses and towns, and whatever else was in furtherance of their own civilization. But there was but little or no immigration of Romans to Britain, except as men were connected with the army or in commercial pursuits.¹⁰ Of the ninety-two cities and towns, only ten of them were Roman,—two municipal cities and eight colonial, and these were occupied as much by natives as by the Romans. The army was confined to their camps and stations; and for a long time, perhaps to the time of Carausius, it was the Roman policy to keep the Romans and their military affairs and politics, as far as possible, separated and distinct from that of the Britons, for fear it would enable them to assert their independence. It was therefore different in Britain than it was in Gaul, for there the Romans had possession for more than a hundred years previous; where the Romans did colonize, and in some measure Latinized the people. This was not the case with Britain. There, for the purpose of guarding against their losing their hold upon Britain, Roman officers were prohibited from buying land or settling there. The recruits to the army from the Britons were sent elsewhere, and those for Britain were either Romans or foreigners. Therefore the population of Britain was at all times almost exclusively British, and the houses, towns, and other improvements, called Roman, were actually British,—the property and the result of the labor of the Britons; only they adopted Roman ideas

and style of architecture in their improvements. What antiquarian researches at this day develop of the foundation of towns and cities,—of houses and villas, of baths and tessellated pavements, of town halls and other objects of improvement and civilized life, were principally, if not almost exclusively, the property and industry of the Britons;¹¹ such as existed at Carleon on the Usk,¹² Chester, Uriconium¹³ in Shropshire, at Bath, Colchester, and other places. These were British towns before the Romans came there, and their subsequent improvements were the product of the labor and industry of the Britons. The Roman roads were built principally upon old British roads by the joint labor of the people and the army. The people often complained of the extreme assessments and requisition upon them for labor on these roads and public work.

As to the colonization of Britain by the Romans, we find no instances of it, except the colony of Probus¹⁴ in Cambridgeshire, about A. D. 277, just before Diocletian's time; with this exception, and that of the Coritani in Lincoln and Leicester shires, who were there before Caesar's time, there is hardly an exception to a Cymric people in all Northern Britain, previous to the Saxons. The Coritani were somewhat accused of not being so faithful as the Cymry in their opposition to the Romans; and Probus' colony were accused of favoring the Saxons. With this exception there has been a surprising union of the British people against the invasions of their country; and very little mixture of blood or race, except what arose from their intercourse with the Romans before the advent of the Saxons. What Gibbon says upon the policy of the Romans as to colonization and military colonies, though true in the general, and as applicable to Italy, Spain and Gaul, is not so as to Britain. London has sometimes been mentioned as a Roman

¹⁰ The comments of Gibbon on Roman colonization (vol. i, ch. ii, p. 24) are untrue as applied to Britain. The quotation from Seneca was made before the conquest when it was true. After that time the character of the Roman people as to emigration changed.

¹¹ We have referred to this elsewhere.

¹² See Giraldus Cambrensis.

¹³ See T. Wright's account of

¹⁴ 1 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, p. 24, ch. 2 and n.; also p. 123, ch. 12. Richard of Cer., p. 449, B. i, ch. 6, §30.

colony. But it was not such; it was a commercial city before the Romans came there. It was principally a British city, and then Roman and other foreign merchants settled there in common, principally as commercial men and officers of the government. There were two other cities called municipal and eight colonial cities, but none exclusively colonies of Romans as in Gaul and Spain. Those cities had in them a large portion of natives with the Romans; in other cities they were almost exclusively Britons.

By the conquest the sovereign government of the country passed entirely out of the hands of the Britons into that of the Romans, who for a long series of years kept it so as to give the Britons no hope of its recovery. But, as already stated, it was the practice of the Romans to leave in the hands of the provincials so much of their domestic laws and government as they deemed safe and consistent with their maintaining their supreme authority and sovereignty over them, and to tax them and draw from them the largest tribute possible, consistent with their retaining their dominion over them. The government and army were placed over the country, without the consent or control of the people; but it was at their expense, and they had to pay for it. The Romans encouraged the people to make improvements, but it was only, as Tacitus says, "to sweeten their slavery."¹⁵ They constructed roads for they were necessary for the convenience of the government, in order to keep it in their hands, and to collect taxes and tribute, and the people assisted to make them. The country was governed by two different elements, —the conquerors and the conquered, the rulers and the subjects; over the former the latter had no control. The Romans sought only their own interest, and encouraged the people in the improvement of the country, for that increased the taxes and their abilities to pay them. If the youths of the country were encouraged to activity, it was to serve in the foreign army, not at home, for that was dangerous. If men

were encouraged in the arts, it was that they might be the better able to pay their taxes. If learning was promoted, it was that they might more successfully attend to domestic affairs; but be sure they were not to meddle with sovereign governmental affairs. For this reason alone the Druid and Druidism for a while were put down, and nothing was permitted or endured but what was safe and consistent with Roman power.

Gradually the condition of the Britons began to improve, both as to their government and their domestic affairs; the former partly from the increasing weakness of the Roman government, and partly from the people becoming more and more accustomed to their government, if not more Romanized. Their domestic affairs were principally left in their own hands, and their religion entirely so except their priests, the Druids, had been for a while suppressed. They, however, gradually returned, until their religion was superseded by Christianity. The first material change in their condition was the decree of Caracalla, about A. D. 212, granting the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen to all Roman subjects. This was done while the emperor was a resident of Britain, immediately after his father's, Severus, death; but whether specially for the benefit of his British subjects, is not certainly known. But under all these circumstances of adversity and fortune, the country and people improved in their circumstances and condition, at least in common with the progress of the world. Their towns and houses became like those of Gaul and Italy. In all that constituted the improvement and civilization of a country upon a par with the neighboring countries, and distinguished for their agricultural productions, their mineral resources, their extensive commerce, and their attainments in the mechanical arts and in science and literature. Such had they become in the time of Diocletian, when Rome and they had arrived at the height of their prosperity; when the coming storm of the northern barbarians put a stop to their prosperity, and, for a while, to human progress.

¹⁵ Agricola, ch. 21.

§2.—*The Times of Carausius, A. D. 287 to 294.*

Soon after the commencement of the reign of Diocletian the Saxon pirates became troublesome, frequently landing on the shores of Britain, plundering whatever they could lay their hands on, and what they could not convert to their own use was often laid in ashes or otherwise destroyed. Perhaps they were morally no more unscrupulous than the Romans, only the Romans would preserve what they could not at once convert to their own use with the hope of benefitting themselves at another time. The Romans did not kill the goose that laid the golden egg. The Saxons were too savage to appreciate either the moral or the advantage of the maxim. The Roman government felt themselves bound, both by interest and duty, to protect the Britons from these piracies, especially as they had disarmed the inhabitants and debarred them from all exercises in military affairs. The imperial government was induced to employ Carausius as an experienced and able naval officer, and put down this piracy if possible. He was quite successful, but was soon charged, either rightfully or wrongfully, that he was not honestly performing his duty, but converting his position to his personal advantage by taking the pirates and dividing the spoils with them, and greatly enriching himself. This accusation is not probably very true, for he was always more popular with the Britons than the people of the continent. However that may be, he found that the government had taken a prejudice against him and that his life was in danger. He therefore revolted, and took his whole fleet with him; and his popularity with the Britons enabled him at once to form on the island a strong and prosperous government of his own.

This put the Britons in a condition that they had not been in since the conquest. Carausius was now acting as the emperor of Britain, and his success for a while was such as to induce Diocletian and his associates to acknowledge him as such. But instead of forming a new organization of

his government upon the original plan for British government, of a confederate government under a wledig or emperor, he continued the Roman government unchanged, except he was the head of it as emperor, retaining all the forms and organization of the Romans. This probably was for him and Britain a great mistake. The people were hardly aware of their independence; it looked as though they had only changed masters, but still under a Roman name.¹ What he ought to have done was at once to have declared his independence and that of the country from Rome, and let his people know it, and form his government accordingly. But still the people saw and felt a change; they saw themselves again within their own hands, and not taxed and paying tribute for a foreign government, but for the benefit of their own government and country. They saw themselves again as Britons, and not as slaves to another nationality.

But Carausius proceeded with vigor and ability under his old form to put the government in order and repel the enemies of the country, and restore the country to a prosperous condition. In this he was successful, and Britain for a while appeared to be restored to itself. Over the loss of Britain the imperial government and people raised a great lamentation.² They extolled her value—the fertility of her soil, and her productive wealth in agriculture and minerals; but especially the taxes and tribute they were able to gather there. Over the loss they appeared to be inconsolable. and Constantius Chlorus, as the associate emperor with Diocletian, was deputed to recover the lost province, which he was only able to do, in the manner already stated, after Carausius had governed it seven years, and his assassin, Allectus, two

¹ He was called Augustus, and all the forms and organization of the Roman government remained.

² The orator, Eumenius, A. D. 296, in his panegyric to Constantius laments the loss of Britain in the possession of Carausius, and says: "That island still passes under the general name of Britain, but its loss was no trifling to the republic, so productive is it in fruit, and fertile in pastures, so rich in metals, and valuable for its contributions to the treasury, surrounded on all sides with abundance of harbors." (Giles' *Anc. Britons*, p. 260, ch. xv.) Undoubtedly "its contribution to the treasury" was the great object for the Romans.

years more. With Constantius the old state of things was restored, and so continued under the prosperous and beneficent rule of Constantius until his death at York in A. D. 306.

§3.—*The Time of Constantine the Great, A. D. 306 to 337.*

It is claimed by many historians that Helena, the mother of Constantine, was a native of Britain, a Cymras, and that Constantine was born there, though brought up and educated in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, returning with his father to Britain after the death of Allectus, when he was about eighteen or twenty years of age, and remained in Britain until after he was proclaimed emperor upon the death of his father, when he was upwards of thirty years of age. However it may be about his birth and nationality, he was well acquainted with Britain and its people. Many things are attributed to him in the improvement of the condition of the Britons. Upwards of two hundred years had now transpired since Agricola had completed the conquest, and more than six generations had endured its consequences and submitted to the habits it produced. The Romans commenced upon the principle of entrusting nothing to them which would aid them in reclaiming their independence and self-government. They were disarmed and disfranchised as to everything connected with the supreme Roman government that would in the least endanger it, and the people were left only to manage their domestic affairs. In their towns and cities they were permitted to elect their own magistrates and police officers, subject to the arbitrary and paramount control of the Roman government. To the same extent they were permitted to manage their municipal and fiscal affairs; but the collection of the tribute, taxes and revenue due the Roman government were entirely in the hands of their own officers, except where they were farmed out to Britons, or where some stipendary arrangement had been made in some places to pay a gross sum in satisfaction of all taxes and claims,

which was collected and paid by the people themselves. Many of the towns and places were thus made stipendiaries by some conventional arrangement, which was to them very beneficial and much sought for. Where the collections were in the hands of Roman officers, frequently the most wanton and corrupt abuse of power was exercised to the injury and oppression of the people. Early in the history of the Roman government, the financial and fiscal department were separated from the civil and military; and Hadrian, about A. D. 120, by some perpetual decree made this principle more obligatory, much to the advantage of the Britons.

Constantine, soon after his accession to the government, began to improve the form of the government. He first ordered the civil to be separated from the military department of the government. This, also, was a very beneficial division and arrangement of the government; but still there was no such division in the Roman law, as a separation of the judicial department from the other branches of the government, as the legislative and executive. With the Romans the emperor was the head of the government, not only as to the military but also as to the judicial and executive branches. It was otherwise arranged in the ancient British form of government; under the Druids the judiciary was a separate part of the government, and that idea has been carried down through the English government, and especially so in that of the United States.

Another reformation has been claimed for Constantine, which is thus stated by Richard of Cirencester:¹ "Under the Roman domination the Britons retained scarcely the shadow of regal authority. A legate being appointed by the emperor over the conquered country, Britain a consular province. This form of government continued several ages,² although in the mean-

¹ B. i, ch. 6, §3.

² It is said that Britain was held as one præsidential province under the emperors until the time of Severus. That emperor, on account of the opposition he received from Albinus, the late proprietor of Britain, determined to alter the method of governing the island, and divided the province into two,—and appointed Lupus proprietor of the northern, and

time the island underwent many divisions—first into the Upper and Lower districts, and then, as before shown, into seven parts. It afterwards became the imperial residence of Carausius and those whom he admitted to a share of his power. Constantine the Great, the glory and defence of Christianity, is supposed to have raised Maxima and Valentinia to consular provinces, and Prima, Secunda, and Flavia to præsidials. But over the whole island was appointed a deputy governor, under the authority of the prætorian prefect of Gaul. Besides whom, an ancient volume, written about that period, mentions a person of great dignity, by the title of *Comes*, or count of the Britons, another as count of the Saxon coast, and a third as leader or duke of Britain; with many others, who, although possessed of great offices, must be passed over in silence, for want of certain information."

These statements of Richard are undoubtedly true, and judiciously arranged, except that the name of counts to the offices named may be a little later period in the history of the empire. It should also be remembered that there were frequent changes in the government of Britain. Sometimes the emperor was there personally, governing himself, as the sovereign; sometimes he governed it by his special deputy, as legate or vicarius; sometimes by a proprætor or præfect under the emperor or the pro-consul of Gaul; and sometimes by usurpers or tyrants who assumed to be emperors by means of a rebellion or interference of the army, as in the case of Carausius, Maximus, Constantine the latter, and others, for it was said, and justly observed, that Britain was a soil fertile in tyrants, *i. e.*, men who assumed to govern without a legitimate right.

The name of the Saxon shore was applied to the southeastern shores of Britain about the time of Constantine, on account of their being so frequently disturbed by the invasion of the Saxon pirates, and the government compelled to erect castles and other defences for the protection of those

shores, which required a body of troops and officers for their guard and protection, while Britain remained under the Roman government.

§4.—*Introduction of Christianity and its Establishment in Britain.*

But the great change in the condition of the Britons, which may be specially noticed in connection with the reign of Constantine, is that in relation to the Christian religion. The religion of the Britons at the time of the conquest was that of Druidism. Its principal features were, that its creed embraced a belief in one supreme, eternal and spiritual God, and that the soul of man survived this life, and enjoyed a future one for good or evil, dependent upon its merits while in this world; and that this system was presided over by a learned body of men called the Druids. It may be that they had also connected with it some notion of the pagan mythology, as intermediate gods, between themselves and the great spirit. But the Romans have added the name of their own heathen gods to the Druidic creed that it is now impossible to say how that was. For the religion of any provincial people the Romans cared nothing; but they became very hostile to the Druids, because they were such devoted patriots, and so stern opponents to the conquest. They were therefore proscribed, banished or slaughtered, whenever they fell into the power of the Romans. They therefore—those who survived the persecution—fled to the British Islands and Scotland for protection, where for a long time they were protected and their religion flourished. But after the conquest and peace restored, Druidism returned to the Britons, as a more favored and rational religion than the pagan mythology of the Romans. It also more readily harmonized with the truthful and simple doctrines of Christianity, and in earlier times the doctrines and ceremonies became somewhat mixed, and was called neo-druidism, which was soon superseded by the true doctrines of Christianity.

Hieraclytus that of the southern division. Miss Williams' History of Wales, 29 and 44; Camden's Britannia.

But at an early period in its history Christianity became the acknowledged religion of the Britons, and their transition to it was easy and consistent. It is claimed that St. Paul came to Rome first early in the year 61, and continued there occasionally, at least, until his martyrdom in 68. Caractacus with his wife and whole family were taken there in the year 52 or 3, and what eventually became of him is not for a certainty known; but he remained for a long time in Rome, if he did not die there. But it is claimed by the British historians that he remained in Rome until after the arrival of Paul, and that he and his family became Christians under his administration. This at least is possible, and as it is told it is at least plausible. It is claimed that Caractacus' whole family became Christians while at Rome, by the preaching of Paul and his friends there, and afterwards returned to their homes in Britain after the conquest had so far subsided that it became safe to do so.¹ However this may be, it is certain that Christianity was established in Britain at a very early day, and it may be regarded with some certainty that the event transpired before the end of the first century.² In ancient times Arch-Druids were established at Carleon, York and London, and each of these became the See of an Archbishop of the Christian church, and at an early day the organization of the Druids was superseded by that of Christianity.

However it may be with regard to the conversion of Caractacus, Claudia, and their friends, and the introduction of

Christianity by them, or in their time, historic testimony confirms the fact that Christianity was introduced into Britain about that age, or at a very early period. The oppression that the Britons were receiving at the hands of the Romans tended greatly to promote the reception of Christianity among them, as well as the cruel treatment of the Druids and their doctrines so harmonizing with Christianity, and their principle of "seeking the truth against the world," facilitated its reception, and tended to make it the religion of the people in opposition to the Romans. Historical evidence is strong that Christianity spread and flourished in Britain from a very early date, and that it was free from those Christian persecutions which so cruelly afflicted Rome and the east, until the tenth and last persecution of Christians, which transpired by the order of Diocletian. It was under this that transpired that which is narrated by Bede, in which St. Alban and his British companions suffered martyrdom. This persecution reached many places and persons throughout Britain. It appears that this persecution must have been of a short duration in Britain, compared with other parts of the Roman dominions, for it probably ceased during Carausius' time, and not revived under Constantius, for he has always been a favorite person with the Christians and Britons. Bede seems to put the date of the commencement of this persecution and martyrdom in Britain about A. D. 286, and Carausius was saluted as emperor by the Britons in 287, and it is not probable that there was any persecution of Christians in that country after that event, though there was elsewhere.

It is said by some that Constantine had been educated by his mother, Helena, to whom he was much attached, in the Christian faith. However this may have been, we have not much evidence of it, until after he was firmly fixed in his government by his decided victory over Maxentius in Italy. He then felt himself in power and able to act his pleasure. It was then announced that his victories were the result of his Christian faith, and were confirmed by miracles and the sign of the cross in

¹ The uncertainty as to the authorities upon the subject of the introduction of Christianity into Britain about the time of Caractacus, and who Claudia was, whether a relative of Caractacus or not, and whether she is the Claudia spoken of by St. Paul, 2d Timothy, requires further investigation. Martial certainly makes her a Briton, but Mr. Vaughan says that the marriage could not have taken place for many years after the death of Paul. Query: Martial, a native of Spain, came to Rome in A. D. 60, perhaps two years before Paul's death. The marriage and the epigram may have occurred the same year he came, and the year that Paul wrote. How is that? See Vaughan, p. 66; 1 Pict. History, 68; Theo. Evans' Primitive Ages, p. 148; Richard of Cirencester, 466; Chronology xxv, as to Lucius, A. D. 160; Bede, p. 10, ch. iv; Miss Williams' Hist. pp. 29 and 42, and see her authorities; Cambrian History (Morgan), 100.

² 1 Pictorial History, 68; 1 Giles' Ancient Britons, pp. 186, 198.

the heavens. Though he permitted it to be distinctly understood that he favored and protected Christianity, he was slow in announcing any law or edict in its favor. It was not until A. D. 313, seven years after his accession, that he procured the concurrence of his associate in the empire, Licinius, and made an authentic declaration of his sentiments by the celebrated edict of Milan,³ which soon, after the death of his colleagues and competitors, was received as a "general and fundamental law of the Roman world." In the meantime Christianity had spread, progressed and flourished, and the church throughout the civilized world became organized and established with its bishops, priests, and ceremonies, and especially in Britain, so that Tertullian in a writing against the Jews, A. D. 209, says that, "even those places in Britain hitherto inaccessible to Roman arms, have been subdued by the gospel of Christ." But upon the accession of Constantine—a hundred years later—the Church became so established as to be considered in harmony with the civil organization of the country; and in the year 314, we are informed that at a council of the Church held at Arles three bishops from Britain attended,⁴ and this was many years before Constantine gave it his sanction. Before the latter event had taken place, the Christian church had become fully organized throughout the Roman world, with its bishops, priests and other officials. They called and held council at various places and regulated the affairs of the Church by its own authority, and when it came to be fully recognized by the Roman government no new organization was given to it, but only acknowledged to exist as it was. This was the case when, by the approbation of Constantine, the great council of Nice and other councils were held to settle questions of theology and difficulties in the Church. The Church in Britain grew up under its primitive organization, but little dependent upon a connection with that of Rome, and during the barbarian overthrow of Western

Europe, between A. D. 450 and 600, their connection was almost entirely severed; but religion in its primitive purity was maintained. After the time of Augustine, the missionary to the Saxons, the way was again opened, and the connection renewed. In the meantime the Roman church assumed and exercised powers which rendered its influence and action far above the secular government, until the time of the reformation.

The origin of Christianity in Britain is clouded in doubt, by the monastic legends thrown over it, and claims set up, without any outside authority to support them, or possibly inconsistent with them. Such is the claim that Christianity was introduced by some of the personal companions of Christ, or his apostles, as Joseph of Aramathea, or St. Paul himself, which is so unsupported by history as not to be credited. Still the assertion that Christianity was introduced and supported in Britain within the first century is entitled to our belief upon historical facts. When and how that was first done is still a question. The most probable theory is that which is told in connection with the family of Caractacus, who were taken as prisoners to Rome in A. D. 52 or 53.⁵ This family consisted of himself,⁶ his wife, his father, brother, a daughter, and two sons. These remained in Rome for many years after Claudius had pardoned Caractacus, as hostages; and it is claimed by the Cymric writers that St. Paul came to Rome in A. D. 61, and that this family became acquainted with him, attended upon his preaching the Gospel, and were converted to it. Where Caractacus eventually died is not known, but the rest of the family after many years returned to Britain as converts, and were the means of establishing Christianity in their

⁵ The war of the conquest commenced in 43. It lasted nine years before Caractacus was taken.

⁶ His father was Bran ab Ilyr, surnamed Fendigaid, who was the king of the Silures, and who on his return was a great benefactor of his country in the introduction of various useful improvements; the two sons were Cyllen and Eudof, and the daughter was Eigen, identified as Claudia. It is said that Bran and his granddaughter were Christian converts, and active propagandists. See Tacitus' *Annals*, B. xii, ch. 35, &c.; Dion Cassius; *Stillingfleet Orig. Brit.*; *Rees's Welsh Saints*, §4; *Miss Williams' Hist. of Wales*, p. 29.

³ 1 Gibbon's *D. & F.*, 252, ch. 20.

⁴ See *Pictorial History*, 69, and *Evans' Primitive Ages*, 161. Consider, &c.

own country. This, with the facts stated in connection with it, is rendered very probable; for it was very natural for persons in their unfortunate and disconsolate situation to seek sympathy and consolation where it was to be had, and Paul or his disciples, with their sympathies, benevolence and good will, would be likely to seek them. They were in very favorable condition to seek and receive the consolation of Christianity, and it was equally so with their people when they returned to their own country. This claim, made by the old British writers and their tradition, is, therefore, consistent and probable.

Another claim made upon this subject is founded upon the legend of king Lucius. It is alleged that this Lucius was the grand-son of Cyllin, the son of Caractacus, and known to the Cymry as Leurwg or Lleufr Mawr, (Great Light, Lucius,) and as one of the subordinate kings, under the Romans, of one of the western states in Britain. He built a church at Llandoff, which is said to have been the first edifice ever erected in Britain for the special purpose of Christian worship. It is said that this king, about A. D. 170, corresponded with Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, upon his Christian conviction and wishes, and to have received letters and missionaries in return, by whom he and his people were brought into the Church as members and baptized. This correspondence and conversion are very probably true; but the correspondence has been so represented and enlarged by monkish writers, that it has unjustly thrown discredit over the whole affair.⁷

It is said by reliable authors,⁸ "It appears extremely probable that, during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus and Commodus, a native Briton, named Lucius, reigned, by the permission of the Romans, over his part of the country; that hearing much of the Christian religion as observed

in many parts of Britain, and particularly brought to his notice by the accounts of the sufferings of the Christians at Vienna and Lyons, and some remarkable conversions at Rome, Lucius was anxious to obtain for himself and his people the advantage of being fully instructed in this religion; that, for this purpose, he despatched two British Christians, Medwy and Elvan, or Elfan, to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, —not because he regarded that bishop as the supreme head of the Christian community, but simply because he himself, being tributary to the Romans, naturally looked up to Rome as the centre of information upon every question of importance; that Eleutherius, in compliance with the request of Lucius, sent back, with Elvan and Medwy, two ecclesiastics, to whom tradition has assigned the names of Faganus and Duvianus, who, coming into Britain, baptized king Lucius and many of his subjects, and thus enlarged and more fully confirmed that Christian faith which had been introduced into different parts of the island for upwards of one hundred years."

Not many years after this Tertullian wrote, that the "Britons in places inaccessible to Roman arms were in submission to Christ." And the fathers of the Church are full of the like assertions during the third century. But before A. D. 314 the Church was fully organized throughout Roman Britain, so that bishops and priests attended that year the council of Arles from York, London and Caerleon on the Usk. They also attended the council of Nice in 325, and that at the council of Arminum, in Italy, held at the instance of Constantine II, in 359. Several bishops from Britain were present, and many of the Christian fathers of that century testify to their firm adherence to the true faith.

Thus long before the termination of our present period the Christian Church was fully established in all Southern Britain, with thirty or forty bishops, with their proper dioceses and sees. The Druids and Druidism gradually dissolved into the Christian Church, and their doctrines modified and purified by the pure doctrines of

⁷ The story of Lucius has been told by Bede, Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and repeated and believed by Stillingfleet and others. The discredit thrown upon it has been made by monkish additions to the correspondence to make it a popish affair.

⁸ Thackeray's *Ancient Brit.*, vol. 1, p. 142; Giles' same, vol. 1, p. 217.

Christ. But that the doctrines of the British were then in accordance with the true faith, is proved by the councils and ecclesiastical histories of the age. No more of Druidism was retained than agreed with the truth of the Gospel; the unknown god of the Druid became the true God as disclosed by Christ and preached by Paul. Notwithstanding the depressed condition of the country in a political and national point of view, the Church was sustained and prospered. The seat of the arch-druid was converted to that of the archbishop, and such were York, London and Caerleon. The schools of learning of the Druids became those of Christianity, such as were afterwards distinguished at Avalon, (Glastonbury) Caerleon, and Bangor, and produced the learning of such men as Pelagius and St. David. Although the language (Cymraeg) of the Cymry and their literature were cultivated, yet at those great schools the Roman or Latin language and all the science of the age were equally taught, and produced such men as Pelagius, Gildas, Nennius, and Asser, the learned friend and biographer of Alfred.

Caerleon and its vicinity have produced many a learned man for other parts of the world. Among them was Patrick, the good missionary and saint of Ireland. Up to that time Ireland was left out of the histories of classic and profane literature, but the genius and learning of her own sons have since abundantly retrieved that circumstance. "The original name of Patrick was Mannin or Magontius. He was born about the year 384, and, as he tells us in his 'Confession,' was only sixteen years of age when he was made a captive. He was carried into Ireland, and became the slave of the king of Dalraida. Escaping thence, he repaired to Rome, where he long remained, devoting himself to literature and the study of theology."⁹ At that time Germanus, the bishop from Armorica, was in Rome upon business of his people; and at his instance the pope chose the young man as the bearer of the

tidings of salvation to Ireland. His devoted labors, and the great good he accomplished, made the choice a happy one. On his mission he passed through Cornwall and Wales; of which Giraldus Cambrensis and John of Teignmouth have related many marvelous stories, which, though only in harmony with the superstition of that age, should not detract from St. Patrick's claim to the honor of having converted Ireland to Christianity. This happy event was about the year 432. It may be, possibly in confirmation of this, that there is an old Cymric tradition which asserts that Padrig ab Mawon, a native of Gwyr, in Morganwg, being a teacher of theology in the college of Caerworgan, was carried off by a band of Hibernian rovers, and became the zealous and successful missionary of the Christian faith to the Irish nation.¹⁰

The most interesting event of this period connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, was the promulgation of the doctrines of Pelagius, or pelagianism. Pelagius was a native of Cambria, and educated at Caerleon, others say at Bangor. His name in his native tongue was Morgan, (Near the Sea,) which translated into Greek became Pelagius. About A. D. 409 he left his native country for a journey through the Christian and civilized world. He was a ripe scholar, and was everywhere kindly received on account of his learning and excellent moral character. He was the author of a number of books upon the subject of religion and morality, which were highly commended, and by some who afterwards became his opponents on the subject of his peculiar doctrines. Augustine, the bishop of Hippo, was so enamored with his writings and character, that he said of him, notwithstanding he was afterwards the great opponent of his peculiar doctrine, "Though I oppose his doctrine, I love him still." He first made his way to Rome, accompanied by his friend, Celestius, who was said to have been an Irishman, an eloquent scholar, and very success-

⁹ Giles' *Ancient Britons*, p. 378; Thackeray's *Ancient Britons*, vol. ii. p. 105; Nennius, c. 50-59.

¹⁰ Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 128; Miss William's *History of Wales*, p. 73.

ful in lecturing and expounding the doctrines of his principal. These doctrines, though adopted by many, were condemned by some as a heresy. The grounds of them were said to be the following: 1. Adam was created mortal, so that he would have died, whether he had sinned or not; 2. Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race; 3. Infants are in the same condition in which Adam was before the fall; 4. The whole human race neither dies in consequence of Adam's death or transgression, nor rises from the dead in consequence of Christ's resurrection; 5. Infants obtain eternal life, though they be not baptized; 6. The law is as good a means of salvation as the Gospel; 7. There were some men, even before Christ, who were free from sin, and subjects of salvation. These were the fundamental subjects of Pelagius' doctrines, and were generally received, where he or his friends explained and expounded them; and it is said that they are only condemned where misunderstood. In their early progress they were, by the councils of the Church, sometimes accepted and at others rejected, but eventually condemned as contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the Church.

Pelagius traveled through Italy, went through Northern Africa, Egypt, and to Jerusalem; through Lyria, Asia Minor and to Constantinople. He everywhere found friends and advocates of his doctrines, among whom are to be enumerated able and good men; yet the doctrine has been generally condemned by churchmen. It has never formed a separate sect, still it prevails in some shape with a large body of people, though sometimes modified and termed Semi-Pelagianism. Since the organization of the Christian Church no doctrine has been announced by any person which has produced so much controversy or exercised so much intellectual powers, or involved so many dogmas of the Church, or so much of metaphysical reasoning. The man who was able to acquire so many able proselytes, and maintain himself against so many learned, able and astute opponents, must have been learned, and intellectually great. And it may be a

query, whether the doctrine of Pelagius may not yet be, in its most acceptable form, accepted as the true doctrine of Christianity, in the midst of all the reforms now progressing, as that which is the nearest to truth and science; for science is truth, and truth will prevail.

Between the conflicting doctrines of Pelagius and Augustine stand the Semi-Pelagius, between whom and the Orthodox there appears to be no great deal of difficulty. "This middle doctrine," says Giles,¹¹ "is said to have been held by two eminent ecclesiastics, Fastidius and Faustus,¹² who like Pelagius, were natives of Britain; for in the beginning of the fifth century, when every other department of life was smitten with a dearth of eminent men, the Church seemed to have been most prolific." The qualification of the compliment by Mr. Giles is not very generous, in speaking of the dearth of patriots, when he knew that Rome had used all her power to reduce that class of men to the lowest ebb, in a country that has ever been the most fertile of them; in the country of Casswallown, Caractacus and Arvaragus and their descendants; and a country that had just produced Maxen Wledig, Constantine and Gerontius. But that country was then, in that age, as it has always been, fertile in patriots and heroes as in scholars and divines.

In common with the Christian churches throughout the world, that of Britain became greatly agitated upon the doctrine of Pelagius, in the very country where it originated. The leading men of the church became alarmed, that, as at length, the doctrine had been denounced as heresy by the head of the Church of Rome, they might be involved in the denunciation. The question was greatly agitated, and in great polemic meetings, the people were exercised in the great intellectual strife upon the question. Uncertain as to the result, the head of the Church sent to the churches of Cymric Gaul for help to settle the agita-

¹¹ 1 Giles' *Anet. Britons*, p. 305.

¹² It is said that the doctrines of these divines "were sound and good." See n. 7 to Giles' *Ancient Brit.*, p. 305.

tion, and, as has been already stated, bishop Germanus and others came over in the year 429 and again in 446. The Cymry never tolerated persecution for opinion's sake, even in the times of the Druids; and therefore the question must be settled by reason and the intellect, for with them it was a principle that truth must prevail against the world. As it was an appeal to the people, it was probable that the preachers who came must be able to speak to the people in their own language. They came, and says Bede, "A multitude flocking thither from all parts received the priests, whose coming had been foretold. * * * The apostolical priests filled the island of Britain with the fame of their preaching and virtues; and the word of God was by them daily administered, not only in the churches, but even in the streets and fields, so that the Catholics were everywhere confirmed. * * * Thus the generality of the people readily embraced their opinion. * * * At length their opponents had the boldness to enter the lists, and appeared for public disputation. An immense multitude were there assembled with their wives and children. The people stood around as spectators and judges. * * * Then the venerable prelates poured forth the torrents of their apostolical and evangelical eloquence. * * * The people, who were judges, could scarcely refrain from violence, but signified their judgment by their acclamations."¹³ This proceeding continued across the island, stopping at every convenient place, from London to Mold in Cambria on the west side of the island. This is a striking picture of the character and habits of the people of that day, and shows them to have been a civil, religious, and highly civilized people, and it is told of them by no special friend of the Cymry.

This polemic debate took place probably in a time of general peace, except the unexpected conflict which was had with the enemy on the west side of the island, and the truth of that conflict is doubted.¹⁴ The inroads of their northern enemies were

only at intervals; when forcibly driven back, they remained quiet for some years.

§5.—*During the Close of the Roman Domination.*

From the close of the reign of Constantine, and his death in A. D. 337, to the termination of Roman rule over Britain, a period of eighty-three years, it was doomed to suffer every kind of change and vicissitude of fortune. It now had seen its better days, and in common with the Roman empire and the western world, it was about to endure those changes and adversities brought on by the plunder and conquests of the northern barbarians, which produced in Western Europe that fatal deterioration and adversity known as its dark age. In the progress of that decline and adversity, whether it was Britain or Gaul, Spain or Italy, that suffered most, it is hard to determine; for all those countries witnessed the revolting process by which their fair land was overrun, their property plundered, their cities and houses either destroyed or laid in ashes, their people enduring every species of privation and injustice by plunder, slaughter and slavery; for more than four hundred years did Western Europe endure these wrongs and injustice before the country began to recover from the effects of that dark age and the conversion of the accumulated labors of civilization to savage waste and barbarity. In Britain, from the commencement of the reign of Carausius to the end of that of Constantine the Great, her northern enemies were generally kept at bay, and she was in a great measure permitted to enjoy and hold her own, while the storm was accumulating with threatening violence in Gaul and Italy. From the time of the emperor Probus, A. D. 277, the northern and eastern barbarians kept a constant pressure upon Gaul from the other side of the Rhine, and upon Italy from the further side of the Danube. This pressure was never left off—only kept back, until those countries were overwhelmed by it.

In the meantime Britain was enduring a variety of fortune and changes of condition after the death of Constantine. Six years

¹³ Bede Eccle. History, B. i, ch. 17.

¹⁴ See the note to Bede, *ut supra*.

after that event, we are informed, the inroads of the Scots and Picts required the attention of Constans, his youngest son, to whom was assigned the government of the western empire. This young emperor visited Britain under a favorable journey, but probably without rendering any personal aid in repelling these troublesome enemies of the country. These attacks were constantly renewed whenever the enemy deemed they had a favorable opportunity of doing so; and the unhappy country continued to be constantly afflicted by the ravages of their northern enemies on the interior, and those of the Frank and Saxon pirates along the sea shore; while no less complaints were made on account of the exactions made by the imperial government for the payment of taxes, and the corrupt and illegal abuses of their officials. In the midst of such complication of injuries and abuses did the distracted country continue to suffer, still adhering to the Roman government as the least of the evils to which they could resort for relief. Occasionally their protectors would grant them relief by an increase of the army for their defense, and sometimes the soldiers of that army, when neglected, would organize a relief for the country in opposition to the legitimate government, as was done in the case of Maximus and Constantine the usurpers; still the Roman officers of the government and soldiers of the army were always there, while occasionally there was sent to their aid a sufficient increase of the army to afford relief and protection to the country. The Britons always looking hopefully for the relief expected from the power and majesty of Rome, to which they had been so long accustomed, rather than to resort to an independent action against the Roman officers left in the country, surrounded as they were by so many threatening enemies. It was with extreme reluctance that the Britons separated from the Roman government; and that was the last thing that the imperial officers in the country would consent or yield their hold on it. After the defeat of Constantine the Briton in A. D. 411, there are many reasons to believe, and so frequently as-

serted by historians, that a Roman army was sent to the relief of Britain in A. D. 414, 16 and 18; and this is the most consistent with facts and probabilities.

After the Roman general, Constantius, had captured the last named Constantine at Aries, and restored Roman sway in Gaul and Britain, we have evidence that in 414 he was in command of the army and in possession of the sea-coast in North-western Gaul, and also, as that is the most probable, of Britain. It is believed there was no revolt of the inhabitants of Britain against the Roman authorities during these times;—no emute of the people. The revolt in the time of Carausius, Maximus and Constantine, was that of Roman soldiers,¹ in Roman name and under the Roman organization. Each time the Roman civil officers remained in power; and each time the army was called away to other positions of the empire there were always sufficient officers and soldiers left to guard and retain possession of the military posts and property of the Roman government, until the final withdrawing the army, with the officers, civil and military, from Britain in A. D. 420;² and Honorius writing letters directed to cities of Britain, admitting his inability any longer to defend or protect them, renouncing all allegiance over them, acknowledging their independence, and urging them to provide for their own defense. At that time the cities and certain districts of the country were stipendaries, and had civil government organized within them for police and civil purposes, and within these were princes and even conventional kings permitted to rule, under Roman policy, but their power and authority were strictly confined to domestic and civil purposes; and never dared or wished to set up independent sovereignty adverse to imperial Rome, until after they had received the letters of Honorius urging them to do so.

¹ Let the reader refer to Gibbon for an account of each of these revolts, and it will be seen that he states them to have been the act of the soldiers.

² Gibbon states the revolt of Britain to have been in A. D. 409, when the revolt of Constantine was in full and successful operation, which he states just before, the general condition of the empire under the date of A. D. 420.

When and how the Romans finally departed from Britain, and left the Britons to take care of themselves, we have no definite account; but from the statements made by Gildas, Nennius and Bede,³ as supported by other historical authorities, we can satisfactorily gather the following to be the facts. After the defeat of the usurper Constantine at Arles, in the fall of the year 411, the general, Constantius, proceeded to restore order in the name of Honorius in the northwestern provinces, Gaul and Britain. This was so accomplished and maintained until after 414, when the army was necessarily called away. After this, we gather from these authors that upon two special occasions, in consequence of the pressure of their enemies, the Britons applied to the Romans for aid, and upon each occasion a Roman army was sent, who very successfully repelled and drove their enemies out of the country, and left it in a protected condition. These two different times, we gather from other historians, were in A. D. 416 and 18; and this agrees with Nennius and Bede. This last time the army, after having exhausted the country of much of its valuable wealth, and having besides received rich gifts, they returned in great triumph to Rome;⁴ and "so took leave of their friends, never to return again."⁵

Thus the Romans departed in friendship,—no rebellion, or desire on the part of the Britons to be released from the Roman sovereignty. They were all then, by the law, Roman citizens, and Rome was their sovereign and national government; and as their supreme and federal government they did not wish to part with it, and yet hoped they would return. They were in full possession, in their several States and cities, of their local and subordinate government, and preferred the Roman supremacy to any other, as they were now accustomed to it,—were now Roman citizens, and entitled to be considered as part of the Roman empire,—and surrounded by so

many enemies and difficulties, they wished to put off the evil day of their final separation and the organization of a federal government of their own. Until that was finally determined they chose to remain under their several local, state and city governments. This condition they were undoubtedly in when Bishop Germanus came there the first time in the year 429 in the Pelagian controversy. They had a few years before (in 420) received the letters of Honorius; but still they hoped a return, and in accordance with that hope the ultra Roman party sent the letter they did to Ætius, but who was then so engaged with Attila and his Huns he could render them no assistance. And now, when all hopes were at an end, they settled the conflict, about A. D. 440, by the election of Vortigern their pendragon and commander in chief.

And now, who are these Britons, and what was their condition at that time? Were they the savages and barbarians that a few prejudiced and hostile spirits claim them to have been, or were they a people who had done and accomplished extraordinary things to improve and civilize themselves? In reply to these queries, let the reader take a fair and candid review of the evidence we have collected from history, and he will find sufficient to satisfy him, from the glimpses and fragments of history given to us in remote times by the Phœnicians and Greeks, and the more recent and authentic histories, that they and their forefathers were a people as much entitled to the consideration of mankind, as a progressive and civilized people, as any who were thus far from the centers of civilization. In the first account we have of them they were represented to be kind and hospitable to strangers, well clad and venerable in their personal appearance. They were laboriously industrious and furnished to the world that indispensable article—tin—then so absolutely required by the civilized world. The account given of them by Publius Crassus shows that at that time they were engaged in the production of tin and other metals in trade and traffic; and turning their attention to navi-

³ Gildas, §15 and 16. Nennius, §30. Bede, B. 1, ch. 12.

⁴ Nennius, ch. 30.

⁵ Bede, B. 1, ch. 12.

gation, which is confirmed by their connection with the Venetians and their numerous shipping and commerce, which without doubt was principally due to its connection and traffic with Britain. That business and commerce concentrated in the neighborhood of what is now the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth, the ancient Vectis, the Portus Magnus, and Venta, of the Romans. There the great body of the nation concentrated,—there were Avebury and Stonehenge, and the institution of the Druids developed. And there was the great country for which Vespasian fought his thirty-two battles and took twenty towns which Cæsar never saw. Avebury was a wonderful work and evidence of great perseverance; but Stonehenge may be compared with the great works of civilized antiquity, if not with the pyramids, at least with the cyclopean walls of Argos and Mycenæ, in the skill and science required to move and manage such vast blocks of stone; to cut, tenon and mortice, and place on the transom, show evidence of method, mechanism and art excelling everything of the day in Western Europe. Such were the Britons before Cæsar's time, and he greatly adds to the credit due them. The people who could organize a body of four thousand chariots, as Cæsar describes them as sent against him, with all the art and skill necessary to produce and manage them, places their capacity for civilization beyond a question; and that, too, acquired and realized by their own efforts and genius. Cassivellaunus, Caractacus, and Boadicea, as well as other persons of their people and age, occupy in history as admirable and magnificent figures as any presented to us in the annals of the Roman and civilized world.

By means of the ancient historians, and the recent antiquarian researches, we are enabled to discover the progress and improvement the ancient Britons were able from time to time to make, and see the improvements made by their self-taught development from the time the Phœnicians visited them to that of Cæsar, and from Cæsar to Claudius, and from Claudius to

the end of the Roman rule; not merely in such labors as the Stonehenge or the walls of Chun Castle in Cornwall, or the numerous chariots described by Cæsar; but in articles of ornament and taste, not only for the person but as utensils for domestic use; nor did they neglect their agricultural interests, for in Cæsar's time they had large fields of grain, and could furnish whatever amount of corn required; nor yet did they neglect their mining and commercial advantages, for they furnished for use and exportation tin, lead, iron, gold, silver, as well as the productions of the soil. Such was the progress made by the Britons when the Roman conquest under Claudius was made; and Tacitus testifies to what readiness they applied their talents, skill and industry to further improvements of the country in the erection of buildings, both private and public, with porticos, and baths, and ornamented pavements, and engaged themselves in all the learning and improvement to be acquired from the Romans. This was continued to the end of the Roman dominion; and what has since been called Roman works and improvements, when in reality they are those of the Britons. The Romans sought to conquer that they might govern and tax for their own benefit. They encouraged but did not labor; they taxed but did not produce. That was left for the Britons to accomplish. The object of the Romans was gain and profit; they left the labor and enterprise for the Britons. These they encouraged, but they were to be left for the Britons to perform, or the enterprise was not accomplished. The Romans brought to the country new inventions, new ideas, models and engineer skill, but it was left to the people to use them or let them alone. If they went with them to the Huns and Goths they were let alone; but the Britons did choose to use and improve them. The Romans came there with an army and its officers, and a corps of fiscal officers to gather taxes and tribute, and to be supported by the country. Beyond this, only a few merchants and hangers-on came to gather gain and to *loot*. No colonization of the country took place to

improve it by Roman industry; that was left for the natives or it was not done. To this the only exception were the roads, the military fortification and the walls for the protection of the country; and in these Romans were engaged, for they were necessary to their own convenience and to hold the country in their own subjection. But they were the joint labors of the army and the people; and the Britons were heavily assessed to labor upon them.

Immediately after the conquest the Romans found the Britons so hostile to the invasion and so difficult to bring them to subjection, that they became very jealous of their position and guarded against every thing that might be turned against them to liberate the country; therefore they disarmed the people and prohibited Roman officers to settle in the country or become land-holders. They were bound to return, with whatever acquired there, to Rome, and be sure not to aid the people to their independence. These restrictions were gradually relaxed as they found the people, by habit and custom, becoming more contented and happy in their condition, until about the year 212 the emperor Caracalla, by an imperial edict, extended all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to the Britons, by means of which they became as much Roman citizens as the people of any of the provinces, more than two hundred years before the end of the empire in Britain; and they were the Roman citizens who built up those ninety-two cities and other improvements left there when the Roman army finally departed. It is very true that many of the Roman officers and merchants and members of the army sometimes formed family connections there; and by that means much Roman offspring and Roman blood became mixed up with the original Cymry. But when the army finally left, there were no exclusively Roman people left there. There were some half blood and mixtures; but no exclusively Roman people,—they were all natives of the island. We read of Ambrosius who was there at the end of the Roman rule, but was popular with both parties.

Upon the departure of the Romans, the Britons again became essentially one and a homogeneous people—descendants of the ancient Cymry. After so long an intercourse they parted with the Romans in friendship and with regret. They had adopted many of their manners and customs, were firmly established in the Christian religion. In passing from Druidism to Christianity they had less to change than any other pagan people. The arch-druid became the arch-bishop, and the druidic priest became a convert to Christ and a firm teacher in the faith. The high morality and principles of justice and humanity found in their triads, harmonized well with the doctrines of Christianity. We have no evidence that they sacrificed any human beings after Cæsar's time; but we have, that the Romans many years after that, in the reign of Augustus, that the Romans sacrificed—immolated on one occasion and the same time, upwards of three hundred of their own citizens.

It is probable that while the Romans ruled they encouraged the differences and divisions between one state or city and another in the numerous divisions in Britain; for that was in accordance with their maxims and practice, "to divide and conquer." Still at last we see no conflict between them, when at length they came to form an union by the election of Vortgern as their pendragon. There was a party difference of opinion, as upon all such occasions, between this party and that of Ambrosius Aurelius, who was more inclined to the Romans, and possibly did not then advise the union and federal arrangement; but that prevailed with the majority, and he seemed to have readily yielded to it.

The principal historian of those times is the querulous and censorious Gildas, who imparted his sentiments to Bede and Nennius, who long after that followed him. He was filled with the monkish superstition of the age, and does great injustice to the men and the action of the times. Everything that did not accord with his views was ungodly; and whatever went unfortunate was the scourge of God to

punish the people for their wickedness. He hated Vortigern, and perhaps justly, but we cannot form any just opinion from so censorious a writer. From him and other conflicting histories of the period, we can gather facts to show that the history of those times was perverted and misrepresented by monkish legends and creeds, which made no allowance or consideration for inevitable fate, produced upon a country depleted by the Romans and then overrun by a barbarous and cruel enemy, while it was suffering with pestilence and famine.

With a little of the consideration and candor that should characterize a true historian, Mr. Miller, in his History of the Anglo Saxons, says:—"With a population so thinned as it must have been by the heavy drainage made from time to time from the flower of its youth, we can readily conceive how difficult it was to defend the wall which Severus had erected after the departure of the Romans. But we cannot imagine that the Britons would hesitate to abandon a position which they could no longer maintain, or waste their strength on an outer barrier, when the enemy had already passed it by sea, and were marching far into the country. On this point the venerable Gildas must have been misinformed, and the narrative of Zorrimus is, beyond doubt, the most correct one. From his history it is evident that the Britons rose up and boldly defended themselves from the northern invaders." And this is not only sustained by what is said by Gildas himself, but supported by Turner, Giles,^a and all the historians on the subject; but strange it is that some run into the other part of the contradictory portions of the statement of querulous Gildas, in order to support assertions and positions hostile to the Britons

unsupported by the surrounding facts.⁷

When the Romans withdrew from Britain the natives were left in their enfeebled condition, so reduced by their connection with Rome, and a thankless boon, after being thus robbed, to be told that they were now at liberty to go free and help themselves. They were then in a very different condition from what they were when they met Caesar, with their four thousand chariots in one body, and breathed the free air of Britain. With all their adversities and calamities, they were still Britons—with their several local and stipendary governments in full operation, and accustomed to elect their own senators or *decuriones*, and magistrates, under their ancient laws; with people intelligent and enlightened enough to meet in vast crowds throughout the whole country—men with their wives and children⁸—to listen to, and appreciate, Bishop Germanus upon such abstruse subjects as were involved in the metaphysical and theological doctrines of Pelagianism; with such patriots as Vortimer, and Ambrosius and Arthur to fight, and, if needs be, to die for them and their beloved Britain; with schools which produced such Latin scholars as Palagius, St. David, Gildas, Nennius and Asser; with ninety-two cities and towns around them, and they and the whole country connected by artificial roads. With all these evidences of progress and civilization around them, nothing but the helpless condition in which the Romans

⁷ In support of this Giles says, (i Hist. Anc. Britons, page 341) "The continued drain of its population in the service of Rome, had ever been an obstacle to Britain's greatness. We cannot consider the island to have contained, in the time which we are speaking of, more than a tenth part of the numbers with which it is now crowded, [i. e. about 2,000,000] and the consequences which resulted from the departure of more than a hundred thousand persons, who are said to have accompanied the army from time to time, with Maximus and others, can better be conceived than described. Neither were the emigrants chosen from the weaker or more useless classes of the people. They consisted of all the Roman soldiery, and the best and most vigorous of the native Britons. The loss of a large number of men, who have passed the prime of life, may be borne by a nation with comparative ease; the places of the veterans are supplied by the bountiful elasticity of nature, by which the young grow to be men, and to occupy their father's places in the senate, or the field of battle, and at the domestic hearth; but the departure of all the youth of the land must have the lapse of many years before the loss of a whole generation can be supplied."

⁸ Bede, B. i, ch. 13.

^a Turner's Anglo Saxons, B. ii, ch. vii, p. 126. Giles' Ancient Britons, ch. 24, p. 380, who says: "A famine broke out in the island, followed by its inevitable attendant the pestilence, which swept off the natives by hundreds; and when we add to this the havoc and din of war which covered all Europe, it seems as if the vial of the Almighty's wrath was visibly poured out over all the countries of the civilized world." . . . "We read also that some of the Britons, finding no help but in their own valor, flew to arms, made a resolute stand for their lives and liberty, and bravely defeated their oppressors."

had left them would enable their ravaging enemies to have prevailed against them, and with the sword and fire to have reduced those objects of improvement to utter ruin. But it seemed to have been inevitable; it was a question again to be repeated,—who had the most men to be slaughtered in the cause? Britain, whose population had been reduced, and now limited; or the savages of Northern and Eastern Europe, whose population had been increasing for ages, and then ready to be let in, with unlimited numbers, upon Southern and Western Europe. Rome had thus far kept them at bay, accumulating in population and physical power, without the least attempt to improve or civilize them, until they had so increased in mass and numbers that they were then ready to rush like an impending avalanche upon unhappy and civilized Europe, as though it were the wrath of Heaven coming to punish Rome for her iniquities.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BOOK III.—THE SAXON PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAXON CONQUEST. A. D. 449 to 626.

§1.—*The Saxons' First Immigration, War and Settlement in Britain.*

The year 449 of the present era is the commencement of a new period in the history of Britain. It was the beginning of a new series of events, connected with some of the most important movements of the world. However insignificant or unpropitious those events may have been in their origin, it is vain for the limited intellect of man to fathom the course of Providence, and pretend to tell how much such trivial matters may have aided in producing the mighty events that may have followed it; or how the world would have stood if such event had never happened. Every day we witness great events following small ones, and apparently depending upon them; but the world must go on, and great events will happen, whether dependent on the trivial circumstances that preceeded them or not. In British soil there are buried up great productions and great events, whether preceded by British, Roman, Saxon or Norman people, or otherwise. Events happen, and times change, sometimes by intelligence and intellect over brute force and rudeness, and sometimes by the reverse; but generally speaking the heaviest battalion and the most men prevail. It is often very difficult for man, from the small circumstances by which he is surrounded, to judge what mighty or untoward event they may produce; but when they have transpired and are palpable, then the wise-

acres will disclose their wisdom, and tell how wise they were and foresaw it.

At that time the Britons had been for more than a hundred years, under the Roman government and under their own, greatly troubled and injured by repeated and continued attacks from savage and barbarous enemies—the Picts and Scots by land who robbed, plundered and destroyed, and the Franks and Saxons who did the same as pirates from the sea. They were frequently driven off and greatly punished for their wrongs. But they soon forgot their punishment, and after a time returned again to commit their wrongs and to devastate portions of the country. The Saxons had continued their piracies so long against every infliction of punishment that could be put upon them either by the Roman government, or Carausius, or that of the Britons, that the whole coast of Britain on the southeast, from the Wash to the isle of Wight, was so infested with them that it was called the “Saxon shore.” The Roman had done everthing to protect it, and had organized it under a peculiar jurisdiction of the Counts of the Saxon shores, with military force and castles for their protection.¹ The Saxons, therefore, were frequently in the habit of landing upon the British shores, and such event was nothing new to the Britons.

All this time, as we have already seen, Britain was greatly afflicted with all manner of misfortunes and untoward events;

¹ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxon*, ch. i, p. 24. “This district was placed under the command of a military coun called ‘*Comes litoris Saronici*.’” ² Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. ii, ch. iv, p. 106; ³ Gibbon's *Dec.* and *Fall*, ch. xxv, p. 349.

their enemies were assailing them in various places—the Picts and Scots in various places, and the pirates in others. The country for many years past had been greatly reduced and depleted in its population, by the demands of the Roman armies upon them; the ravages of their enemies had in some places desolated their country; their attention had been greatly excited and turned toward religious subjects and polemic discussions; and they had been afflicted with famine and pestilence. They were then surrounded by too many untoward circumstances for any other extraordinary demand upon their exertion. We have seen that just before this a new general or federal government had been organized, and Vortigern had been elected their pendragon, or penteyrn,² or president; and had come from his own state—Siluria³—to London or its vicinity to attend to national affairs, and call a general council,⁴ or general assembly of the elite of the people, to take into consideration the difficulties of the times. For according to the ancient principles of the British constitution, no new law could be adopted, no new responsibility of the people, nor any new obligation with a foreign power could be entered into without the consent of their general assembly. Such general assembly was now in session, and Vortigern was seeking their advice and consent as to the management of public affairs. While they were thus in session at London, news came in to them that three Saxon long boats, or cyules or keels, had just landed on the British shore, on Thanet island, near the mouth of the Thames. They were reported to act different from any Saxons who ever appeared there before; that they did not appear to be inclined to any piratical hostilities. They announced that they were friendly, wanted land to settle upon, or to be employed. Vortigern, as a man of ready expedients, immediately proposed

to his council to send a deputy to them, and propose to employ them as allies or mercenaries, with their own troops, in the expedition about to be sent out against the Picts and Scots, who were then preparing to come down again upon them. This proposition of Vortigern was strenuously opposed by some members, as a matter which should not be entertained. The Saxons they said were pirates, and treacherous, and not to be trusted; besides, they said, we must do our own fighting, and not again trust any foreign people.

To this it was replied, that there could be no danger in the quantity of men that three such boats could carry—perhaps three hundred men, possibly five. Such allies, among the fifteen or twenty thousand troops that the Britons must raise and send forth against the approaching enemies coming from the north, would be of no danger to the country. To apprehend danger from such a source is to borrow trouble. The Romans and every nation employ allies and mercenaries, and auxiliaries, and why not the Britons, when they have such an opportunity offered them? It was further said that the Roman *Ætius* had recently sent to the Roman *Ætius* for aid to drive back the approaching enemy, which was refused, because he was so strenuously engaged in Gaul against Attila and his Huns; and why now may not the Britons employ these Saxons, who now peaceably offer their services? To this it was rejoined that the Saxons were pirates and robbers, and had been such for more than a hundred years—were treacherous and not to be trusted. After such experience the Britons should have nothing to do with them.

Thus was the matter debated, with a good deal of party feeling and contempt for the borrowed trouble—just as such matters have often been debated in a British parliament or a Roman senate, and very much as a like question was actually debated in the Roman senate in the case of Alaric and Stilicho,⁵ or before the English parliament as to engaging to fight for the Turks

² 1 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, B. i, p. 7.

³ Thierry (as above, p. 8) says that Vortigern was a Loegrian. This is a mistake. He was then operating in Loegria, because that was in the confederacy, but he was elected from his native state, Siluria, to his office as pendragon.

⁴ Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. iii, ch. 1, p. 181.

⁵ See 1 Gibbon's *Dec. and Fall*, ch. xxx, p. 414.

against a Christian people in the Crimean war. But right or wrong the question was carried in the affirmative, and Vortigern⁶ immediately sent his deputy to see the strangers in Thanet, to negotiate with them and see what they wanted, and see if they would engage as allies in the British service in the war against the Picts and Scots. The deputy soon returned with a very favorable report, stating that he found the strangers appeared to be peaceably inclined and not pirates; they represent themselves to be exiles from home, seeking a place to settle and to be employed. They offer to be employed as auxiliaries in our war against the Picts and Scots, and to render most loyal service. This report was very satisfactory to Vortigern and the council, as might be supposed, and it was agreed to employ these Saxon adventurers as subsidiary soldiers. They were accordingly retained to serve as auxiliaries against the northern enemies then invading the country; and were, therefore, promised food and clothing, and were to be stationed in Thanet, whose ancient British name was Ruithina.⁷ In pursuance of this agreement, the strangers went into the service with the British troops as their auxiliaries,⁸ against the northern enemies, which was successful; and the service rendered by the

strangers appreciated, and the compensation for their service appears to have been satisfactorily arranged. But whether that included a stipulation for a permanent settlement in the island of Thanet or only a temporary one does not very clearly appear; but these allies of the Britons were so well pleased with their employment and compensation, that they suggested to Vortigern that they had friends at home who would also be glad to emigrate and come and enter his service like themselves, whom he would find efficient and loyal soldiers; to which Vortigern replied that it would appear to be very satisfactory.

These newcomers had been from the first received and considered by the Britons as Saxons, for that was the name they bestowed upon all the piratical enemies who came from the north of the mouth of the Rhine. But it is probable that they told the Britons, in order to quiet their suspicion, that they were not Saxons, but Jutes from Juteland, and that the two princes or chiefs who led them were Hengist and Horsa—they were brothers, and the true descendants of their national god Woden. Whether these representations put Vortigern off his guard and induced him to entertain a more favorable opinion of them, is not known, but certain it is that they in some way had acquired his full confidence. But with the Britons generally the strangers were always called Saxons, whether Jutes, Angles, or Saxons properly; they were all equally hateful to the Britons as irredeemable pirates and robbers, and unworthy of any confidence, and Vortigern's growing confidence in them only rendered him the more unpopular with his countrymen.

The people from whence these strangers came—from the neighborhood of the Elbe and the Eider, were all of the same family of people, in language and customs, varying only in dialect or tribe, but all included under the denomination of Saxons, Germans or Teutons; but those with whom the Britons came in contact were always denominated by them as Saxons, just as the Cymry and Loegrians were denominated Britains. They occupied the country

⁶ We should not without consideration condemn Vortigern for this haste in employing the strangers. Mr. Miller, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, (p. 61) well says: "There is no evidence that Vortigern intended any wrong. Centuries before, the Britons had crossed the sea, and fought in the wars of the Gauls; they had also aided the Romans. It was a common custom for one nation to hire the assistance of another; when the time of service was over, the soldiers either returned to their own country or settled down amongst the native tribes, whom they had defended. In this case, however, the result proved very different, though it would have been difficult for any one endowed with the keenest penetration to have foreseen that three small ships, probably containing in all not more than three hundred men, and these willing to render assistance on very humble terms, should point out the way, by which their companions in arms should come and conquer, and take possession of a country which it had cost the Romans so many years of hard warfare to subjugate."

⁷ Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. iii, ch. 1, p. 182; Gildas, §13, 22; Nennius, ch. 28, 35; Bede, B. i, ch. 15. The British poem of Golyddan indignantly alludes to this council and agreement. That, however, was an afterthought, when it was easy to judge of it.

⁸ It is impossible to conceive that these strangers did anything more than act as auxiliary to the British forces. It would be preposterous to suppose that three or four hundred men could drive away an enemy which always required the Roman army to do.

formerly occupied by the Cambri, and who in one emigration after another had left there many centuries previous—some south as we have already described, others north, who amalgamated and became assimilated with the Scandinavians, which will account for these differing so much from the other nations of Teutonic origin. But these Saxons differed from the other Teutons of the Germanic people. The country was low, more marshy, and the people ruder—without towns, roads or commerce, and for more than a hundred and fifty years had become addicted to the practice of piracy and robbing the people, living along the neighboring shores, as we have already stated. Living upon the borders of the sea, and by their practice they had become expert and fearless seamen.

The Saxons of those times were pagans, and worshiped Woden, the great founder of their religion; and in their religion and idolatry they were educated to love war and battles, blood and carnage. They were taught to condemn everything which did not inure them to become warriors of savage ferocity, and despise death as a sure passport to the warrior to the heaven of his idolatry. Such warriors were sure to be admitted, with their wounds as the highest honors, to distinguished places in their heavenly Valhalla, for they believed "their Supreme Deity to be father of combats and slaughter, because those were his favorite children who fell in the field of battle."⁹ The most formidable feature of the ancient religion of the Saxons, says Turner, was its indissoluble union with war and violence. Its tenets sanctified all the horrors of war, and connected all the hopes, energies and passions of humanity with its prosecution. Their poets represented that the greatest enjoyment of human fruition was the feast of heroes, where they drank their intoxicating beverage from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain;¹⁰ and

then occasionally going out, and with their battle-axes fight and wound as an amusement, and returning taking the privilege of wiping the blood from their axes on the skirts of their women. This was their religion as derived from Odin, and its inevitable tendency was to render them still more cruel and heartless, and to deaden all the finer feelings and sentiments of humanity and justice. They therefore had no compunction of heart or conscience against the remorseless cruelty of their piracies or the scenes of horror and desolation it produced.

The Saxons were unknown and unheard of until comparatively recent times. Tacitus, who carefully and accurately describes several people occupying Northwestern Europe in his day, says nothing about them. They are first noticed by Ptolemy about A. D. 140.¹¹ The probability is that they were then an association of various people, brought together, like the Franks of old or the modern Buckaneer, for the purpose of cultivation and practice in war, and exercising it in robbing and plundering the rest of mankind, who were more improved and had more property than themselves. They were destitute of letters and literature until about the tenth or eleventh century, long after the period of which we are now speaking. The songs of their career were the production of their memory, and repeated verbally. There were two branches of them—those of the interior, who are represented as smaller men, more peaceable, and inclined to the amenity of humanity; the other—of the sea shore—were larger men, such as their habits and course of life would produce. When they sallied out upon their piratical expeditions, they had but little to take with them, except their battle-axe and their sea-going vessel, which was generally made of wicker work and covered with hides—so light as to be frequently carried by land from one river to another.

⁹ Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Appendix to B. II, p. 163.

¹⁰ See Millet's Northern Antiquities, (in Bohn's Lib.) p. 104, "Those only whose blood had been shed in battle might aspire to the pleasures which Odin prepared for them in Valhalla." See also *Ibid.*, p. 138, "They looked upon this as a real act of justice—a visible mark that God intended. * * They

adopted this maxim in all its rigor, and gave the name of Divine judgment not only to the judicial combat, but to conflicts and battles of all sorts." This disposition of trusting, even the decision of justice, to battle, has come down to us in very modern times.

¹¹ Turner, p. 79.

These Saxons have been frequently described by writers of that day and authors of modern times.¹² "You see as many leaders as you behold rowers, for they all commanded, obey, teach and learn the art of pillage. Hence, after your greatest caution, still great care is requisite. This enemy is fiercer than any other; if you be unguarded they attack, if prepared they elude you. They despise the opposing, and destroy the unwary; if they pursue, they overtake; if they fly, they escape. Shipwrecks discipline them, not deter; they do not merely know, they are familiar with all the dangers of the sea; a tempest gives them security and success, for it divests the meditated land of the apprehension of a descent. Dispersed into many bodies, they plunder by night, and when day appeared they concealed themselves in the woods, feasting on the booty they had gained." The consideration of the consequence of the settlement of these people in Britain, and its effects upon it, until it had time to recover, must be postponed until it arrives in its proper place in the period of time.¹³

In the interview that Vortigern, as the sovereign of Britain, had with Hengist and Horsa, what effect it had upon him to be informed that they were Jutes and therefore not the Saxons who so long committed piracies and robbery on his country, cannot now be known; but certain it was they gained upon his confidence, and mutual hopes and expectation were raised—on the part of Vortigern that he had used political wisdom in employing these few foreigners as auxiliaries in his army, and save his own citizens to that extent in the harassing war with the Picts and Scots, just as was the policy exercised by the Americans in their late great rebellion in taking into their services a regiment of foreigners to fight their battle; on the part of Hengist, that he was engaged in an employment where he was well paid in rations and clothing,

and quarters where to stay, and also a hope of obtaining employment for some of his brethren that he had left at home. All this appeared fair enough at the time, and nothing unusual. But what effect it had on the mind of the British sovereign, when Hengist suggested that he had brethren at home who would also be glad to be employed in the same manner; to which at least he gave an assent that they might come. It is probable that both parties looked upon it as an everyday transaction, without any very deep penetration into its consequences in the future on the part of either. Nothing but the wisdom of Providence could have anticipated that. Vortigern was doing no more than what had been done by all the great monarchs of the world. It was no more than each taking advantage of the circumstances that surrounded them, and going ahead. Hengist wanted employment for himself and friends, and when the British sovereign assented to employ them he had no idea they would come in such vast hungry swarms as afterwards came. That was a phase of the understanding he had never assented to, and the consequences of which no one then ever dreamed. But the secret of the matter was, that at that time Northern Europe was overflowing with a surplus population, which was ready to overflow, as a deluge, the civilized world, and especially was that the case as to Britain. Already had Italy, and Spain, and Gaul, been overrun by the barbarian armies; but nowhere did they find so hard a task to acquire a dominion, however ingeniously was the entering wedge first placed, as the Saxons had in Britain, which cost them innumerable lives and a hard struggle for more than two hundred years before the question of its success was finally settled, though the contest went on for centuries longer. But the country of the Elbe and the Eider had plenty of idle men to spare, and they came in repeated swarms for ages; but Britain having been depleted, had no other country to depend upon for aid, and had no such resources to fall back upon; and when one piece of territory was given up, for the sake and hope of peace, it was

¹² Sidon. Apoll., B. 8, Ep. vi; Zorimus, B. iii; Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Appendix to B. ii, ch. i, p. 142; Miller's *Ibid.*, ch. vii, p. 64; Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, ch. iii; Mallet's Northern Antiquities, ch. vii, p. 131.

¹³ See Gibbon, xxxviii ch., p. 526.

sure to be made the vantage ground to take more.

In expressing just views upon this subject, Mr. Giles,¹⁴ who is no partial witness to the ancient Cymry, has eloquently and justly said: "It may, however be pardonable in an inhabitant of Britain, who rejoices in the proud situation which his little island occupies among the nations of the earth, to bestow a brief attention upon the protracted character of the contest between the Britons, and those treacherous allies, by whom they were subjected. It is pleasing to perceive, by the feeble light which our early writers have thrown over those transactions, that the same invincible spirit of national bravery which opens the view of British history, is manifest when the scene closes over it forever. Whilst we may decline to pass a harsh judgment upon Vortigern for being, perhaps ignorantly, the instrument of his country's ruin, other names occur in the ensuing generation, which deserve to be mentioned in the catalogue of the great men which Britain has produced. The first of these was Vortemir, the son of Vortigern, and his valiant deeds against the Saxons would be almost sufficient to efface the memory of his father's misfortunes."

While Hengist and his men were quartered on the island of Thanet, and supplied with rations and clothing as had been agreed upon, news came that their numbers had been receiving great accession of their countrymen; which caused some uneasiness among the Britons, and afforded grounds of speculation and distrust. That part of the Cymric people living in the southeast part of the island, called Loegrians, who were better acquainted with the Saxons and their character, and had suffered more from their depredations, were more suspicious and ready to denounce the whole arrangement with these suspected strangers. Vortigern and his immediate friends coming from their own state—Siluria—in the west part of the island, had never been troubled by the Saxon pirates, and therefore held the fears and

speculations of their eastern brethren in contempt, as the brave Silurians did the Saxons. Vortigern was then at London attending to national affairs, and Hengist becoming aware of the suspicion against him of his unfaithfulness and apprehension of his treachery, thought it advisable to keep the sovereign satisfied, and on his side. He therefore sent a pressing invitation to the king, as he was called, to come and pay him a visit at his quarters in Thanet and make an inspection of affairs there for himself. Vortigern accepts the invitation, and goes down with the pomp and circumspection belonging to his rank; and Hengist does all that his limited means would permit to meet him with proper demonstration. A review of men as a military force was had, and though Vortigern saw that their number was greatly increased beyond his expectation, and Hengist admitted the arrival of seventeen vessels, yet the king's apprehension was quieted by the loyal assurances of Hengist as to the faithful services they would be able to render him, accompanied with his own knowledge that they were but a small portion of his army necessary to drive back and punish their northern enemies.

But still a more unexpected affair, characterized with more skill and intrigue took place. The king was also invited to partake with the officers of the exiles, a festivity, which was gotten up in the best style they were capable of commanding. In the midst of the hilarity of the occasion, excited by a generous use of wine and ale, an unexpected actress was brought on the stage, the daughter of Hengist the chieftain—the famed Rowena—who acted her part with that art and address peculiar to the fair sex when determined at all cost to win and succeed. The story shall now be told by a distinguished English historian in his own words:¹⁵ "She was very beauti-

¹⁵ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, ch. ii, p. 29. Mr. Turner, on page 184 of his history, has this note: "Nenn. c. 36. Malmesbury, p. 9, mentions Rowena with an 'ut accepimus,' and H. Huntingdon, with a 'dicitur a quiburdam,' p. 310. The Welsh Triads, c. 38, call her Rowwen, and some of the late Welsh poems allude to her." So she appears to be an historical character on both sides, of which there can be as little doubt as of any other subordinate historical personage.

¹⁴ *History of Ancient Britons*, ch. xxiv, p. 392.

ful, and when introduced by her father at the royal banquet, she advanced gracefully and modestly toward the king, bearing in her hand a golden goblet filled with wine. Young people even of the highest rank, were accustomed to wait upon their elders, or those unto whom they wished to show respect. And when Rowena came near unto Vortigern, she said, in her own Saxon language, "*Wæs heal, hlaford conung.*" which means, "Health to thee, my Lord King." Vortigern did not understand the salutation of Rowena, but the words were explained to him by an interpreter. "*Drink heal*"—drink thou health—was the accustomed answer, and the memory of the event was preserved in merry old England, the *wassail-cup*—a cup full of spiced wine or good ale."

She undoubtedly must have been beautiful, having come to those shores with so many men, aboard of such piratical ships, and especially when having been selected to act so memorable a part. At all events the king was smitten, and given to understand that she was unmarried and in market. He may, however, have approached her with the same admiration that a lordly Virginia planter would to an extraordinary beauty imported from Africa. Be that as it may, the whole affair on her part was a success, and soon afterwards she was called his wife, and Hengist his father-in-law. The poor king had been intoxicated with both wine and love; and when a man is caught in such a trap, it is not easy to extricate himself; and when a nation is so unfortunate as to have their sovereign in such a box, then they are unfortunate indeed.

Soon after these events forty more vessels or Saxon chyules landed at Thanet, with Hengist's son and kinsmen, who on their way plundered the Orkneys and Scotland.¹⁶ Hengist's numbers were now mightily increased. And as their numbers increased so did their necessities, for increase of rations and provisions. They demanded larger supplies, and stated that if they were refused, they must plunder for their subsistence.¹⁷

When all these facts and incidents came to be known to the Britons, their indignation was raised to its utmost, and they were as spirited in their denunciations as when Cæsar attempted to land. Whatever demand Hengist and his original men had, they justly declared that the last comers had no claim upon the nation, and they were not bound to support all the Saxons who might be disposed to come. They therefore very spiritedly resisted these claims, and demanded that the Saxons should forthwith leave the island of Thanet, who were equally decisive that they would not, upon which war was inevitable. In the meantime the popular indignation ran as high against the unfortunate Vortigern as against the Saxons.

"The Saxons were, shortly after, the sole possessors of the island of Thanet," says another English historian,¹⁸ "and the influence of Vortigern's pretty pagan wife was soon visible to the jealous eyes of the Britons. Hengist and Horsa began to demand more liberal supplies, and to cast a longing glance upon Kent; but the Britons had spirit enough to resist such a concession. And here we for a time lose sight of Vortigern and Rowena, though it is highly probable that they retreated to the isle of Thanet, then held by the Saxons, from the coming storm."

It is not probable that Vortigern with his wife passed over to the enemies of his country, but retired for a while to some obscurity, *incognito*; and it is said that the general assembly immediately deposed him as pendragon, and appointed Guortemir (Vortimer), the son of Vortigern, in whom they had full confidence as to his patriotism and abilities, as the commander-in-chief of their army, who immediately prepared to meet the coming contest. In the meantime Hengist and Horsa proceeded to carry out their threats. They forthwith formed alliances with the Picts and Scots, who, between these several enemies, carried havoc and devastation into several parts of the country. The desolation that followed are forcibly depicted by the his-

¹⁶ 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxons, B. iii, ch. 1, p. 184

Ibid., p. 185; Bede, B. i, ch. 15.

¹⁸ Miller's Anglo-Saxons, ch. ix, p. 67.

torians of the times. Private and public edifices destroyed, the people slaughtered, and even priests slain at the altars, wherever the enemy prevailed, and the people fleeing for safety whenever they feared their coming. All sorts of outrages were perpetrated, and the people suffering this savage barbarity without distinction of persons or mercy.¹⁹ But the Britons were soon aroused to their defense where these injuries were committed, and the Saxons driven into Kent to the neighborhood of the isle of Thanet. By this time Hengist was greatly re-enforced by his countrymen, as though a preconcerted arrangement had been made equal to the occasion. Vortimer was now at the head of the British army, with his brother, Catigern, the two sons of Vortigern, in whom the people had full confidence, notwithstanding the odious position of their father, and these men proved themselves to be worthy of their confidence.

A conflict was soon brought on, and three decisive battles between these contending parties were fought—the first was in Kent, at the river Darent;²⁰ the second was at Eaglesford, now called Aylesford, also in Kent, and here Horsa, the brother of Hengist, fell, and his celebrated banner of the white-horse, which was supposed to be always victorious, was to rise in his hands no more. Catigern also perished in this great battle, as well as many a man on either side, but the victory was with the Britons. The third battle was fought at Stonar, on the sea shore of Thanet, fronting France, from whence the Saxons all fled in their chyules. These events were accomplished by Vortimer, which places him, for skill, courage and ability, with the great men in British history. "But fate," says Turner,²¹ "has obscured his title to celebrity. We may concede to him all the praise that Cambrian affection can demand, without believing that he pulled up a tree by the roots and with it as a club killed Horsa, and defeated the Saxons. Courage

has always been the characteristic of the Cymry, and they may disclaim, without injury to their glory, every impossible achievement."

These Saxon invaders having departed, the Britons began to rejoice with the hope that they had gone forever. It seems that upon their departure, they went to the low lands of the Rhine, and formed a settlement there where Leydon now is; but they were there only a year or two²² before they received news which induced them to return. Soon after the expulsion, Vortimer died, and it is said that his death was procured by means of poison, through machination of his step-mother, the beautiful Rowena. That charge is sometimes made without foundation, and of course we have no positive proof. But what is unfortunate in her case is, that she belonged to a family where such treacherous and violent deaths were often procured, as well as her connection with pirates, furnished grounds of suspicion. However this may be, word was sent to Hengist that Vortimer²³ was dead, and invited him to return, which was forthwith done. He returns with a greatly increased force, which this time was sufficient to establish him on the island. He landed at his old place on the isle of Thanet.

In the meantime Vortigern's party had returned to power, and he was recalled to the helm of the government. The excellent character and merit of his two sons, and their great service to their country, and untimely death, produced that sympathy for the father, as to enable them to renew their confidence in him, and forget his faults. It seemed as though his errors were covered up, as by an impenetrable cloak, in the merits of his sons, whose recent decease was mourned over by all. In

²² Nennius, ch. 25, says that "they were expelled from Britain, and that for five years they were kept out of the island, till Vortimer's death. See Turner as above.

²³ The patriotism of Vortimer was vivid at his death. He bequeathed that his body should be buried on the sea shore where he last saw the enemies of his country depart, as a warning against their return. In allusion to this, Gibbon says: "The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the sea shore as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished on the fields of Kent."

¹⁹ Bede, B. i, ch. 15; 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxon, B. iii, ch. 1, p. 185; Henry of Huntingdon, B. ii, p. 39.

²⁰ Nennius, §44.

²¹ Anglo-Saxon, 186.

the midst of this, news came from Thanet that Hengist had returned, and with it came a message from himself announcing the same, and claiming that he came with peaceable intention—hoping that all could be explained and made satisfactory.²⁴ This idea was seconded with animated joy by the wife of Vortigern, the pirate's beautiful daughter. Upon the questions now arising, there were great division of opinions as to the course that should be pursued—some hoped, and others denounced with partisan prejudice and blindness; some said that the Saxons might, as they promised, settle peaceably in Thanet and become useful citizens, while others denounced them as not worthy of being trusted—as dangerous and unworthy neighbors, who were more likely to be treacherous enemies than friends. Negotiations followed in which the Saxons were zealous in their declaration of peace and friendship, and regret for the misunderstanding that was past. To seal his sincerity for peace Hengist proposed a feast, where the principal men of both people should partake. It was agreed that both parties should come without their arms, and that the place of the festivity should be at or near Stonehenge, on May-day of that year.²⁵

This transaction has been denied and its truth vindicated by numerous authors.²⁶

²⁴ "No great revolutions of states occur," says Turner, (1 Hist. Anglo-Saxons, B. iii, ch. 1, p. 179) "without the preparatory and concurring operations of many political causes. The Saxons had for nearly two centuries been attacking Britain, with no greater success than the half-naked Scoti from Ireland had obtained. They plundered where they arrived unexpectedly. They were defeated when they encountered a military or naval resistance. Hengist and Ella would not have been more fortunate than their predatory countrymen who had preceded them, if the events of the day had not by their agencies conducted them and their successors from exile and piracy to the proprietorship and kingdoms of the English octarchy." The day had now arrived when they were disposed to hold on to what territory they had, and hoped for more, without at all knowing what was in reserve for them; which was only developed as they proceeded, and proceeded because they could not help it. They left their country from necessity—driven forward by circumstances, and blind faculty.

²⁵ 1 Pictorial Hist., B. ii, ch. 1, p. 133.

²⁶ 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxons, 180; Nennius, §46; Evans' Primitive Ages, p. 92; Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xxxviii, p. 524; Miller's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, ch. 1, p. 69; Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. 11, p. 30. See 1 Pictorial History of England, B. ii, ch. 1, p. 133. It is said, "This story, too, has been treated as a fiction by recent writers; but the same ingenious and accomplished inquirer

One of the internal evidences against it, is the fact that it took place at a place so far from the scene of their general operation. If it was said to have taken place in London, or in Thanet, or in Kent, it would appear more probable. But then it may be said that Stonehenge was a more central and convenient place for the chief and principal men of Southern Britain to meet, and to be witnessed by the people. And then the sacred reputation and memory of the place would give it, in the eyes of the people, a greater confidence and sanction. But it is said, that for the purpose of the feast the principal men of both nationalities accordingly met, and it was so arranged that one Saxon was placed between every two Britons. When the conviviality was at its height, and the intoxicating beverage well used and the sun not yet down, upon a preconcerted signal given by Hengist, which was "*Nimed ure saxes*," which meant draw your weapons, the Saxons drew their knives hid in their hose and assassinated the Britons on each side of them. This was as unexpected to the Britons as it was horrible and treacherous. In the struggle of death there was some hard fighting; but it is said that only three Britons of the party present escaped death, and one of these was Vortigern, who was probably permitted to escape, and the others were Eidol, count of Gloucester, and the prince of Venedotia,—the first only escaped by almost superhuman strength and presence of mind.

This again aroused the Britons to a terrible excitement against the Saxons, and determination again to expell them from the country; and the excitement was but little less against Vortigern himself than against the Saxons, whom the people now looked upon as the cause and means of so much of their difficulties and treachery to which they had been subjected. He was the object of their special denunciation, and has since been the subject of detestation in his-

who has vindicated the historical existence of Rowena, has also argued ably and powerfully in favor of the truth of this other ancient tradition. "The transaction," he observes, "certainly occurred; it has been unjustly brought into doubt." Britannia after the Romans, p. 46. See, also, Whitaker's Manchester.

tory and poetry. The general assembly was called of the notables of the several cities and states, and Vortigern again deposed, who then retired with his family to some obscure place on the west side of the island to die of some calamity or of disappointment or a broken heart. Aurelius Ambrosius, who is generally known and honored in British history as Emrys Wledig, was now called, too late, to the pendragonate. With a large party he had always been the political opponent of Vortigern. He was a native Briton, but was half, many of the people were part, Roman blood. He was a wise, patriotic and heroic chief, and eminently possessed the confidence of the people. It is said by some that he was commander-in-chief under Vortimer in those great battles by which the Saxons had been expelled from Thanet.

Immediately Ambrosius proceeded to carry on a wholesome and vigorous government, and as far as possible to put a stop to the unjust and wicked encroachments of the Saxons. Both the Britons and the Saxons were now preparing for a mighty struggle. Both saw it was inevitable, with the disposition of the Saxons to take whatever they could, right or wrong,—to which the Britons hoped to be able to put a check. They met in battle at Crayford on the Cray, near Bexley, in Kent. There Hengist and his son, Æse, had prepared themselves by calling in all the auxiliaries and aid they could; while it is said, that “the Britons mustered four powerful bodies of men, under four of their bravest chiefs. But when the game of war commenced they were disheartened by the unusual superiority of the Saxons in numbers. Besides the newly arrived were chosen troops, who dreadfully gashed the bodies of the Britons with their battle-axes and long swords,” who after a great slaughter fled to London. The probability is that it was a very severe battle, and great slaughter was sustained on both sides; for Hengist and his Saxons remained quiet for sixteen years, until 473, in the lower part of Kent without any attempted war on either side.²⁷

But it is probable that the Britons were frequently engaged, in the meantime, in repelling the attacks of their northern enemies and pirates, and that some peaceable arrangement was made with the Saxons who kept themselves in the south-eastern part of Kent near the sea shore. As evidence of the fact that the Britons had, during this peace, concluded to let the Saxons peaceably remain there if they would; for it seems they were not to be expelled except by annihilation; and it is the fact that in the year 470, at the solicitation of the emperor Authemius, and especially that of their kindred, the Armorican, to aid in the defense of Armorica, with whom there was always a fraternal relation, the Britons sent an army of 12,000 men under Uther. The object of this expedition was to aid their blood relation, the Cymry of Gaul, against an invasion by the Visigoths. This army under Urther, who by the continental historians is called Riethamus,²⁸ landed at Havre, others say up the Loire; but in consequence of the Romans failing to form a junction with them, after an engagement they retired to Berry, a province now in France. These Britons were from the south part of Britain, now Devonshire and Cornwall, remote from the Saxons, and cared but little about them, and probably relied upon the existing peace in their departure.

This long peace of sixteen years was at length broken, while Urther and his twelve thousand men were absent in Gaul, aiding their kindred in Armorica against the barbarians. In the meantime the Saxons in Kent were constantly acquiring strength by accession of friends from their old home; and now at a favorable time (473) Hengist and his son, Æse, brought about another

Vol. ii, p. 28, express their opinion that Hengist himself was confined to a small part of Kent. Turner says: “But when from these hyperboles of conquest we turn to the simple and authentic facts, that all the battles of Hengist, particularized by the Saxons, were fought in Kent, that one of the last contests was even in Thanet, (the battle of Wippidsfleet) in the extremity of his little kingdom, and no good evidence is extant of his having penetrated, except in his first depredation, beyond the region which he transmitted to his posterity.”

²⁷ See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, as above, 188; Mr. Carte's *Hist. Eng.*, 193, and Whitaker's *Manchester*,

²⁸ See Turner, *ut supra*. W. W. Jorndandes, the Gothic historian, is probably inimicable to these Britons. See, also, 1 *Pictorial Hist. of England*, B. ii, ch. 1, p. 134.

great battle, of which we have no name or particulars, in which, they say, they were victorious, and "took spoils innumerable." Fifteen years after that Æse succeeded his father, and, says Palgrave, "the son of Hengist appears to have been the first real king of the country; for he, and not his father, Hengist, was honored as founder of the Kentish dynasty. When Æse was fairly settled in his rich and fertile kingdom, he laid down the sword; his son and his son's son lived equally in peaceful obscurity. Ethelbert, the fourth in descent from Æse, gave great splendor to the state (A. D. 568—616); but Kent soon sunk into the condition of a dependent principality, beneath the sway of its more powerful rivals and neighbors."²⁹ During this long time, after the great battle of Crayford, fought the same year of the second landing (A. D. 457), there were only two other battles, —Wippidsfleet, (465,) an obscure battle in the lower border of Kent, and the battle of 473, of which we know nothing of its particulars. Here was a period of one hundred and fifty-nine years, and all after the first sixteen were in profound peace. This is contrary to the usual acceptation of the Saxon conquest, which was usually constant war and hard fighting. This can only be accounted for upon the principle that after the battle of Crayford there was no national opposition to them—that they were permitted to settle down in peace, in the southeast part of Kent, without any strenuous opposition. It is possible that it was little cared for, and that they were able to make peace and friendship with most of the original inhabitants of Kent, who, in the course of those six generations, became amalgamated and assimilated to the Saxon, and making a new race differing materially from either of the two former, and forming a new Kentish race or family. Hengist was expert in making friends with his enemies, whatever might be the result. What is very strong in favor of this proposition, is the fact that the gavel-kind tenure was retained there as the peculiar mark of the Kentish institution. That was not a Sax-

on or a Norman institution, but a Cambrian one; the very name is Cymric³⁰ The Britons, in the meantime, may have been earnestly engaged in aiding their own kin in Armorica, and opposing their serious enemies from the north; besides, in the depleted state the country was in, it probably may not have been a very easy matter to rally the distant parts to the rescue, as for instance the distant people of Lancaster and Cumberland counties, while the people of Kent were making no strenuous exertion against the strangers settling down amongst them; and as yet it was not perceived or anticipated what great revolution was commenced or going on.

It has been sometimes said, that the Saxon success was attributed to the contention and distraction of the Britons among themselves. This idea is founded upon the querulous and censorious charges of Gildas, without the statement of any fact to support it, except the just war of Arthur against his treacherous nephew, Mordred. Gildas, though a scholar, and probably an eloquent preacher, was not an historian, but a bigoted monk, who would with zeal and eloquence censure what he did not like in generalities, without any facts to support them. His censures were invectives, without reason or justice to support them.

§2—*The Saxon Immigration, and the Times of Arthur.* A. D. 447 to 550.

Hengist and his sons had now been constantly receiving accession to their population by emigrants from their original home, for more than twenty years. But as yet there had been no demonstration made to take any part of Britain, except the southeastern border of Kent. But now (A. D. 477.) twenty-eight years after the first landing of Hengist, arrived Ella,¹ a Saxon chief, with his three sons and his people. They came in three vessels and made good their landing on the sea shore in the south part of Sussex, and obtained a settlement with no great opposition. Eight years af-

²⁹ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. 2, p. 31.

³⁰ See the word in Webster's Dictionary.

¹ Turner, B. iii, ch. ii.

ter, their attempted progress to the interior was checked by a battle; and their progress along the coast was slow. Having received considerable succor of their friends, they ventured to attack a city in the neighborhood, which was skilfully fortified, and situated on the border of a woods and vast forest, extending many miles to the north-west, between Sussex and Hampshire. The city was called Andredes Carter, and the forest Andreade. The citizens, upon perceiving they were to be attacked, divided their forces into two parties—one retained to defend the fortification and city, and the other secreted in the woods. When the Saxons besieged the town and attempted to scale the walls, the party in the woods would attack them in the rear, and cause them to desist. This maneuver they successfully perpetrated three times with great loss to the assailants; which so exasperated the Saxons, that when eventually they succeeded in taking the place, in revenge for the long delay the brave defense had caused them, the merciless Saxons put every soul to death,—sparing neither man, woman nor child; such massacre had never before taken place.²

Notwithstanding constant arrivals of new immigrants in vessels from the neighborhood of the mouth of the Elbe, no great progress was made in the extension of their territory by the invaders; and Ella's dominion of Sussex never made any great figure in the conquest. Eighteen years after the arrival of the last named adventurer, another made his appearance with five ships. This was Cerdic, who with his companions became the most formidable enemy to the Britons. It is believed that his first landing was at Yarmouth on the

Isle of Wight, and six years afterwards (A. D. 501) he took possession of what was since known as Wessex; and the same year he was re-enforced by the arrival of his ally Porta, with two ships and men, who effected their landing at the place which has become Portsmouth.

Fifty years had now passed since the first landing of Hengist, and the invaders had only made scattering settlements, at considerable distances from each other, along the sea shore, from the Isle of Thanet to the Isle of Wight. A new generation of Saxons had grown up, natives of British soil, the most of whose mothers were native Britons. This gave them a new character and disposition, and began to form that which has become known as British and English nationality. As yet no great efforts had he made to advance into the interior. But Cerdic and his companions now began to manifest their restless and ambitious disposition, apparently more for the spoils and plunder of war than for conquest. For many years the Britons now hoped that the Saxons, settled along the south-eastern shores, would eventually become settled immigrants, and countrymen and friends. But too much had been done to embitter both sides; and Cerdic was now demonstrating too much of a disposition to conquer and oppress to hope for such a result.

In the meantime Ambrosius and Uther had distinguished themselves as able commanders in many a battle in defense of country, and also against the numerous barbarians, who were attacking and plundering on all sides, in Armorica as well as in Britain. At this time they were surrounded by enemies on all sides;—the piratical Franks and Saxons on the east side exposed to the German Ocean, the Picts and Scots on the north, bands of like plunderers from Ireland, known as Gwyddyl Ffichti, invading the western shores, and the Saxon immigrants on the southeast. It seemed as though the barbarians of the whole world had united to plunder southern Britain, and tear her to pieces. Then truly it was—"blessed are they who have nothing, for they will not be disturbed by robbers." In

² Miller's *Anglo-Sax.*, ch. 10, p. 74, who says: "Even the walls were leveled to the earth, and, for ages after, that town stood by the gloomy forest, ruined and desolate; even until the time of Edward I. it was pointed out to the stranger; and though the wild vegetation has grown grey upon its ruins, there were still traces of its fallen grandeur, which, in the words of the old chronicler, showed how noble a city it had once been." People became familiar with death and destruction; "those who left in the morning could not know who would stand to await their return; neither the weeping mother, nor the smiling child, had, in those days, power to turn aside the edge of the Saxon sword. Thus was the second Saxon kingdom called Sussex, established by Ella and his three sons." *Ibidem*.

the midst of such conflicts and distraction, it was difficult for the Britons to bring their forces to operate at any given point; every part of the country had its own peculiar enemies to contend with, and defend against them. And there is no doubt that the Loegrian-Britons of the northeast were less patriotic, and more inclined to yield to the Saxon invasion, and unite with them than the original Cymry or Cambrians; though originally they were one and the same people. However much the Britons were inclined to remain at peace with the Saxon settlers on the south-eastern shores, the demonstrations now making by Cerdic and his allies for the acquisition of extensive territory at the expense of neighbors, forbid all hopes on that score, and rendered further wars inevitable.

The country now coveted by Cerdic, and which was destined to become known as Wessex, was the native land of Ambrosius—Uther was there with his veteran experience, and Arthur, of future world-renown, was on hand in his youthful ardor and patriotic ability to war for the right in defense of his country. These matters brought on a warfare of continued battles for more than thirty years, which the Saxons were able to keep up by continued re-enforcement from their original home.

Cerdic's operations were for a long time confined to Hampshire, and first landed on some unknown shore called Cerdicora, and here, the Saxons³ say, "the people of the neighborhood assembled in great numbers and fought against them. The Saxons stood firm in order of battle before their ships, repelling the attacks of the islanders without pursuing them, for they never quit their ranks. The day was spent in alternate attacks and retreats, till night put an end to the conflict. The Britons retired, and neither party claimed a victory. Cerdic and his son, however, made good their occupation of the hostile territory, from time to time enlarging their possessions along the coast, though not without frequent wars with the natives."

This was soon followed by more important and national battles between the two races. One of these great battles (A. D. 508) is particularly distinguished, on account that it was brought about by Natanleod,⁴ the king of that part of the country, and in which he lost his life. This person was of high renown, and of an excellent character: and had made great preparation for the conflict. Cerdic and his son, for the purpose of meeting it, had obtained all the available aid they could;—from Kent, Sussex, and from Port and his sons, the last who had arrived. Their forces were mustered in two wings from the center, of which Cerdic commanded the right, and his son Cenric the left. Natanleod, observing that his enemy's right wing was the strongest, charged it with his whole force for the purpose of routing at once the most formidable part of the opposing army. His impetuous attack in a moment overthrew the standards, pierced the ranks, and put Cerdic to flight with great slaughter of his right wing. Meanwhile Cenric, perceiving his father's defeat, and the rout of his troops, led the left wing against the rear of the Britons, who were pursuing the fugitives. The battle was then renewed with fresh vigor, until the King Natanleod was slain, and the army routed, with five thousand of his men fallen in the field. This victory gave the Saxons a short respite; and its repute allured to them powerful auxiliaries. So says the Chronicles; and it is very probable, that it not only brought to them auxiliaries from the Saxons, but also from the fearful, hopeless and discontented of the Britons; for there never was a war in which one party did not seek to gain an advantage by inducing desertion from the opposite ranks. This must have been the case, unless the Saxons were different from any other people.

Soon after this, was fought, among the numerous battles of the day, the one so celebrated by the poets and bards of those times, known as the battle of *Loughborth*. The name indicates that it was where there was a harbor for ships; and it is probable

³ See Henry of Hunt. B. ii, p. 46.

⁴ Henry of Hunt. B. ii, p. 46; Turner, as above, p. 104; Miller's Anglo-Sax. ch. x, p. 75.

it was near where Southampton now is. This battle is described by Turner after great examination of authorities—Saxon as well as British; and from him we must take what is to be said in description of the battle:—

"In this conflict Arthur⁵ was the Commander-in-Chief; and Geraint ab Erbin, who was a prince of Devonshire, united with him against the Saxons. Llywarch Han,⁶ in his elegy on his friend, describes the progress of the battle. The shouts of onset, and the fearful obscurity which followed the shock are succeeded by the terrible incidents which alarm humanity into abhorrence of war. The edges of the blades in contact, the gushing of blood, the weapons of the heroes with gore fast dropping, men surrounded with horror, the crimson gash upon the chieftain's brow, biers with the dead and reddened men, a tumultuous running together, the combatants striving in blood to their knees, and ravens feasting on human prey, compose the dismal picture which this ancient bard has transmitted to us of a battle in which he was personally engaged.

"The valiant Geraint was slain, slaughtering his foes.' The issue of the conflict is not precisely stated, but some ambiguous expressions concur, with the absence of all triumphant language, to indicate that the Britons did not prevail * * * * The Saxon Chronicle says, that a very noble British youth fell on that occasion, but does not mention his name."

The poets of the day describe other battles conducted by Arthur, and the historian Nennius tells of his having fought twelve great battles, with the Saxons and other enemies of his country, and tells where they were fought; the most of which it is now difficult to identify. But the last and great battle of Arthur with the Saxons was that of Badon hill, in which it appears the Britons triumphed; but Gildas intimates that of the numerous previous battles the Britons and Saxons alternately conquered.

This last battle is supposed to have been fought near Bath; but its particulars, both as to its date, location and circumstances, are not clearly told; but we gather the information it was a terrific battle, and a triumph rather for the Britons than for the Saxons; for they remained perfectly quiet for many years. It is claimed that this battle was in A. D. 519, and that the Saxons made no great demonstration to encroach after that until A. D. 552, making thirty-three years of unusual peacefulness on their part.

In the meantime, however, many a battle was fought of a partisan or local character, commenced by some raid made by the Saxons to acquire land, property or plunder from the Britons. Of this character was an attack made at this time (A. D. 514) by a new body of Saxon men, in three ships, and led by Stuf and Whitgar, two kinsmen of Cerdic, on the Isle of Wight. The people of that island mustered what force they could command with much skill to oppose their landing and settlement, which proved unsuccessful; and this conquest became an addition to Cerdic's dominion of Wessex. Such isolated raids and battles were frequent, yet for a long time there was no general movement made by the Saxons who had settled on the north-eastern shores of Britain towards the interior. This was brought about by the exertion made by Arthur, which culminated in the battle of Badon. The Saxon chronicles, which up to this time had every few years been noticing some great battle in their favor, were now silent for more than thirty years. This peace was indicative on the part of the Saxons that in their attempt on the interior from the sea shore they had received an effectual check, which they were disposed to quietly enjoy; and on the part of the Britons, a hope that they would be thus disposed to enjoy what they then had, and in which they had enjoyed the possession, in some part, for more than three-quarters of a century; and of which they could not be dispossessed without driving some from their native soil. It was then probable that the Britons were disposed to submit to this result, especially

⁵ Turner, B. iii, ch. iii, p. 194.

⁶ A celebrated British poet. See Stephenson's *Literature of the Cymry*, p. 10. The word *Han* means old, and is pronounced haen, or hayne.

among the Loegrians or southern Britons.

This check in the progress of the Saxons, and lull in the affairs of Britain was unquestionably due to the effort and genius of Arthur. The actual facts, and merits of Arthur, are sufficient to place him among the renowned men and heroes of Britain and western Europe. But he has become so much the favorite subject of poets and authors, that there has been added to his real action so much of tradition, legend, fable and romance, that truth has been disguised by the ornaments of fiction. He has been made the principal author of chivalry, and the hero of the round table at which sat equality and justice. He was made the hero of enterprises, who, as the great sovereign that had brought to his subjection and rule not only all Britain, but also France, Germany, Denmark and Sweden, so that he was the great monarch of western Europe. The story has been told in poetry and prose,—in verse and history, so that it has become fascinating and amusing to all classes of people, and has made him the renowned hero of the Christian world. He goes forth with a Celtic generosity, and the embodiment of chivalry, with the image of the Virgin on his shield, with his celebrated sword in his hand, to vindicate justice and relieve the oppressed.

But there is enough in the true history of Arthur, when relieved of this accession, to render him a true hero and secure him in renown. He was the son of the renowned Uther, who as pendragon had succeeded Aurelius, and was born at Tintagel Castle in Cornwall. His mother was Eigra, a princess of Cambria, and on her side the celebrated scholar, divine and prelate, St. David, was his uncle, by whom he was educated at Cærlleon on the Usk. While quite young he served as an officer under his father, Uther, with great distinction, which indicated his future greatness, in those two great battles—Longborth, and that in which Natanleod (Nathan Lloyd) was slain. Then Uther⁷ departed this world as Ambrosius had before him, each heroically

contending to check the advance of the Saxons, who were continually renewing their forces by fresh importation from the continent. Ambrosius had curbed within narrow bounds the progress of Hengist, and Æse and Ælla, in the east; and Uther had exhausted his life in checking the vaulting ambition of Cerdic towards the west, which was now pushed forward with that energy and force as to become frightful to the existence of the Britons. Cerdic was now aided by all the force and power Saxon influence could bring to bear to advance their progress. Not only was he aided by importation from abroad, but Kent and Sussex were now sending native Saxons to assist in the conquest they hoped to accomplish. Arthur was now called, on the death of his father, to the pendragonate, and it was left to him to meet and curb the westward movement of Cerdic and his son, Cenric. Then transpired some of those twelve great battles of Arthur, enumerated by the historian Nennius, and so sublimely referred to by old Llywarch and other British poets of that age, and which culminated in the great battle of Badon. It is claimed by the Britons that though that battle was one of terrific slaughter on both sides, it was still a decided victory for them, and in support of the claim is the fact, that Cerdic was checked and for many years curbed within his sea shore possession.

In the battle of Badon, Arthur was aided by a body of Armoricans, sent to him as allies by his kindred people and their king, Howell, upon his solicitation and promise to aid them in return against the barbarians who were attacking them in Armorica. Such reciprocal aid was always and continually going on between these kindred people, as was done by Casswallon in the times of the Venetians, and in the then very recent times by Uther. Arthur being satisfied as to the check and limits that had been put on the progress of Cerdic, deemed that a favorable moment to perform his promise to aid his friends, the Armoricans, in return for the aid he had received from them. He accordingly passed over to the continent, and was there

⁷ See Turner, B. iii, ch. 3, p. 197, and notes *u*, *z* and *a*.

engaged in the wars against the barbarians. It is said that while there he rendered great military service, and formed a confederacy of Arnoricians and other Gauls in an expedition against the barbarians of the north, and checking the Saxons by carrying the war into their own home and country. The northern historian⁸ alludes to a transaction of this kind, which may form a particle of truth for the romantic account of his great northern conquest. After an absence of about five years he returned to Britain, where he found his affairs in a most distracted condition. When he left Britain he had confided the management of his affairs at home and with his people with his nephew, Modred, who was an artful, plausible and popular man, especially with the Loegrians and the Roman party. He had betrayed his duty to Arthur, had seduced a portion of the people into his favor, and set up his political interest against that of his principal. But what was still more unprincipled, it is said he had stolen the affections of Gwenhyfar, the wife of his distinguished uncle.⁹ His treason is denounced by the Cymry, and his name consigned to infamy in the triads, as "the third arch-traitor of the Isle of Britain." Partisans became arrayed against each other, and these lamentable and untoward events, made war inevitable. After various conflicts the parties came to a final battle at Camlan (Camelford) in Cornwall. It is reported as a most terrific battle, in which a great number of men were slain on both sides, and in which both Arthur and Modred fell mortally wounded. The former was carried by his friends to the monastery of Avallon, Glastonbury, where he was tenderly cared for, but nothing could save him from death.

This unfortunate event produced among the Britons great lamentation, and they could not be comforted. They execrated everything and everybody who were the cause of it, and particularly Modred as the special cause. It was an untoward national calamity, and it is probable that it was

this which induced Gildas' scurrility as to the partisan and distracted character of the people. But it is difficult to see how it is to be charged to the people, any more than that of Absalom against David or that of Brutus against Cæsar. Such unfortunate dissensions have happened among all people; but certain it is, it is not in the mouths of Saxons of the Heptarchy, after their war and treachery upon each other, to charge it upon the Cymry. Notwithstanding the bitter reproaches with which Modred is branded by the Cambrians, because their favorite Arthur was slain in a war which his treason had produced, still in their record they admit his gentleness, good nature, his affability and engaging conversation, and declare that it was difficult to deny him any request. But it is of such material that traitors are formed; for a patriot it requires the further qualities of a good heart and sound principles.

The death of Arthur was long concealed; it was reported, and their great poet, Taliesin, industriously sung that he had withdrawn from the world to some magical region, from whence, at a proper time, he would return to lead the Cymry in triumph throughout the island. "The Ancient Britons lived and breathed in poetry," says Thierry;¹⁰ but it was a poetic idea to express a hope that yet some one would appear, imbued with the spirit and genius of Arthur, to redress their wrongs and retrieve their country—a conviction that God was just, and would not permit them to be robbed of their country and property with impunity. But upon all occasions and under every circumstance did the Cymry, as Britons, bravely and perseveringly defend the right and maintain their freedom; that even after Saxons had given it up, the Normans in the time of Henry II (A. D. 1189) conceived it as an easy way to conquer to convince the Cymry that Arthur was really dead and buried. Upon some occasion when that monarch visited Wales, an aged bard disclosed to him where, in the cemetery at Glastonbury, the grave of Arthur was to be found. The

⁸ Saxo-Grammaticus, the historian of Denmark.

⁹ Turner, *ut supra*.

¹⁰ *The Norman Conquest*, B. i. p. 53.

king took an occasion in a very open manner, with a number of persons, among whom was Giraldus Cambrensis, to resort to Glastonbury to test the truth of his information. He communicated to the abbot and monks of the monastery the information he had received, and also that the body had been buried very deep to keep it from the Saxons,—that it would be found not in a stone tomb, but in a hollowed oak. They dug at the designated place till they came to a leaden cross lying under a stone, which had this inscription, and which Giraldus says he saw and handled: "*Hic jacet sepultus Rex Arthurus in insula Avallo-nia.*"¹¹ Some distance below this, a coffin of hollow oak was found, containing bones of an unusual size. The skull was large, and showed the marks of ten wounds. Nine of these had concreted into bony mass, but one had a cleft in it, and the opening still remained, apparently the mortal blow.

The bones were removed into the great church at Glastonbury, and deposited in a magnificent shrine, which was afterwards placed by order of Edward I, before the high altar. He visited there with his queen, in 1276, and had the shrine of Arthur opened to contemplate his remains, which they both did with great interest, and then had them reverently returned to the shrine. These are the actual facts in relation to Arthur's life, as near as they can be gathered from actual history, but which have been buried up in other writings of romance, stories and legends, which has induced those inimical to his memory to deny his existence, and claim he was a mere myth. But one can hardly believe that this story about the bones is a mere hoax to deceive and mollify the Cymry, for there are too many facts to prove the sincerity of the transaction; but however that may be, the actual existence of Arthur

can be no more doubted than that of Cerdic and Edward I. But the transaction had no effect on the Cymry, for whether he was buried or not, the poetic idea remained vivid in the hearts of brave and patriotic men.

§3.—*The Establishment of the Saxon States North of the Thames. A. D. 530 to 600.*

During the latter part of the time just passed over, while the Saxons in the west were quiet, restrained from further progress west after the battle of Badon, another body of Saxons arrived in Britain under Erkenwin, and settled east of London and north of the Thames, laying the foundation for the kingdom of Essex. This tide of emigration, a few years later, brought another body of men, who were said to belong to the tribe called Angles, who settled in what is now Norfolk and Suffolk, and established the kingdom of East Anglia. And a few years still later came the most formidable force that ever arrived in Britain, since the time of the Romans, under Ida and his twelve sons, and laid the foundation of another kingdom, known as Northumberland, between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. These came in forty ships, and consisted of Angles and Saxons proper, and their settlement became one of the most formidable states of the Saxon conquest. These states were formed between A. D. 535 and 550; so that at the latter date there had such partial settlement been formed by this Saxon fraternity along the eastern and southern coasts of Britain, all the way from the mouth of the Tweed to that of the Avon. The kingdom of Northumberland was sometimes divided into two kingdoms,—that of Bernicia on the north, between the Tweed and the Tyne, and that of Deira on the south and north of the Humber. Thus we perceive that until after A. D. 550, a hundred years after the first Saxon settlement by Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon acquisitions were limited to the sea shore, leaving the great body of the interior of what is now England untouched by them. This great body of the territory of Britain, afterwards

¹¹ This Latin inscription on the leaden cross has caused suspicion and examination; but it was found that Latin was commonly taught in the schools, and that the letters corresponded with those of Arthur's day. If the transaction had been an imposition the inscription would, unquestionably, have been in the language of the Cymry—Cymraeg. See Turner's Hist., ut supra, p. 201, n. g; also, Whitaker's Manchester.

known as Mercia, may be said to be then bounded on the east by these Saxon states, south by the Thames, west by the central ridge, or the British Apennines, and north unlimited. It included London in its south-eastern angle. Besides North and West Britain, this great territory was still entirely in the possession of the Britons, entirely under their laws and government. All Britain was then divided up into small local states, kingdoms and principalities, probably corresponding with those of ancient times, at the advent of the Romans; and these were united in a confederacy, with a common head as a sovereign, called the pendragon or penteyrn. He was sovereign of the confederacy, and commander-in-chief of its forces. He was frequently a sovereign of one of the minor states, but without regard to that, he was elected to the position by a general assembly of delegates from the several states, but his jurisdiction and authority was confined to matters which interested the confederacy, and not those which were confined specially to the interest of a minor state. It was an office subject to the control of the general assembly, which might remove him, as was done in the case of Vortigern. He was elected on account of his supposed abilities and fitness for the position, as for instance, Nennius says: "Then it was that the magnanimous Arthur, with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more nobler than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen their commander, and was often conqueror." (§49.) This undoubtedly means, that there were others who on account of their hereditary estates and rank in society were his superiors, but he was elected on account of his great abilities and fitness for the position. Possibly that in these respects Modred was his superior. Just what Nennius has said of Arthur, might be said of our Washington when first appointed.

After the Saxons have now formed and established their several settlements and states along the sea border, it is well, before they move out for the acquisition of more territory, that we should look over the

whole ground and see how the affairs of each party actually stand. It is probable that it was a long time after Hengist first made his appearance, and offered his feeble force of a few hundred men as auxiliaries to the British forces, before the Britons dreamed there was danger of a conquest, or of their being overrun by a foreign immigration. They probably held such an idea in contempt; and so they might, if it had not been for the rapid and continued re-enforcements that came to them from Germany for about one hundred years, and until they had at least three generations of Saxon Britons born upon the soil. They would say that it took all the skill and power of the Roman empire forty-two years of constant effort and fighting to conquer us, and now is it to be done by these desultory pirates? Impossible! Hengist only asks for land enough for him and his men to settle upon, and for which they promise loyal service. Four or five years passed before it was discovered that they were greatly increasing in numbers, and increasing their demands still faster. And when Vortimer drove and expelled them from the land, it was not on account of the fear of any conquest, but on account of the outrageous impudence of their demands. When they returned it was under the specious garb of friendship and the proposition to settle down as friends. And Hengist and his people were confined to the lower part of Kent, until now every Kentish man of a Saxon origin were natives of the soil, and many of whose mothers were native Britons; and to drive them from the land into the sea would have been such an act of cruelty as to require the hard heart of a Saxon pirate to accomplish.

Besides these considerations which aided the Saxon conquest, there were others that more essentially contributed to the same end, in the difference of population between the east and the west side of Britain. The population of all Britain except the extreme northwest, was essentially Cymry—originating from the same ethnic family, speaking the same language, differing only in dialect, perhaps not so much as the English of Lancashire differs from that of

Kent. Still there was a distinction—those of the west were known as Cambrians, and the east as Loegrians; there were later immigrants from the original family in Gaul, and received here as friends and brethren; and though they were the same people, yet the latter were looked upon as new comers. They were much mixed, readily associated with each other, still there was a line of distinction between them, probably as we now find a line of distinction between the Pennsylvanians and the Virginians. Conventionally that line was found running south with the British Apennines towards the Isle of Wight, in the vicinity of the Avon. The only exception to this homogeneity of population, was that ancient settlement south of the Humber, known as the Coranians,¹ and that other colony established by Probus in the neighborhood of Cambridge. Though these had assimilated in the long course of the many generations of their stay, and had become Britons, still there was an indefinite distinction that the Saxons appreciated and courted to their advantage. These readily coalesced with the Saxons, and who, in consequence of it, showed them much favor. As the most decided opposition and hostility to the Saxons came from the Cambrians, the former showed more favor also to the Loegrians, who in a great measure united with the Saxons, and were swallowed up by them as they advanced. Against that advancement the Britons exerted, with great patriotism and bravery, all their available means, but in consequence of the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded on all sides, each locality being compelled to care for themselves, it was impossible to bring the force of the nation to defend any particular place chosen by the Saxons as their point of attack. Those of the north even united with the Picts, in making a common cause against the Britons. The threatening hostilities of Ida at the north and that of Cerdic at the south,

would prevent the Britons of those distant points in uniting, while the Saxons would increase at any desirable point by immigration from abroad.²

Soon after Ida became firmly settled in Deira, he began to extend his dominion west. The west side of Britain from the mouth of the Clyde to Cambria was occupied by two larger political divisions,—the northern one called the Strath Clyde—y-strad-Clyde, *i. e.*, the valley of the Clyde, and the southern Cumbria, and the people were as decided Cymry as those of Cambria itself. These were divided, as all the rest of Britain, into smaller states and principalities. Among them was that of Reged, and this was the proper dominion of Urien, who was the distinguished hero of that time and was made pendragon or wledig of the whole confederacy. After the departure of the Romans the Cymry paid great attention to literary improvements, as such schools as those of Caerleon and Bangor, and such scholars as Pelagius, St. David, Gildas, Nennius, the numerous Welsh poets, and Asser, the friend and companion of Alfred, prove. No less in these respects were the northern dominions, until their course of improvement was annihilated by the wars of their enemies. These countries produced those great poets, Llywarch Hen, Taliesin and Aneurin. But these matters did not in the least restrain the destroying hands of the Saxons. Ida soon made his invasion upon them, and his terrific course was witnessed by wild destruction—in the flames of burning buildings, that they denounced him by no other name than as the Flamddwyn, the flame-bearer. But he is met by the heroic Urien and his people, who are celebrated by their poets in epic poetry; who sung, that when their barbarous enemy demanded hostages, replied, "No, we will give thee no hostages;" and

¹ Thierry, that impartial French historian of the Norman conquest, says (B. i. p. 14): "The ancient population of the Coranians, established for several centuries south of the Humber, and whom so long a sojourn among the Britons had not reconciled with them, readily joined the Anglo-Saxon invaders as they formerly joined the Romans."

² "The twelfth battle was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the hill of Badon," * * * "in all these engagements the Britons were successful," * * * "The more the Saxons were vanquished, the more they sought for new supplies of Saxons from Germany; so that kings, commanders and military bands were invited over from almost every province. And this practice they continued till the reign of Ida, who was the son of Eoppa, he, of the Saxon race, was the first king in Bernicia, and in Cair Ebrauc (York)." (Nennius, §49.)

Urien, the chief of the land then cried: "Children of one race, united by one cause, let us, having raised our standard on the mountains, rush into the plain; let us throw ourselves upon the flame-man, and combine in the same slaughter, him, his army, and his auxiliaries."³

It would seem that Urien, at the head of his patriotic northern Britons, gained several victories over the confederate Saxons and Picts, and that the chief of the Germans perished on the banks of the Clyde.⁴ But in the great final battle of Cottraeth, in which a large number of noble men wearing the golden collar were slain, the cause of the Britons was lost.⁵ This fixed the Saxons in the north, and enabled them to unite the two states of Bernicia and Deira into one kingdom of Northumbria.⁶

Cerdic and his son Cenric after the battle of Badon refrained from pressing westward, but in the meantime, by a considerable battle and much slaughter, subdued the Isle of Wight to his command. But now, (A. D. 552,) Arthur being dead, and Ida having his demonstrations at the north, Cenric, who had succeeded his father, Cerdic, now began to manifest his intention to take what territory he could, met the Britons in battle near where Salisbury has since been built, or perhaps at Old Sarum, where a very severe contest was had, which, after many lives lost on both sides, resulted in favor of the Saxons.

That result, however, was such as to keep Cenric quiet for another space, of four years, when he advanced again to meet the Britons at Banbury. The Britons here to meet him were in considerable number, and formed with great military

skill; and "their battle array," says Henry of Huntingdon, "was formed in nine battalions,—a convenient number for military tactics,—three being posted in the van, three in the centre, and three in the rear, with a chosen commander to each, while the archers and slingers and cavalry were disposed of after the Roman order. But the Saxons advanced to the attack in one compact body with such fury, that the standards being dashed together and borne down, and the spears being broken, it became a hand-to-hand fight with the sword. The battle lasted till nightfall, without either party being able to claim the victory." This description of the battle, given by Henry, will well suffice for those of innumerable others fought along the whole line of the Saxon frontier, or *Mark* or *March*, as the border limits between the two nationalities were always called by the Saxons, from the mouth of the Southern Avon to that of the Tweed. Every division of territory was made a battle field, which was not to be given up without a heroic contest for the right. For seventy years after the last date (A. D. 552) the like battles and conflicts were renewed, until thousands upon thousands of men were slaughtered, towns and houses burnt, and the country, in many instances, rendered a desolate waste. But still constant immigration came into Britain from the neighborhood of the Elbe, to recruit and fill up the gaps made in the army of the Saxon invaders. This enabled them to progress at one point or another, and whatever they once acquired they were thus able to hold.

It was long before Wessex was able to extend their dominion west of the Avon; that river long remained the limits between the Saxons and the Cymry,⁷ as it had been between the latter and the Loegrians. Stonehenge and Avebury, and the great monuments of their ancestors, were still within their territory and jurisdiction.

During the period we are now considering two events transpired which demand our notice before passing to another: the establishment of Mercia as a separate state or kingdom; and next, the introduction of

³ See Thierry, *ut supra*, p. 13, who cites Tallein; *Archæology of Wales*. See, also, Turner.

⁴ See, as above, Turner, p. 209, n. 7. Thierry as above.

⁵ This is the subject of the great poem of Aneurin—the Gododin.

⁶ Palgrave, in his *Anglo-Saxon* (B. ii), says: "Ida's dominions were intersected by tracts still intersected and belonging to the Britons, who ultimately yielded to the invaders. In Deira the progress of the Angles was slow; York, it is true, had been plundered by the Saxons, (A. D. 501), and archbishop Sampson compelled to take refuge in Armorica or Brittany; but until the accession of Ella (A. D. 559-590) Deira is not known to have been subject to any English king. Ella was not of the family of Ida; both were children of Woden."

⁷ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. ii, p. 33.

Christianity among the Saxons.

We have already pointed out that great interior territory of Britain lying between the Cymry on the west, and the narrow border occupied by the Saxons on the east and south. This territory was almost as large as all the rest of England. It had a large population scattered through it, and many towns and cities. Its people were more diversified in origin and character than any other part of Southern Britain at the advent of Hengist. The larger part of them were Loegrian⁸ Cymry, some the Cymry proper, the Coranians, the colony established by Probus, some more or less of the mixture of the Roman blood were left here; and occasionally, in the meantime, a Saxon one after another would enter as a peaceful citizen, form his family connection and raise his offspring, which they would think to be much more agreeable than to be slaughtered in Saxon service in order that a Hengist, or a Cerdic, or an Ida might rule under pretense of divine right. For many years this large district of England so progressed, while the country remained under the old British local, state and city government; and London⁹ was one of these, at its very south-eastern angle. London was never taken by the Saxons, for the reason that their strong walls gave them some protection, and might, by its capacity to manufacture and administer to the wants of the Saxons, induce them to take a tribute rather than burn it down, as was done with many other cities. It was, long afterwards, for a short time tributary to Essex; but was soon relieved of such annoyances, and was part of Mercia, and finally part of Middlesex without ever being robbed, plundered or burnt by the Saxons, as many other places were. It possessed a large population at the time the Romans left, and since then many others sought its protection as a place of safety. Its population was quite

heterogeneous, mostly Cymry and Loegrians, with many natives of a Roman descent, and many foreign adventurers. These and their descendants became English without their being aware of the transition.

This central territory called Mercia, from the Saxon word Mark or March—the boundary—was from time to time entered by Saxon adventurers, generally seeking to settle among the Britons as peaceable citizens; but at length (A. D. 585—593) there appeared among them a Saxon, who claimed to be a prince, and Crida by name, and like most of them desirous to obtain some political position. What he had been was uncertain; but it is generally supposed he was a vassal under the supremacy of Northumbria. He obtained some retainers and set up some dominion of his own. War and battles ensued; but the conflict was peaceably settled by a treaty, that Crida should exercise his claim of sovereignty, and that the people of both, or all, nationalities might settle down in peace—all enjoying equal rights. Crida at his death left his possessions, of uncertain extent, to his son, Pida or Wippa, who in the due course of nature in the same manner left it to his son, Penda, (A. D. 626,) a man of great ambition and energy, but entirely destitute of any righteous principles. He was of the age of, at least, fifty years when he assumed the government of Mercia, and for thirty years with uncommon activity and vigor kept the surrounding states in continual warfare. That the prince and people of any of the neighboring states were inclined to be peaceable, was sufficient cause for him to attack them, illustrating by his practice, his pagan principles of Woden, that man's true existence was only war, and his only acceptable destiny was the death of a soldier. At the age of eighty he fell in battle with Oswy of Bernicia, into which he rushed with the fury of a madman, and which his opponent could not avoid by earnest prayer for peace.¹⁰

⁸ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. ii, who says: "The Britons of Loegria appear to have united more readily to their invaders; they appeared to have less nationality."

⁹ Palgrave, same as above, who says: "I doubt much whether London was ever incorporated in any Anglo-Saxon kingdom; and think we must view it as a weak tributary, vassal state."

¹⁰ 1 Turner's Anglo-Sax., B. iii, ch. viii, p. 244-S, who says: "We may infer from an intimation of Nennius that Penda first separated Mercia from the kingdom of the Northern Angles, it must have been in subordination to the kingdom of Deira, which

§4.--*The Introduction of Christianity Among the Saxons.*

The Saxons who settled and established the Heptarchy in Britain were frequently distinguished and divided into three families or branches—the Jutes, Angles and Saxons. But they were generally called by the latter name, as the general name for all. They were known and called by the Britons by no other than the general name of Saxons. They were all of the same race—the Teutonic—the same manners, habits and customs, of the same religion, and differed only in dialect as to language. All their chiefs and leaders claimed to be the immediate descendants of their god Woden, who was claimed to be the divine author and head of their religion; and these chiefs claimed their sovereignty by divine right to rule, and there was no other test of right. Their religion was unmitigated paganism, and so far as humanity was concerned, of the very worst stamp. War and slaughter, blood and carnage, were among the first elements of their religion. Their hopes of heaven and a life of future reward was founded upon it. It was, therefore, a great boon to them, so far as humanity was concerned, to have offered to them the doctrines and principles of Christianity. On the other hand the Britons were Christians, well taught in its soundest principles according to the learning of the day. Their clergy had attended the various great Christian councils, and were well informed as to what was orthodox doctrines of the Church. The people had listened to the great polemic discussion upon the great subjects of philosophy and metaphysics involved in the doctrines of Pelagius, as well as its theology. They were a people fond of literature and its cultivation, as is evident from their culture of what came to them from the ancient Druids, as well as their own literature, produced in the sixth and twelfth centuries, in the midst of all the difficulties with

which they were surrounded. And as evidenced also by the great schools they had at Winchester, Cærlæon, Bangor and Cærlisle.

It is sometimes queried why the Britons did not teach Christianity to the pagan Saxons. The reason why is perfectly manifest. They met in too severe a hostility and conflict for such a thing to be possible; and then the Saxons were too rude and illiterate pagans, and the principles of their paganism too deeply rooted in the very cause and business that brought them to Britain and kept them there. It required them first to be educated and improved by what they found and received in Kent, and the long peace of a hundred and fifty years which they enjoyed there, so different from the rest of their countrymen, in order to prepare them for the change, which was adopted but very gradually. These reasons, with the unjust war and hostilities that they brought with them upon Britain, are obvious answers to the inquiry. But in the progress of Providence the great change was wrought upon them, through the instrumentality of Pope Gregory, who then (about A. D. 596) occupied the "Chair of St. Peter," at Rome. It is said that Gregory, at an early period in his life, in going through the market on one occasion, observed some children there, of great beauty and fair complexion, offered in the market for sale as slaves, which induced him to inquire where they were from, and was informed they were from Deira in Britain. Upon hearing the name of the country, he made a play on words and said in his Latin language: "*De ira Dei liberandi sunt*,"—from the wrath of God they are to be delivered. And upon making further inquiry, he took great interest in the island, and the spiritual welfare of its people. But these poor beautiful children whose interesting appearance was leading to so great results, who were they? We are not exactly informed—if they were of a fair complexion they were as likely to be the children of British Celts as Saxon Teutons. If the former, then they were selling the children of their conquered enemies; but if of the latter then they were

formed its northern frontier." Up to the time of Crida, Mercia remained untouched by the Saxons in possession of the Britons, and it is probable that he went into it as an emigrant and colonist from Deira, and made a settlement in the midst of the Britons.

selling their own children, or that of their own people—we are not informed which.

But however that may be, Gregory never rested easy until he accomplished his humane and benevolent object, of Christianizing the people. Of the people he knew little or nothing, except what he saw and heard there in the slave market. Being a scholar, though of that rude and ignorant age, he may have read Cæsar and Tacitus, about the Britons, but that was uncertain. But, as I have already said, Britain had become an unknown land to Italy and the east, in consequence of the destruction and desolation brought upon Western Europe by the savage barbarity, with which the country had been desolated by the barbarians of the north, who had overrun it. The Roman roads had gone to decay; the former civilization had disappeared before the savage ferocity of those who were plundering and desolating the land. Accommodations for travelers had disappeared, and robbers and pirates had become so numerous as to render it dangerous to travel. By these means Britain had become a distant and an unknown land at Rome, and it was considered dangerous to go there. Gregory then had no knowledge or idea that at that time there was a Christian community in Britain, with their bishops and priests, and well organized church, imbued with the sound, primitive doctrines of Christianity as in any part of the world; and with such scholars as Gildas, and others, who were able to read and quote “Virgil, the Ecclesiastical Fathers, and the Holy Scriptures of both Testaments”; and all this taught in their schools and practiced in their churches. If Gregory had been told all this it would have been entirely new to him. However, he was bent upon the project of carrying the tidings of great joy to the pagan and heathen; and for that purpose he selected Augustin and forty other monks to accompany him, and commissioned them on a mission to Britain. They started on their journey, and were commended by the Pope to several persons and places on their way, invoking their aid in their laudable and Christian undertaking. But after proceeding some

considerable distance on their way, they became so discouraged by the dangers and difficulties of the way, that they sent back some of their numbers to represent matters to Gregory, and beg of him to recall them and excuse them from their hard and dangerous task.

But the Pope was not to be turned away from the great object of his hopes and aspiration. He told them that now to turn back from their mission was a greater disgrace and shrinking from duty, than to have refused it in the first instance. He commanded them in God’s name to proceed, and for Christ’s sake to accomplish their mission. They accordingly proceeded, and after a time landed in the Isle of Thanet, and sent a messenger to the sovereign of Kent soliciting an interview. The king of Kent at that time (A. D. 597) was Ethelbert, the fourth in succession from Hengist. His kingdom for many years had enjoyed peace, and had made greater progress in peaceful improvements than any of the Saxon states. On this account, and also that his queen, Bertha, was a Frankish princess, who had received her education in the Christian faith, the way appeared to be open for the reception of these missionaries. Augustin’s application was, therefore, at a propitious moment, for the conversion of these people from their established paganism to Christianity. Ethelbert received his proposition with a good deal of suspicion, but the missionaries were received by the sovereign with much favor. The king at first excused himself on account of his want of interest and attention in his exhortations; but he received them kindly, and gave free liberty to preach to the people. Ethelbert soon became a listener, and then a convert.

In a short time the people of Kent received with favor the doctrines of Augustin and were generally baptized; of which the pope received tidings of great joy. The king became much interested in the new religion, and convinced not only of its truth but of its superiority over their paganism and the worship of Woden, the idol of their ancestors. He erected a church and endowed it with means to support its

future clergy, which was erected on the foundation of an ancient British church destroyed by the pagans, and which has since become the cathedral church of Canterbury.

While the Christian religion was thus prospering among the Saxons of Kent, Augustin was desirous to have an interview with the heads and representatives of the church in Britain among the Cymry. Accordingly a conference was proposed to be held between the Kentish and the Cymric clergy, which was readily accepted by the latter and which was so held A. D. 603, at Aust on the banks of the Severn. Augustin, who for his success in Britain had been created archbishop by the pope, now appeared at this conference with his clergy in great state, clothed with all the importance and dignity conferred upon him by the pope. He addressed the British clergy, admonished them that they had departed in their practices in keeping Easter and some other¹ matters of equal importance from that of the Christian church, and proposed that they should join with him in preaching the gospel to the heathen. Upon consideration of the matter, the British clergy declared, in spite of the admonition they had received, that they preferred their own tradition to the opinions of other churches. To enforce upon them the firm belief of his power and heavenly mission, he there, in their presence, pretended to perform the miracle of restoring a blind person to his sight. Still the British clergy declared they had no power to abrogate or alter their ancient customs without the national consent, and desired that another conference might be held, at which their church might be more authentically represented. This was agreed upon, and the time and place for its being held duly fixed. In the meantime the Cymric clergy were greatly perplexed as to the conduct they should pursue and what they should do. They resorted for advice to a nameless sage and holy hermit, saying:—"Tell us whether

we ought or ought not, at the bidding of Augustin, forsake our old traditions." The hermit answered, "Follow him if he is a man of God." "How shall we ascertain that?" they then asked, and were told that they might test that by his meek and lowly or by his stern and haughty demeanor. On further inquiry as to the means they might use to ascertain the character of Augustin, he advised them to allow him to arrive before them at the appointed place of assembly, so that his manner of receiving them might sufficiently assure them either of his pride or humility and decide at once whether they should hear his words submissively or not.

At the conference there were assembled a very large assembly of learned and distinguished men, several bishops of the ancient British church, learned monks with their abbots, and the learned heads of their several schools. These venerable representatives of the clergy and learned men of Britain were more numerous than the foreigners whom Augustin had brought with him on this occasion; yet he kept his seat on their arrival, with lordly appearance of superiority, little thinking that his doing so insured the disappointment of his ambitious project, as is often the case in such matters. Provoked by this evident prejudice against him, Augustin made a summary proposition that the British clergy should conform with the Roman church in keeping Easter, in the tonsure of the clergy, and in the administration of baptism; and that they should join with the ordinary clergy of the church in preaching the Gospel to the heathen Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. On these conditions he offered to tolerate all other customs of theirs which differed from those of his own church.

The British clergy declined all these propositions and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of any other church than their own; nor would they receive him as their primate. They said that in the bonds of love and charity they were all willing to be the servants of the church of God, and of every good Christian, and even of the pope of Rome, helping them forward by word and deed to be the true children of

¹ The principal objection to the practice of the British clergy was these two: That they did not keep Easter on the proper day, and did not observe the proper tonsure in trimming the hair of their head.

God. Other obedience they disclaimed, being governed, under their heavenly Lord, by the bishop of Caerleon. They determined to submit to neither the pretension of the Roman church nor the usurpation of the Saxons.

Provoked by these refusals, Augustin threatened, that as they refused to unite as brethren, they should be made war upon by enemies; and since they would not preach the word of life to the Angles, they should suffer from that nation's deadly vengeance.² The object of Augustin was to bring the British church into the jurisdiction of the church of Rome; but his haughty and supercilious course defeated it, and the British church continued separated from the Roman church many years longer.

Augustin's mission in Kent was attended, for some time, with great success. Ethelbert became zealous in the cause of Christianity. The people of Kent, in the lapse of a hundred and fifty years from the time when the Saxons under Hengist had settled there, had greatly improved, by mixture with the original British inhabitants and adoption of their civilization. They were, therefore, prepared to appreciate the superiority of Christianity over their paganism, and their habits and customs arising out of it. An ancient British church³ in Canterbury, which had been destroyed by the Saxons, was now rebuilt by the king for Augustin and his proselytes, who had become numerous. There was an intimate connection between the people of Kent and those of London, who continued to be made up of the original people there when the Saxons first came. They continued their manufactures and trade as an independent people and retained their habits and customs, as when they were a part of the Roman empire. They probably retained much of their Christian notions which they had before they became surrounded by the Saxon population. They

readily received Augustin and his priests, and immediately built a church for them, which was the beginning of the erection of St. Paul's church in London. That city continued to grow and extend its influence as a manufacturing and commercial metropolis, so that it may be truly said, that it is London and the people of Kent, and those of its vicinity who have molded and made the English people what they are.⁴ At that time the king of Essex was Sabert, a son of Ethelbert's sister, and their favorable influence enabled Augustin to extend his mission to the Saxons of that kingdom with success, and to consecrate two Romans as bishops—one as the bishop of London, and the other as bishop of Rochester in Kent.

Augustin soon after this departed this life; still while Ethelbert lived, who survived him eleven years, the Christian religion continued to prosper. But after his death his son and successor, Eadbald, restored paganism in Kent and expelled the Christian clergy. And the sons of Sabert followed the example, and did the same in Essex; and for a while it seemed as though Christianity was to be expelled from the land, and that it would be again restored to Saxon paganism.

But fortunately this unpropitious appearance did not last long. The tide was turned by a pious fraud, perpetrated upon the weak Eadbald, by a priest who showed him a terrible lacerated and bleeding back, saying it had been done the night before by St. Peter, because he meditated his departure from the island. The story accorded with the superstition and intellectual weakness of the king, who immediately ordered the Christian religion to be restored to the position in which his father had left it. From that time (A. D. 616) Christianity continued to make its way and spread throughout Saxon Britain, but its progress was

² See Miss Jane Williams' History of Wales; see Bede, B. ii, ch. ii; see the eloquent account given of this transaction and that of the burning of the monastery at Bangor, in Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. i, p. 38-39.

³ Bede, ch. xxxiii.

⁴ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, ch. iii, p. 50, where he says: "London was still noted for its opulence; its fame was diffused far and wide, and the city was the resort of merchants from all parts of the world. I say *still*, because it had been equally pre-eminent in the Roman times. And the great confusion consequent upon the Saxon conquest had scarcely injured the prosperity of London, which had continued increasing from the times of the Romans till the present day."

slow. It was adopted by Edwin, the king of Northumbria, in 628, after much consideration among the leading men of his people; and four years afterwards he prevailed upon Eorpwald, the king of East Anglia, to follow his example. About A. D. 640, the Christian religion came to be pretty generally adopted in Wessex, a period of very nearly two hundred years after Hengist's first landing in Britain, during which time in the Saxon dominion the paganism of Woden prevailed.

§5. *The Sequel of the Period. A. D. 576 to 626.*

The fifty years that transpired previous to A. D. 626 have in them important historical events besides those already related; the commencement of the settlement of Mercia, and the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons. At the commencement of this time (A. D. 576) the acquisitions of the Saxons were confined to quite a limited space from the sea shore. But the sovereigns of Wessex on the west and those of Northumbria on the north, had each of them had severe hostilities and several bloody battles with the Britons, without much extending their limits. The time now, however, had arrived when at both ends of this line they were prepared and determined to make a more strenuous effort to grasp more territory, and extend their power. These powers were acting independent of each other, but it had the same effect to distract and divide the efforts of the Britons, as though the former acted in concert.

In this career of conquest Wessex moved first. In the year 577¹ Cuthwine and Ceawlin went forth to extend their dominion towards the Severn and the Bristol Channel. A number of the British sovereigns had confederated to oppose them; and these met them in battle at Derham in Gloucestershire, where a severe battle was had, in which three of the British sovereigns were slain, some of whom are the princes lamented by Llywarch Hen in one of his elegies. We are not informed as to the par-

ticulars of the battle, except that it resulted in the capture of three noted cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, which were annexed to Wessex.

Seven years passes by and Ceawlin again pursues his hostilities against the Britons on the Severn; and a bloody battle ensues at Frithern. Here the Britons fought with earnest resolution for their rights, and for some time with great success. The brother of the Saxon king was slain, and his part of their forces gave way; But Ceawlin rallied his men, and after an obstinate and bloody conflict secured a victory. The issue here again, though long, obstinate and doubtful, enabled the grasping king to take a number of towns, annex more territory, rob the people of a vast amount of property, which as booty was divided among the conquerors. Notwithstanding these defeats and losses, the Britons still stood manfully in defense of their rights, and with a patriotic perseverance determined that if they were to be robbed, it should be after a conflict. In a few years they were again compelled to meet their enemies upon another raid at Wanborough, where a terrible battle and slaughter took place; and the Saxon chronicle says: "There was great slaughter in this battle, and Ceawlin was expelled." The same chronicles records (two years afterwards, A. D. 593): "This year Ceawlin, Cwichelm and Crida perished, and Ethelfrith succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians; he was the son of Æthelric, and grandson of Ida."

The end of Ceawlin thus noticed is worthy of a further remark. He was one of those men upon whom the progress of the Saxon conquest depended; who, in the true spirit of Wodenism, was ambitious, grasping and heartless; and was as odious to his peaceable Saxon neighbors as to the Britons. At that time Ethelbert was king of Kent, whose people had long been in a peaceable and improving condition towards civilization. This sovereign had come to the throne at the youthful age of sixteen, and inspired with ambition as the direct descendant of Hengist, he was tempted to teach the overbearing and hateful

¹ Saxon chronicle, p. 314.

Ceawlin a lesson, which might teach moderation and justice. But the war was as imprudent as it was in itself unjust. The king of Wessex soon drove his youthful opponent back into Kent, and was diverted, for the present, from making it a conquest, by being tempted first to conquer Sussex. In that he was successful to the great relief of Kent.

By this time Ceawlin had fully stirred up the jealousy and hatred of his neighboring Saxon monarchs; and they were determined to curb him. They dreaded his energy and ambition, as they did his cruelty and injustice. It was thought prudent in the first place to secure sufficient force. The most active enemy against him was Coalric, his nephew, who first allied himself with the Cymry and had reason and cause enough for doing so. Ceawlin was compelled to meet this new combination of races in battle, and all his energy and conduct could not save him from a defeat and death; while his unnatural kinsman assumed the sovereignty of his uncle's kingdom.

This was the commencement of a long series of war between the Saxon kings of the Heptarchy, frequently carried on into each other's dominions, with a most relentless cruelty, which did not cease while there were two kingdoms left in the Heptarchy. If the evils of these wars fell on the sovereigns themselves we might not lament its justice, but its dire consequences fell upon the innocent people, who were compelled to suffer for the ungovernable ambition and wickedness of their rulers. In the course of these wars we frequently witness civil war in its most terrible aspect, accompanied with revolting treason, the violation of the rights of kindred and hospitality, and charges of poisonings and assassinations. Charges of this kind have been made by the querulous Gildas upon his unfortunate countrymen, and sometimes repeated by way of comparison by others. Too true it is, that such charges may be made against all nationalities—the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Teutons, with lamentable justice; but for the sake of humanity I would recommend that no com-

parison be made between them.

Ethelbert reigned over Kent fifty-six years,² with less of the difficulties of war than any of the Saxon States; the only exception being that which he had with Ceawlin. He has the honor of being the prince by whom Christianity was first introduced to the Saxons, and of continuing the peace and progress enjoyed by the people of Kent after the death of Hengist and his son Æse, for the period of more than one hundred and fifty years, of which his reign was fifty-six. But an entirely different state of things existed at the north end of the Saxon dominion. There existed the same state of war and turmoil as had been experienced in Wessex, at the other extremity.

The great north from Humber to the Tweed has generally received the name of Northumbria; but for a limited and uncertain period of time it has been divided into Bernicia at the north, and Deira at the south. Ida, whom we have noticed in his wars with Urien, first took possession of Bernicia, and who was now succeeded by Ethelfrith, his grandson, who claimed all Northumbria. Deira was first taken by Ella; but he was no sooner dead and succeeded in his rights by his infant child Edwin, than Ethelfrith took possession of the whole of Northumbria, and claimed it as his own. Ethelfrith at the time appeared to be the most powerful of all the Saxon monarchs; and no one of them was bold enough, or dared, to draw a sword in defense of the infant Edwin. The child, however, was cared for by some of the noble hearted people, and carried into Cambria, and there entrusted to the care of Cadvan, who was one of the British kings who were now being robbed of the patrimony and the territory over which his fathers had for ages ruled. It is romantic to think that the infant son of a Saxon king should be compelled to flee from his own kindred to a Briton for protection, whom his own people were about to deprive of his country and home. Perhaps they knew then, as they know now, that a trust of that kind

² Henry of Huntingdon, p. 53.

is never betrayed by a Celt; nor that good faith or hospitality is ever to be forfeited in the hands of a Cymric people of Armorica, or Britain, or Scotland, or Ireland. The greatest guaranty that General Drucot could give to the Empress Eugenia, that she might rely upon his honor and fidelity, was a pledge given upon the faith of a Breton.

Ethelfrith had warred against the Cymry and desolated more of their territory than any of his predecessors; yet the infant Edwin was to be reared and educated among them. He was cared for, though they knew not whether they were cherishing a friend, or a viper who would yet sting and kill them. Ethelfrith was even in pursuit of Edwin, whom he considered to stand in the way of his holding Deira. The young king was compelled to keep his name and rank a secret, and even in fear that his great enemy would be after him, and capture him. In the meantime Ethelfrith was actively engaged in the conquest of the Northern Cymry, and the extension of his dominion. He was a man of blood and cruelty, and was accomplishing his object in the most heartless manner—some of the people he reduced to slavery, and others he would compel to pay heavy tribute. A confederacy was formed against him by the Cymry of the kingdom of Strath Clyde, and those of Cumbria, uniting with the free tribes of Scotland. This formidable coalition encountered Ethelfrith in battle at Dagratan A. D. 603. This became a deadly conflict, and was fought with desperation on both sides. The Britons conducted the battle with skill and courage, in which the brother of Ethelfrith was slain, with all his followers. At length the Northern Britons were compelled to give way, and were followed with a deadly slaughter, from which only their king and a few attendants escaped.³

Ethelfrith was now, in the course of victory, at liberty to turn his attention towards Edwin in Cambria; and with a view of reclaiming him and carrying on his hostilities against the Britons, he proceeded with

a large army to Chester. There he was met by Brochwel, the prince of Powys, which then included Cheshire, Shropshire, and its capital cities were Pengwern (Shrewsbury) and Chester. In the encounter with Brochwel, he observed standing at a distance a venerable body of unarmed men, and upon inquiry was informed that they were the monks of Bangor, twelve hundred in number, offering prayers for the success of their countrymen. "If they are praying against us," he exclaimed, "they are fighting against us;" and he ordered their immediate attack, in which they were principally destroyed. Brochwel, appalled by their fate, wavered, and fled with his little army. This gave Ethelfrith a decided victory, which he proceeded to improve, in his usual manner, with fire and the sword. He proceeded to Old Bangor Iscoed, there massacred the monks and students who had not fled at his approach, and demolished the city. The walls of the noble Monastery and University were leveled to the ground; its large library, the collection of ages, and the repository of the most precious monuments of the literature and science of the Ancient Britons, was consumed; and all those magnificent buildings, with their records and other objects of national interest to the Britons and mankind, were reduced to dust. Thus, it was said, was fulfilled the threat and prophesy of Augustin as to what should befall the Cymry.

This calamity aroused the Cambrians to the utmost of their exertion, with the force they were able to raise. Cadfân, the protector of Edwin, joined Brochwel, and they pursued Ethelfrith in his retreat out of the country, and succeeded in inflicting upon him terrible defeat and disaster. This victory against Ethelfrith of Northumberland was gained about A. D. 610, and was followed by another in favor of the Cambrians, upon their own soil, against Ceolwulph of Wessex,⁴ who were constantly operating in aid of each other. The latter monarch, with a very large force of his people, was ravaging the country occupied

3 Turner's Anglo-Saxon, B. iii, ch. v, p. 224.

4 Turner, B. ii, ch. v, p. 225.

by the Britons on the Severn, and had actually crossed it into Cambria, proceeding into Glamorgan. The people there, in their distress, heroically rallied in defense of their country, and for aid and counsel repaired to Tewdric, their former king, who had abdicated in favor of his son Mowric, to pursue a solitary life of piety amidst the beautiful environs of Tintern Abby. He was solicited to assume the command of their military forces, in which capacity he had had great reputation, and had never sustained a defeat. The dreaded Saxons were on the Wye; but the remembrance of his own achievements inspired him with hopes, and the welfare of his son and people induced his consent. He assumed his wonted armor, conducted the tumult of the battle with his former skill, and drove the invaders over the Severn. A mortal wound received in the midst of his triumph produced his death, and he breathed his last on the banks of the beautiful Wye, in prayers for the rescue of his country and people from the devastation of their savage enemies.

During the late difficulties in Cambria, Edwin was taken for greater safety at the time, to Redwald, king of the East Angles, who was then the Bretwalda among the Saxon sovereigns A. D. 616. This transferred the war of Ethelfrith to East Anglia, and resulted in a terrible battle between these two Saxon people, on the banks of the Idel, which caused it, it is said, to flow in blood; in which Ethelfrith lost his life and the victory, and by which Edwin was restored to his people, as sovereign of Northumbria. This event, with the accession of Penda to the sovereignty of Mercia, and Cadwallawn as the pendragon of the Cymry, brings us to a decided epoch in the progress of our history.

The time had now arrived, A. D. 626, when the Saxon states in Britain were no longer in a state of formation, but being actually formed, and collectively known as the Saxon Heptarchy. We must now, therefore, notice the Heptarchy, in our history, as a power gradually consolidating itself, until it becomes England on the one hand, and Cambria on the other, as the

principal persons and powers constituting the subject of our history in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE SAXON HEPTARCHY. FROM THE ACCESSION OF PENDA TO THE DEATH OF EGBERT. A. D. 626 TO 836.

Thus far we have been considering the history of the Saxon immigration and settlements in Britain, and the formation of those settlements into separate States; the time has now arrived when they may be properly considered as having been formed, and known as a confederacy under the name of the Saxon Heptarchy. The year 626¹ is stated as a convenient epoch, when Mercia, the last of those States, had assumed, and was acknowledged to be one of the confederacy; and when Penda assumes the sovereignty of that kingdom. Mercia up to this time existed within a vast territory without any fixed boundary, and the extent of the state unknown. It is very doubtful whether any of those states had any fixed and acknowledged boundaries, except where some natural object made it convenient to be recognized as such. When Crida and his adventurers (A. D. 584) assumed to govern some portion of this territory, he found it convenient and politic to acknowledge the numerous Britons residing within it as his rightful subjects. After about twelve years Crida departed to his fathers, and left his dominions, whatever they were, to his son Wippa, in the same condition, who, after a reign of thirty years, left it to his son Penda. This man was a person of extraordinary force and vigor, to be classed with Ceawlin of Wessex, and Ethelfrith of Northumbria; men who neither feared retribution, or regarded right or justice; whatever they had the power to take, they deemed that evidence of their right to do so. They neither regarded the home or dominion of others; nor their property or life itself, when it stood in the way of their ambition or selfish desires.

¹ As to this date see The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annexed to Bede's Hist., p. 317.

At this time we may look upon that portion of Britain which was formerly under the dominion of the Romans, south of the northern wall from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde, as being divided into two dominions, that of the Saxons on the east, and that of the Cambrians on the west. The Saxons possessed what was known as the Heptarchy, which included these seven states:—1. Wessex; 2. Sussex; 3. Kent; and these three were east of the southern Avon and south of the Thames; those north of the Thames were:—4. Essex; and 5. East Anglia; and north of the Humber was, 6. Northumbria, which included Bernicia and Deira; and lastly, 7. Mercia, in the interior with an unknown or uncertain boundary. Then Cambria would include, beginning on the north, these countries:—1. Strath Clyde, north of the Solway Firth, and west of a line drawn from the Solway Firth to that of the Forth; then, 2. Cumbria, south of the Solway, west of the Central Ridge, and north of the Dee; 3. Cambria, west of the Severn and the Dee; and 4. Cornwall,² which included the country south of the Bristol Channel and west of the Avon.

Thus Southern Britain was divided into two great nationalities: The Saxons—the Teutonic race, and the Cambrian or Cymry—the Celtic race. The Teutons called all people who were not themselves Welsh—*Welsch*, or *Wealhas*—which term was by them indiscriminately applied to all strangers and foreigners. Even the Italians were called Welsh, and the Gauls were by them usually denominated *Welscher*. From the time the Saxons acquired a permanent foothold in Britain they called all the people and territory outside of themselves respectively Welsh and Wales; so that whatever of Britain or the Britons remained unsubdued to their dominion was called by the Saxons by these names.

Thus the Ancient Britons became to be known by a name entirely foreign to themselves, who only acknowledged that of Cymry, or its Latinized equivalent, Cambrians. On the other hand, the Britons called all the Teutonic settlers in Britain Saxons, whether Jutes, Angles, or Saxons proper; and that part of the island which had been brought under their subjection Saxondom, or Saxon dominions.

At this time all that part of the island known as Cambria proper, and by the Romans as *Britannia Secunda*, and then called by the Saxons Wales, was divided into three divisions—Gwynedd, or North Wales; Dehenbarth, or South Wales; and Powys on the East, including what is now Shropshire, Herefordshire and a part of Radnorshire. Thus we find that part of Britain under the Saxons, divided into seven or eight kingdoms, with each a king, and that under the Cymry divided into about the same number, or possibly a few more.

The Cymry, since the time of Cæsar at least, had been in the habit of considering their country a confederacy, and electing one of their prominent and most worthy sovereigns as pendragon or Wledig; *i. e.* head chief or emperor, to manage and discharge the duties of their national affairs. This had been so done for more than seven hundred years, except when it was superceded by the Roman government. This officer, and the mode and manner of his election, as well as his powers and duties, had existed and so long exercised, that it was all looked upon as constitutionally established. It had been held and exercised by men as able and renowned as any that Britain has ever produced. They were elected by what was supposed to be the general voice of the nation; and this was obtained by a general assembly of the representatives of the several states, which had not only the power to elect him, but also, for cause, to depose him, and elect another. He was not an arbitrary monarch, but a constitutional sovereign; and the kings of the several states were looked upon as mere chiefs of their respective dominions.

² See Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, ch. 11, p. 30, where he says: "Part of the Britons retained possession of Strath Clyde and Cambria extending from Alclud, now called Dunbarton South. * * * * Another great mass of British population continued in possession of Damnonia or Devonshire with its dependencies, Cenaw or Cornwall, which countries the Saxons called *West Wales* (about A. D. 638)." * * * * "Lastly, the nobles of the Britons maintained themselves in Cambria."

The several states or kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were entirely independent of each other; there was no established confederacy or political union between them; whatever union took place was the result of conquest upon one another. There was sometimes, however, acknowledged among these sovereigns a leader or supreme king, called the Bretwalda;³ but by what authority appointed, or what his powers and authority constitutionally were, are equally unknown to history. It is supposed that he was acknowledged to be the Bretwalda, who, from his power and authority, was acknowledged to be of superior dignity to the rest; and whose position by common consent was not to be questioned. It passed from one king and kingdom to another without any account of an election, and always remaining in the hands of him who had apparently the greatest power and dignity. All these Saxon kings claimed and were admitted to be descendants of Woden; and all ealdermen claimed to be connected with the same descent, before they were admitted as such. It would seem, therefore, that the Saxon government in Britain was an Oligarchy, as descendants from their pagan gods, in which the people would have but little to do; being confined to those who claimed to some divine right.⁴

Cadvan, the king of Gwynedd, who had been the fosterer and protector of Edwin, and who had been the pendragon during a long reign, was now deceased and succeeded by his son, Cadwallawn, who was also elected pendragon. He was a man of great force, energy and enterprise. He seems to have had much intercourse with the Sax-

ons in both peace and war; and while Edwin was under his father's protection they were schoolmates together. He had married for his first wife Penda's sister, the daughter of Webba of Mercia; and for his second wife, a princess of Wessex of the house of Cerdic.

About ten years before this, as already stated, Edwin, upon the death of Ethelfrith, the tyrant who had expelled him from his country, was restored to his people and sovereignty, and was now in the enjoyment of great possessions and power, and the acknowledged Bretwalda. These men, so distinguished for their fortune and marked for their capacity and abilities, should have been friendly neighbors, as well as old acquaintances; but this their ambition and rivalry would not permit. Protection and gratitude were forgotten, and their fortunate prosperity and success was only a signal for hostility and war. Edwin⁵ required of Cadwallawn that he should acknowledge him as his superior sovereign and pay tribute. This the Cymro refused to do, and asserted his rights and independence. This resulted in a conflict between these two sovereigns, and dragged their respective people into a war. The armies of the two powers met in battle near Mospeth, in which Cadwallawn was defeated, and most vigorously pursued. Edwin succeeded to reduce to his command, temporarily, the hereditary dominion of Cadwallawn, with the isles of Anglesey and Man; and the pendragon sought his safety by passing over to Ireland, and from thence to his kindred friends in Armorica.⁶

In the meantime Penda, who had just

³ See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. iii, ch. 7, p. 235, where it is said: "Redwald ascended to the national pre-eminence which Ella, Ceawlin and Ethelbert had possessed under the title of the Bretwalda, and on his death it was assumed by Edwin;" and on p. 252 it is said: "Perhaps the conjecture on this dignity which would come nearest the truth, would be, that it was the Walda or ruler of the Saxon kingdoms against the Britons, while the latter maintained their struggle for the possession of the country. See also Palgrave *ut supra*, p. 63; 1 *Pictorial History of England*, B. ii, ch. i, p. 137. As the title has no continental origin, it is rational to conclude it was borrowed as an affair in imitation of the pendragon, as many other things have been borrowed in their institutions from the Britons.

⁴ Palgrave's *Anglo-Sax.*, p. 42 and 62.

⁵ Edwin's power at this time was very great, but greatly and extravagantly magnified by some historians; thus Palgrave, p. 64, says: "Edwin's, of Northumbria, power and authority extended over every part of Britain which was inhabited, either by the Cymry or by the English and Saxon natives." (A. D. 617-633.) This is a very extravagant assumption made for Edwin by Palgrave and others. He was acknowledged by some of the Saxon kings as the Bretwalda, but doubtful if acknowledged by Penda of Mercia, or by Cwichhelm of Wessex, who had sent an emissary to assassinate him. But over the north of Scotland, Strath Clyde, South Wales and Cornwall he had no power or authority. At this time the Pope, in an address to Edwin, he is styled "Rex Anglorum," king of the English, not king of Britain. 1 *Pictorial Eng. Hist.* B. ii, ch. i, p. 138.

⁶ Palgrave's *Anglo-Sax.*, ch. iii, p. 42.

come to the throne of Mercia, with great vigor, was forming for himself a distinguished position among the sovereigns of the Heptarchy, and placing his country at the head of the states. This was done, without, on his part, the least regard for the demands of peace, or the rights of others.⁷ During these times all manner of violence and war, treachery and assassination were common among these Saxon kings. At this time Kinigils was king of Wessex, and had associated with himself his brother Kicheln. They had employed an assassin, under the pretense of a mission, to assassinate⁸ Edwin of Northumbria. In the attempt to accomplish this act the assassin, with a poisoned dagger, wounded Edwin and killed the man who attempted to defend him. This wound, and heinous attempt on his life, brought upon him very serious contemplation, which with the influence of his Christian wife, may have been the means that eventually brought him over to Christianity. These kings of Wessex about the same time had a great battle with the two kings of Essex, in which the latter were slain, and of "their entire army scarcely a man effected his escape over the masses of the slain and the torrents of their blood."⁹ Soon after this we find the two kings of Wessex engaged in a battle with Penda at Cirencester on the head waters of the Thames. Whether this place was then within Mercia or Wessex is doubtful; but that made no difference with these sovereigns. It is represented that the armies on both sides were powerful; each "having vowed not to turn their backs to their enemies, each firmly maintained its ground until they were happily separated by the setting of the sun. In the morning, as they were sensible that, if they renewed the conflict, the destruction of both armies must ensue, they listened to moderate counsels, and concluded a treaty of peace."¹⁰

After this Edwin, for some cause, or perhaps for none at all, or maybe on account

of the attempted assassination, was engaged in a war with Wessex; and Penda, as his ally, was besieging Exeter. Cadwallawn, after his defeat at Mospeth, having fled to Ireland and after that to Armorica, had now landed on the north coast of Britain, with a large army he had gathered up, after an absence of five years, and proceeded to relieve Exeter against Penda. The siege was raised, and Penda routed and taken prisoner by Cadwallawn. At the instance of Penda's sister, the wife of the pendragon, a reconciliation and coalition was brought about between these two noted sovereigns; Penda was liberated and swore allegiance to the pendragon, which was religiously observed by him during his life. Cadwallawn and Penda now acted in concert. The former was embittered against Edwin, on account of the ingratitude manifested in his entire forgetfulness of the hospitality and protection shown him by Cadvan, the father of the pendragon, and of their association as school-fellows; nor could he well forgive, under the circumstances, the attack and defeat at Mospeth, and its consequent severity. Cadwallawn conceived that there was neither faith nor gratitude to be found in a Saxon. He, therefore, took a vow, as solemn as that of Hannibal against the Romans, to wage eternal war against the faithless Saxons. A terrific war was now waged by him and Penda against Edwin. This was not the first time that the Cymry and a portion of the Saxons had united against another. A great battle was now fought by Cadwallawn with his Cymry and Mercian allies against the Saxons at Hatfield,¹¹ in Yorkshire, (A. D. 633) in which Edwin and the flower of the Saxon nobility fell, and which was long the subject of a national lamentation by their poets and historians.

The confederate armies, it is said, committed horrible slaughter and cruelties among the people who opposed or were obnoxious to them. It seems that the reigning family of Northumbria were prin-

⁷ See ante, B. iii, ch. i.

⁸ Turner's Anglo-Saxons, B. iii, ch. vii, p. 236.

⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, B. ii, p. 57.

¹⁰ Ut supra.

¹¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 318, A. 631; Bede, B. ii, ch. xx, p. 106; 1 Pictorial Hist., B. ii, ch. i, p. 133.

cipally extirpated, except Oswald, the nephew of Edwin. Cadwallawn remained at York governing Northumbria, and Penda went into East Anglia with equal success. But it may still be questioned, notwithstanding this complaint of cruelty, if it was not in accordance with the customs and practices of the Saxon leaders and chiefs from the time of Hengist until they were taught better by adversity and the humane principles of Christianity. When Edwin was restored to his government, upon the death of Ethelfrith the Fierce, he expelled from the kingdom of Northumbria all who could set up any claim against him, as his cousin Osric the grandson of Ella, and Eanfried, and other sons of Ethelfrith. These were, on the death of Edwin, restored, and Northumbria again divided—Osric to Deira and Eanfried to Bernicia, who in the meantime had found an asylum among the Scots, where they had been educated as Christians, but upon being restored to their respective kingdoms, relapsed to paganism. "But," says the venerable Bede,¹² "soon after, the king of the Britons, Cadwallawn, slew them both, through the rightful vengeance of Heaven." Thus it would seem that then it would depend upon which side such acts were committed, in order to their being the rightful vengeance of Heaven. There were times of terrible uncertainty as to either facts, dates or principles. The times were "unhappy and hateful," says Bede. "Hence it has been agreed, by all who have written about those perfidious monarchs, to abolish their memory, and assign that year to the reign of the following king: Oswald, a man beloved by God."

Oswald of Bernicia was now (634) the Saxon ruler of Northumbria, and must soon come in conflict with Cadwallawn. Oswald, for his day and generation, was a very exemplary and reputable man, and, being a professed Christian, he receives high commendation from his historian, Bede.

Cadwallawn was energetic and fierce, having spent his whole life in war, in endeavoring to save his country from Saxon conquest. Elated with success, and triumphant with the fame of fourteen great battles, sixty skirmishes,¹³ he despises Oswald, and with too eager confidence rushed into the conflict. In a battle with his competitor, on the banks of a rivulet of the¹⁴Tine in Northumbria, he lost his life with the destruction of his army.

Penda was now left alone to sustain the war. He had brought Mercia to an extent of territory and position as a kingdom, which placed it prominently in the Heptarchy; and was now apparently desirous to be the acknowledged bretwalda. Oswald had departed this life,¹⁴ and left to Oswy his brother the conflict with Penda. Treachery and assassinations were common in those days among these belligerent and blood-stained men. Oswy had become jealous of Oswin, a kinsman of the lamented Edwin, whom he had set up as prince over Deira. He was a young man of a fine figure and comely appearance, but this did not save him from Oswy's determination to destroy him. Oswin was probably too good a man for his day, and desired to avoid the conflict of arms, took refuge, and concealed himself in the home of a nobleman whom he had aided and set up. This obligation to his patron did not restrain him from the betrayal. He led the soldiers of Oswy to their victim, who was defended by a friend, whose only consolation was to die with honor in the midst of perfidious deeds, in saving his friend and patron.

In the meantime Penda had, on various pretexts, or perhaps on none at all, carried war into all his neighboring states—against Celwalh of Wessex, because he had repudiated his sister, and expelled her from his kingdom. Then he turned against Sigebert, the son of Redwald of East Anglia, where

¹² B. iii, ch. i, p. 109. It is said by Henry of Huntingdon, B. iii, [A. D. 635] p. 97, says that these two princes were put to death at different times and for different causes. Cadwallon, "Cedwall slew Osric; for, being besieged by him in a free town, Cedwall made a sudden sally, and, taking him by surprise, destroyed him and his whole army." N. B.—This expression "free town," is worthy of note to the student.

¹³ Turner's Anglo-Saxon, B. iii, ch. vii, p. 243.

¹⁴ Turner represents Oswald as extremely anxious to avoid war with Penda, yet states his death as having taken place in battle with Penda in Shropshire at Oswartry. This places him, instead of avoiding the war, an invader of the territory of both Penda and the Cymry; for Mercia was between Northumbria and Shropshire. See, also, Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, ch. iv, p. 65.

they had made much progress in improvement and civilization, and apparently for this reason was carrying war against them, and in a disastrous battle conquered them. But in that warlike age there was nothing that was safe from violence and wrong—neither kingdom nor property, and Penda himself was soon to experience the truth of this. Oswy, though no very righteous instrument, was to be the means of freeing the country of this odious tyrant and oppressor. At the age of eighty years he rejoiced at the chance of engaging in another conflict and the tumult of battle. He rejected every negotiation for peace, and hastened with his veterans, whom he trained to war, and like himself delighted in scenes of blood and carnage, to number Oswy with the five sovereigns he had already sent to the world to come. He rushed into the battle with Oswy confident of victory, but unexpectedly the issue turned disastrously towards him. This battle (A. D. 655) was fought on the plains of Yorkshire, and at first Penda, with a blind confidence, carried every thing before him, until some unforeseen event turned the tide, and the detestable tyrant was left slain upon the field, with the most of his principal men, and a large portion of his army; many of those who escaped the sword met death in a disastrous retreat amidst the unusual floods of the rivers.

This disaster relieved the Saxons of the Heptarchy from the wicked ambition of a man who was determined to conquer them, and annihilated the unjust aspirations of Mercia.

Penda's death relieved the Mercians for a while from a tyrant of his character, but not from war and its incidental turmoil and wretchedness to its people. Oswy now ran over the country and brought it to his subjection. Peada, a son of the deceased monarch, who had ruled as his father's viceroy over a portion of the country for some years, and had received a daughter of Oswy as his wife upon the condition of his becoming a Christian, was now in the way of his father-in-law; and in the spring after his father's death Peada was assassinated at his Easter festival; and, as reported by their chroni-

clers, by the treachery of his wife.¹⁵ Others relieve her of this charge, by alleging that it was procured by the pagan party, because Peada had become a devoted Christian. But it is more generally attributed to the machination of the house of Oswy—either that of Peada's wife or her mother.

The Mercians submitted to the rule of the Northumbrian monarch with reluctance and detestation. They had taken care to keep Wolthere, the heir, another son of Penda, out of Oswy's grasp; and ere long found an opportunity of placing him at their head, expelling the government of Oswy and his officers, and asserting their independence.

But soon (A. D. 659) another enemy was to arise in conflict with Mercia; and it would seem that no event, either of victory or defeat, was to bring to the people of the Heptarchy lessons of peace and its prosperity, and that the battle was the only honorable instrument, and war the normal condition of man. Wolfhere was soon to encounter an enemy in Cenwalch of Wessex. The latter had met with some success in a recent conflict for more territory, with the Britons of Devonshire, and this success, with the disagreeable memory of his old scores with Penda, induced him to think this a favorable opportunity to make an attack upon Mercia, and make Wolfhere pay for the disgrace he had received from his father. But the event transpired different from what was expected, as it sometimes does. For a while Cenwalch and his army prospered, but reverses came, and the Mercians so far prevailed as to expel their enemies, and annex a considerable portion of Wessex to their own dominion.

In A. D. 674 this hostility between Wessex and Mercia was repeated by Æscuin, a nobleman descendant of Cerdic, in the service of Wessex. "He lead a powerful army against Wolfhere; a battle, in which mutual destruction was more conspicuous than any decision, ensued at Bedwin, in Wilts. It is worth our while," says the moralizing historian, "to observe how contemptible are the glorious wars and noble achievements

¹⁵ Turner, B. iii, ch. viii, p. 249.

of the great. Both of these contending kings, whose vanity and pomp hurled thousands of their fellow creatures to their graves, scarcely survived the battle a year. Within a few months Wolfhere died of a natural disease, and in 676 Æscuin followed. Kentwin is denominated his successor; and Ethelred, the surviving son of Penda, acceded to the crown of Mercia, and ravaged Kent.¹⁶

Such is the history of the Heptarchy which had now been over two hundred years in the course of formation, and such are the *interesting* wars of the three great states forming the western line along the boundary of the country still remaining in the possession of the Britons. These three states—Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex—extend from the mouth of the Tweed to that of the Southern Avon. The continued battles we have referred to of these three kingdoms are only part of those which have transpired within them during that time. The other four kingdoms to the southeast of these were also subjects of the same kind of war and battles; and to relate their events would only be repeating the same kind of Saxon names, and account of *interesting* battles distinguished for their blood and slaughter. But that was the necessary result of that pagan and savage discipline taught and enforced by the people who followed and worshipped Woden. The three western kingdoms continued much longer under its influence than the four eastern ones. The latter had been more under the influence of the civilization they met with in Britain, which prepared them the sooner to receive the doctrines of Christianity; and as Kent was the oldest, it was the easiest to accept the change, so beneficial to themselves and to Britain.

Let us turn our attention to the people on the other side of this line, and see what history may record of them. It has been our theory that the first inhabitants of the British Islands of the Arian race, were the Gallic or Gaelic, who were the same people as that of Gaul, and originally came from thence. These are frequently called the

Gaels, and by the Cymry, Gwyddy. Afterwards came the Cymry, a large portion of whom remained in Gaul. The historic account we have of their coming, was that they came and settled among the Gael, peaceably and by mutual consent.¹⁷ They all belonged to one and the same family, originating in those who were called by the Greeks Cimmerians, and all classed in a common family and known as the Celts. When the Cymry came some of the Gaels withdrew to the north, while others remained and became assimilated with the Cymry. As the Cymry increased, the Gaels retired to the far north and to Ireland—to the northwest highlands of Scotland and to the south and west of Ireland. When the Romans came, many of the Cymry withdrew to the northeast, and were known as the Caledonians and eventually the Picts. These became more and more hostile to the south, because of their opposition to the Romans, until they were the decided enemies of the South Britons. Others of the Cymry withdrew to the north and east of Ireland, and became known as the Scots. This emigration from South Britain has ever existed whenever it was disturbed by war or conquest.¹⁸ The principal part of the Scots eventually passed over from Ireland to Western Scotland, and conferred upon it their name. These nationalities were being formed during the whole time that the Romans were in possession of South Britain, and they were the cause of them and their distinctive denomination. Thus eventually the Scots, the Picts, and the

¹⁷ Thierry's Norman Conquest, p. 2; Triads, Ynys Prydyn, n. 1; Myvyrian, Archaeology of Wales, ii, 57.

¹⁸ We frequently have historical evidence of emigration from Britain to Ireland. See Richard of Cirencester, B. i, ch. 8, §9. "The Scots emigrated from Ireland to the Britons and Picts in Albion. But I cannot agree with Bede, who affirms that the Scots were foreigners. For according to the testimony of other authors, I conceive they derived their origin from Britain, situated at no considerable distance, passed over from thence, and obtained a settlement in this island. It is certain that the Damnii Voluntii, Brigantes, Cangi, and other nations, were descendants from the Britons, and passed over thither after various generals had invaded their original country. Lastly, the ancient language which resembles the old British and Gallic tongues afford another argument, as is well known to persons skilled in both languages." See, also, Ibid., §17.

¹⁶ Turner, as above, p. 253.

Gaels—the old Albanians, met in the north of Britain, as a people originating from the same source,—as brethren from the same family, and friends; and eventually formed one nationality—the Scots of Scotland. The great hostility with these people were ever their opposition to the conquering and oppressive Roman. Soon after the Romans withdrew from the island, and especially when they became Christians, these hostilities to the south ceased.

About the time that the Romans departed from Britain, St. Patrick, the great apostle of the Irish and the Scots of Ireland, carried Christianity with extraordinary success to that people; and soon after that the same was done by St. Columbia, in carrying Christianity to the Scots and Picts of Scotland.¹⁹ Columbia fixed his headquarters in the Isle of Iona on the western coast of Scotland, near the eastern shore of the larger island of Mull, where arose a celebrated monastery, distinguished for religion and learning, and which became the holy sanctuary of Christianity to the North Britons. This success of Christianity under these holy men at once ameliorated the character and disposition of those people, which will account, in part, for their declining hostility in subsequent years against the Southern Britons, until it was revived as hostilities against the pagan Saxons.

The people of Scotland—brave, hardy and intelligent—have the honor of having successfully resisted every attempt to conquer them, either by the Romans, Saxons or Southern Britons, and this under whatever name may have been given them—either Albanians, Caledonians, or Scots; and may possibly be admitted to be the only people who have never been conquered, or have had any other people rule over them, but themselves, except where an union was formed by mutual consent.

At the period we are now in our history, the kingdom of Strath Clyde, which included the whole valley of the Clyde, was in a flourishing condition and had been so

for many years. It was included within the great Cymric confederacy under the illustrious Arthur, which embraced all the west part of the island from the English channel to the Highlands of Scotland at least, and tradition makes Strath Clyde illustrious by the exploits and doings of Arthur there. The capital of this kingdom was the town of Alcluyd, since called Dumbarton, situated on an insulated and precipitous rock at the mouth of the Clyde, being a natural fortress of itself.

West of the assumed dividing line between the Saxons and the Cymry the island was divided by natural boundaries into four separate and distinct territories, being each a distinct lobe of the island, or peninsular projection; each a separate state, but frequently, if not always, under one confederacy, and inhabited by one race—the Cymry. Of these four territories the first on the north was that of Strath Clyde, extending from the Firth of the Clyde to that of the Solway; then Cumbria, extending from the Solway to the estuary of the Dee; then Cambria, as called by the Latins, Wales by the Saxons, and Cymru by the people themselves, which included all west of the Dee and the Severn; and lastly the peninsula of Cornwall, including all south of the Bristol channel and west of the two Avons, and this by the Cymry was called Cernyw.

At the death of Penda (A. D. 655) this division of Southern Britain between the Saxons on the east and the Cymry on the west, would appear to be pretty much fixed. It would seem that the Saxon Heptarchy, thus far, had cost a continual war and battle for a period of two hundred years from the final invasion of Hengist, in its establishment. But now this line between the two nationalities remained without any permanent alteration for a period of a hundred years, to the time of the accession of Offa. Whatever hostilities took place in the meantime between them, partook more of the character of a raid than a conquest. But war and bloodshed were the normal condition of the Saxons, and when that did not exist with their neighbors it generally existed between themselves. It was a part of their Woden religion, and it took Christiani-

¹⁹ See Six Old English Chronicles in Bohn's Library, pp. 409, 410; Nennius, §50; Henry of Huntingdon, B. III. p. 98; see, also, Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. I. p. 40.

ty and civilization a long time to reform and cure its teachings. But this was gradually accomplished.

After the death of Cadwallawn his son, Cadwaladyr, succeeded to his hereditary state, Gwynedd; was afterwards elected, by the general assembly, to the pendragonate; and it is said that he was the last native British sovereign elected to the dignity of king of all Britain, (*Brenhin Prydain Oll*).

At this time there was a singular subordinate state and nationality existing on the border between the Saxons and Cambrians, of which Worcester was its center and capital, occupying both sides of the Severn but principally on the east. This state was called by the Saxons *Hwiccas*, or *The Wiccii*, and was considered as subordinate to Mercia. In a great measure it was treated as an independent state, but subject to the sovereignty of Mercia. It was then made into a separate diocese, when Mercia became organized under the Christian church. These people were originally a powerful tribe of Britons (*Ingantes*) who were subjugated by another tribe of Cymry, the *Ordovices* from Salop and North Wales, who were called *Wiccii*. This should be noted as another instance of the preservation of the Ancient Britons among the Saxons.

The precise date of Cadwaladyr's election to the pendragonate is uncertain, and when compared with various dates stated in history in connection with the subject, it becomes very conflicting and distracting. To take that which is the most probable, A. D. 660 is selected. But then, if his father Cadwallawn,²⁰ was killed in the great battle with Oswald in 634, why the interregnum of twenty-six years between the death of the father and the election of the son? It is difficult to answer; but some of the British historians state that he survived that battle, and withdrew from active life to London, where he died at the age of seventy-four, about the time that his son was elected. This would render the matter consistent with itself; but which is the true version of the conflicting statements is uncertain. Then again it is stated by some of these historians

that Cadwaladyr after a commendable reign of four years, became discouraged by the great calamity of his people, produced by a terrible pestilence which afflicted the whole of Britain and Ireland in 664, he emigrated with many others to their friends in *Amorica*, where they were very hospitably received, and in 686 went to Rome, where he died in 703. Others say he died of the pestilence before the emigration took place. However these conflicting statements may be, it is true that Cadwaladyr was the last sovereign elected to the pendragonate and paramount sovereign over the kings of Cambria. It is equally true that his mother—the wife and queen of his father, Cadwallawn—was the sister of Penda, and that his own daughter was the wife and queen of Cenbert, king of Wessex; and the father and mother of Cadwalla, who also became the king of Wessex. So that between the royal families of Wessex and Cambria there was an intimate connection. But in those days of war and hostilities such relation made no difference. In those Saxon times war between brothers, and other near relations, was no uncommon event.

Although hostilities and war were frequent between the Cymry and the Saxons, if not almost constant, and the encroachment of the latter progressing, yet no great change of the boundary of territory between them took place during these times until the coming of Offa. Frequent raids were made and battles fought, yet soon parties were restored to their former positions.

After Cadwaladyr's death Alan, the king of Brittany, and his near relation, sent his son Ivor, and his nephew Inor, with a powerful fleet and army to regain the territory recently taken from Cadwaladyr in Devon and Somerset. Ivor at first was successful, and drove the Saxons to their former position; but Centwin, collecting the whole force of Wessex and his allies, was soon able to drive Ivor back to the sea; and again the Cymry were disappointed in their rights and hopes, while the wrong—as is often the case—was becoming a success. But this success was soon checked by Rodri Maelwynawe, who had assumed the paramount sovereignty of Cambria on the de-

20 1 Turner's History Anglo-Saxons, B. iii, ch. 8, 254, and 2. 1. Bede, § 64, p. 415.

parture of Ivor; and the peninsula of Cornwall was again put into its former position.

In the meantime Egfrid, the king of Northumbria (A. D. 684), was giving the Celtic race trouble at the north end of the line which separated them from the Saxons. He was among those who delighted in war and in constant contention with his neighbors. When not fully engaged in war with the Scots, he must have it with the people of his own race. Bede and Huntingdon give us numerous instances of this kind, and one of Egfrid is now at hand. In 679 "a great battle was fought between him and Ethelred, king of the Mercians, near the river Trent, and Alfwin, the brother of king Egfrid, was slain—a youth about eighteen years of age, and much beloved by both provincials, for king Ethelred had married his sister Osthritha." Great fears were entertained that another battle would ensue; but by the Christian interference of bishop Theodore, it was prevented; so "no man was put to death, but only the usual mulct paid to the king for his brother that had been killed."²¹

We are also informed that about the same time this same Ethelred, having nothing better to call his attention, "ravaged Kent with a powerful army, and profaned churches and monasteries without regard to religion or the fear of God—he among the rest destroyed the city of Rochester; and, having overrun the whole of Kent, returned with an enormous booty."²² And in 686, Ceadwall (Cadwalla) became king of Wessex, on the death of Centwin. Ceadwall and his brother, Mul, who was a man of courteous and pleasing manners, of prodigious strength and of noble aspect, so that he was generally esteemed, and his renown was great, made "an irruption into the province of Kent for the sake of exhibiting their prowess and augmenting their glory. They met with no opposition in their invasion of Kent, and plundered the whole kingdom. For Lothaire, the enterprising king of Kent, had been wounded in a battle with the East Saxons, against whom he had marched in

concert with Edric, son of Egbert, and so severe were his wounds that he died in the hands of those who endeavored to heal them."²³ Instances of this love of war and freedom to plunder, in those days, among the Anglo-Saxon kings are unlimited; and this was then tolerated in spite of the restraint of the Christian religion, which had then been professed in the country for about a century; so deeply had the principles of Woden been inculcated and tolerated in the minds of the people.

This Egfrid of Northumbria had had numerous conflicts and battles with the Scots of Strath Clyde, and was desirous of inaugurating a war against them upon a broader field, and against the whole race. He therefore sent an army into Ireland under his general Beorht, who in a most miserable manner wasted the country, and heartlessly misused the people, despoiling their property and sparing neither churches nor monasteries. And this was so cruelly done, although as Bede says, "that harmless nation had always been most friendly to the English." In those days friendship and innocence had no regard or protection against such cruel outrages and injustice. The Irish people did all in their power to resist and repel the invasion, and implored the assistance of Divine mercy for relief and vengeance against their cruel and unjust oppressors in vain.

The next year (A. D. 685) this same king led a large army to ravage the province of the Britons of Strath Clyde, much against the advice of his best and most judicious friends. When he came into the country of his hostilities, his enemies made a feint—a show as though they fled, and he was drawn into an ambuscade in the midst of inextricable defiles of the mountains, where he and the greater part of his army were slain. "Having refused," says the venerable Bede, "to listen to the most reverend father, Egbert, advising him not to attack the Scots, who had done him no harm, it was laid upon him as a punishment for his sins."²⁴ This defeat of Egfrid had a very

²¹ Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, B. iv, ch. 21.

²² Henry of Huntingdon, B. ii, [A. D. 675]; Bede's *Hist.*, B. iv, ch. 12.

²³ Henry of Hunt. B. iv, [A. D. 685].

²⁴ Bede, B. iv, ch. 26, p. 233; Henry of Hunt., B. iv, p. 114. "He failed to be dissuaded from invading the Irish, who had done him no wrong."

material effect upon the future of Britain; for, as it is said by Bede, "from that time the hopes and strength of the English Crown began to waver and retrograde," and at the same time enabled the people of Strath Clyde and the Scots and Picts of their neighborhood to unite in forming that confederacy which was the foundation of that glorious state—our modern Scotland.

After the death of Egfrid the Northumbrian throne came into the possession of Alfred, a prince of a very different character from the other Saxon princes of his day of the race of Woden. He must be distinguished from his name-sake, Alfred the Great, king of Wessex, though a prince of very much of his character and merits. He was the son of Oswy and an older brother of Egfrid, yet the nobility, under the allegation of the illegitimacy of his birth, had been deprived of all share in the government. He was a scholar and fond of study, and his opposition and adversity afforded him an opportunity to improve himself by study and reflection, and for that purpose had spent much of his life in monastic austerity. When, therefore, he came to the government, he was well prepared by discipline and adversity to be of real service to his people, whose interest and welfare were greatly promoted, and the country improved, in a manner so different from the example of other states around him, that he became the noted ruler for his day. War and oppression ceased to be considered the object of government and of laudable ambition. No hostilities were carried on against neighboring states; but his own was improved and exalted, and his people led to appreciate the advantage of peace and its prosperity. A very different state of things were realized by the people of Mercia, during those times, whose principles and actions appeared to be governed by those of the children of Woden. In the midst of these general wars and conflicts, Kent appears to enjoy the greatest amount of peace and prosperity; and as the people there were the first of the Saxon race who came to Britain, so they seem to be the first to appreciate the advantage of the fruits of peace and civilization which they

found there.

Although Kent was frequently afflicted by wars brought upon her by the surrounding states, yet she frequently enjoyed long periods of peace: first, in the reign of Ethelbert, who reigned fifty-six years, almost wholly in profound peace, except, at the very first of it, he learned, by its reverses, the folly of war; and then again (A. D. 692—725), Witherd, king of Kent, "freed his nation by his zeal and piety from foreign invasion," and "held the kingdom thirty-two years in honor and peace." When Ina of Wessex marched against Kent with a large and formidable army to obtain satisfaction for the slaughter and burning of his kinsman, Moll, Witherd met him with persuasive eloquence, and prevailed on the incensed king to lay aside his arms and receive from the people of Kent a large sum of money as a compensation for the murder of the young prince. "Thus the controversy was ended, and the peace now concluded was lasting; and thenceforth the king of Kent had a tranquil reign."²⁵ For that day, and people, this was an extraordinary instance of the preservation of peace, and demonstrates the blessing received by the people of Kent by the introduction of civilization and Christianity.

The peaceful days thus enjoyed by Kent, and those by Northumbria under Alfred, were merely a few days of sunshine in the midst of a whole season of tempestuous and terrific weather. As a specimen of the history of those times, we abstract the following from Henry of Huntingdon, as the history of forty years (A. D. 715—755), keeping Ethelbald of Mercia a central figure in the midst of similar events and transactions over the whole Heptarchy; and to repeat the whole would only give additional Saxon names and similar cruel and terrific battles, with little or no additional interest, unless it was to add another lesson to the cruelty, wickedness and folly of the times:

"There was a battle between Ina, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and Ceol-

²⁵ Henry of Hant. B. iv., pp. 117, 125.

red, king of Mercia, the son of Ethelred, near Wonebirih [Woden's town or Wansborough, on the Wiltshire downs], where the slaughter was so great on both sides that it was difficult to say who sustained the severest loss. The year following the same Ceolred, king of Mercia, departed this life, and was buried at Litchfield. He was succeeded in the kingdom of Mercia by Ethelbald, a brave and active prince, who reigned victoriously forty-one years."²⁶ This period expired just before the accession to the throne of Mercia of that monster, Offa, the fit historical companion of such princes as Ethelfrith of Northumberland, Sigebert, a most cruel, tyrannical and wicked king of Wessex, and Penda the strong of Mercia. These men made war, oppression and cruelty the common events of their day, and the lives and happiness of the people who happened to be brought under their rule were of no more consequence to them than that of the brute. But men of this character were common among the kings of the Heptarchy.

"Ina, the powerful and prosperous king of Wessex, resigned his crown to Ethelward,²⁷ his kinsman, and went to Rome. In the first year Ethelward fought a battle with Oswald, a young prince of royal blood, who aspired to the crown. But the followers of the young prince being outnumbered by the royal troops, though for some time he stoutly bore the brunt of the battle and resisted to the utmost, he was compelled to flee, abandoning his pretensions to the crown. Ethelward was, therefore, firmly established on the throne. He was distinguished by his great qualities above all the contemporary kings, and resolved to reduce all the provinces of England, as far as the river Humber, with their respective kings, which he accomplished." This last assertion of Henry is a great mistake, for Ethelbald of Mercia, during all that time, held large dominions most successfully between him and the Humber.

"Ethelbald,²⁸ the haughty king of the Mercians, a prince of a different character

in this royal fellowship, despised holiness, and setting might above right, invaded Northumbria, where, meeting with no resistance, he swept away as much booty as he could transport with him to his own country."

"King Ethelward, of Wessex, died²⁹ in the fourteenth year of his reign, and Cuthred, his kinsman, who succeeded him, reigned over Wessex sixteen years. Meanwhile the proud king Ethelbald continually harrassed him,—sometimes by insurrections, sometimes by wars. Fortune was changeable; the events of hostilities were, with various results, now favorable to the one, then to the other. At one time peace was declared between them; but it lasted but a short interval, when war broke out afresh. In the fourth year of his reign Cuthred joined his forces with those of Ethelbald, king of Mercia, with whom he was then at peace, against the Britons who were assembled in immense numbers. But these warlike kings, with their splendid army, falling on the enemy's ranks on different points, in a sort of rivalry and contest which should be foremost, the Britons, unable to sustain the brunt of such an attack, betook themselves to flight, offering their backs to the swords of the enemy and the spoils to those who pursued them. The victorious kings, returning to their own states, were received with triumphant rejoicings."

"In the ninth year of Cuthred, Kinric, his son, was slain, a brave warrior and bold hunter, tender in age but strong in arms, little in years but great in prowess; who, while he was following up his successes, trusting too much to the fortunes of war, fell in a mutiny of his soldiers, suffering the punishment of his impatient temper. The same year died Eadbert, king of the Kentish men, who wore the diadem twenty-two years."

In the eleventh year of his reign, Cuthred fought against Ethelhun,³⁰ a proud chief, who fomented a rebellion against his sovereign, and although he was vastly inferior to his lord in number of troops, he

²⁶ Henry of Hunt., B. IV, p. 119, [A. D. 715].

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 121, [A. D. 728].

²⁸ Henry of Hunt., p. 128, [A. D. 737].

²⁹ Ibid., p. 128, [A. D. 741].

³⁰ Henry of Hunt., B. IV., p. 129, [A. D. 750].

held the field against him for a long time with a most obstinate resistance, his exceeding caution supplying the deficiency of his force. But when victory had well nigh crowned his enterprise, a severe wound, the just judgment of his traitorous intentions, caused the royal cause to triumph."

"Cuthred, in the thirteenth year of his reign, being unable to submit any longer to the insolent exactions and the arrogance of king Ethelbald, and preferring liberty to the hope of life, encountered him at Bedford with bannered legions. He was attended by Ethelhun, the aforesaid chief, with whom he was now reconciled, and supported by his valor and counsels, he was able to try the chances of war. On the other side Ethelbald, who was the king of kings, had in his army the Kentish men, the East Saxons, and the Angles, with a numerous host. The armies being drawn up in battle array, and, rushing forward, having nearly met, Ethelhun, who led the West Saxons, bearing the royal standard, a golden dragon, transfixed the standard bearer of the enemy. Upon this a shout arose, and the followers of Cuthred being much encouraged, the battle was joined on both sides. Then the thunder of war, the clash of arms, the clang of blows, and the cries of the wounded, resounded terribly, and a desperate and most decisive battle began, according to the issue of which either the men of Wessex or the men of Mercia would for many generations be subject to the victors." * * * "There was no thought of flight, confidence in victory was equal on both sides. The arrogance of their pride sustained the Mercians, the fear of slavery kindled the courage of the men of Wessex. But wherever the chief before mentioned fell on the enemy's ranks, there he cleared a way before him, his tremendous battle-axe cleaving, swift as lightning, both arms and limbs. On the other hand, wherever the brave king Ethelbald turned the enemy were slaughtered, for his invincible sword rent armor as if it were a vestment, and bones as if they were flesh. When, therefore, it happened that the king and chief met each other, * * each gathering themselves up, in turn struck furious blows,

the one against the other. But Ethelbald's wonted confidence failed him, and he was the first to flee, while his troops continued to fight. Nor from that day to the day of his death was anything prosperous permitted by Divine Providence to happen to him. Indeed, four years afterwards, in another battle at Secandune, in which the carnage was wonderful, disdaining to flee, he was slain on the field, and was buried at Ripon. So this very powerful king paid the penalty of his inordinate pride, after a reign of forty-one years. From that time the kingdom of Wessex was firmly established, and ceased not continually to grow prominent."

"In the fourteenth year of his reign, Cuthred fought against the Britons, who, being unable to withstand the conqueror of king Ethelbald, soon took to flight and justly suffered a severe defeat without any loss to their enemy. The year following, Cuthred, this great and powerful king, after a prosperous and victorious career, ended his glory in death. Sigebert, a kinsman, succeeded him on the throne; but he held it only for a short time. For his pride and arrogance on account of the successes of his predecessor became intolerable even to his friends. But when he evil-entreated his people in every way, perverting the laws for his own advantage or evading them for his own purposes, Cumbra, the noblest of his ministers, at the entreaty of the whole people, made their complaints known to the inhuman king, counseling him to rule his subjects with greater leniency, and abating his cruelty, to be more amiable in the sight of God and man. For this counsel the king most unrighteously put him to death; and, becoming still more inhuman and insupportable, his tyranny increased. In the beginning of the second year of his reign, when his pride and wickedness appeared incorrigible, the nobles and people of the whole kingdom assembled, and after a careful deliberation, he was by unanimous consent expelled from the throne. Cynewulf, an illustrious youth of the royal race, was elected king. Upon which, Sigebert, driven from his states, and fearing no less than he deserved, fled into

the great woods called Andredeswald, where he concealed himself. There a swineherd of Cumbra, the ealderman, whom he had iniquitously put to death, found the king lying in concealment, and, recognizing him, slew him on the spot in revenge for his master's death."³¹

"In the first year of king Cynewulf, Beornred succeeded Ethelbald in the kingdom of Mercia, but his reign was short. For Offa dethroned him the same year, and filled the throne of Mercia thirty-nine years. He was a youth of the noblest extraction," whose lineage is deduced from Woden.

I hope the reader may kindly receive these extracts from Henry of Huntingdon, which covers forty years of the English history of those Saxon times, for nothing could be given, original or otherwise, which could so characteristically delineate those times and the condition of the people,—the continual wars and slaughter of the people, the habit of the kings of one part of the country, whenever it suited his notion or was thought desirable for his renown or enterprise, to make war upon another part of the country without any other cause: with fire and sword, desolating the whole and carrying off everything valuable as spoils and booty, leaving the people, who were not wantonly slaughtered, to suffer in want and wretchedness. The history of these forty years thus given by Henry, under circumstances which would warrant a fair delineation, may be accepted as a fair history of any other forty years as to its wars, crimes and wretchedness, in the course of more than four hundred years from Hengist to Alfred the Great; and this saves us the trouble of repeating many names and terrific battles and desolation of the country.

The accession of Offa to the crown of Mercia is an important event in the history of the Heptarchy. He was a man of great force and energy, unscrupulous and daring. He was well qualified to act with such men as Ethelfrith, Penda and Egfrid, and a true representative of Woden. He came

to the crown, it is said, by violence and blood, and during a long reign of thirty-nine years he sustained that character. He was inordinately ambitious to bring all South Britain under his control, and for that purpose carried war into all the adjoining states, with a cruel and unrelenting hand.

The people of Kent, from their long residence in Britain and mixture with the Britons, had become the most peaceable and civilized people of the country, and were the first to experience his attacks of injustice and oppression. In 773 he fought against the men of Kent, at Otanford in Kent, a great battle, in which, after a dreadful slaughter on both sides, he gained the victory. Soon afterwards he had a conflict with Cynewulf, the king of Wessex, at Benson, Oxfordshire, where Offa worsted the king of Wessex, compelled him to evacuate the town and took the castle. The historian of the times says: "Offa proved a most warlike king, for he was victorious in successive battles over the men of Kent, and the men of Wessex, and the Northumbrians. He was also a very religious man, for he translated the bones of St. Alban to the monastery which he had built and endowed with many gifts. He also granted to the successor of St. Peter, the Roman Pontiff, a fixed tax for every house in his kingdom forever."³² It is well that such a man should be religious, for at another time it is said he gave orders that St. Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, should be beheaded.

But of the wars carried on by Offa, the most noted and terrific was that against the Britons of Cambria, and by which he acquired the appellation of "Offa the Terrible." Offa and his people coveted the fair and fertile lands of Powys, being the west side of the valley of the Severn, from the estuary of the Dee to the Wye, and including the beautiful country of the Melvern hills. This was the birth place of Caractacus and his brave Silures. Into this country Offa poured his Mercians and their allies. Subjugation was the inevita-

³¹ Henry of Hunt., B. iv., p. 131, [A. D. 753].

³² Henry of Hunt., B. iv, p. 133, [A. D. 755].

ble consequence; while the West Saxons were constantly attacking the Britons on both sides of the Bristol Channel, and thus dividing their efforts for defense. On the death of Rodri Maelwynwg, in the year 755, he left his dominions to his son, Cynan Tindaethwy. The reign of Cynan was one of incessant war against the invading Saxons. He now rallied his countrymen in a brave and patriotic effort, to reclaim Powys from the clutches of the rapacious Offa. With these he rushed with mortal strength to recover the territory, which now had been left by Offa and a large part of his military strength; and drove out the intrusive occupants, and reinstated the former native proprietors. Cynan's success in recovering his fair land, might have been successful in holding it as his birth-right, if his antagonist had been any other person than Offa and his power. But that sovereign, commanding the resources of the best part of England with the experience of a successful warrior, mustered as in a common cause the forces of several Anglo-Saxon states, and marched with an invincible force into the contested territory; which the Cymry were compelled to abandon and flee to their strongholds in the midst of the mountains, and there wait for a favorable moment to attack and repel their enemy.

Offa well knew the resolute and persevering character of the Cymry, and well judged that they would never submit to be robbed without a blow in defense of their property, and a determined effort for its recovery. To secure his acquisition, Offa constructed a vast intrenchment, extending from the waters of the Dee near Chester, to that of the Wye, called "Clawdh Offa," or Offa's Dyke, by the Cymry. This dyke was an immense work, at least a hundred miles in length, protected and secured with ramparts and towers—ample evidence of Offa's opinion of what he had to encounter and defend against. On the Christmas after its completion Cynan and his valiant countrymen attacked it along the whole line, captured the towers and fortifications with their garrisons, destroyed the dyke, and repossessed themselves of the

captured country. Offa the Terrible, as he was called, with adequate force marched against them to retake his lost ground and take vengeance against the Cymry for defending what was their own. He inflicted death upon all who fell into his hands whom he suspected to be opposed to his possession. In detail he retook his fortifications along his established line, but with great opposition and resistance. At length the Cambrians determined to meet their enemy in a great battle in defense of their ancient lands which they so well loved, though their forces were inadequate to meet in equal numbers with those that Mercia could muster and bring into the field. A memorable battle accordingly took place at Rhuddlan, resulting in a terrible and bloody conflict. In it Caradoc, king of Gwynedd, was slain, with the flower of the British youth and nobility.

The British bards mourned this event by a poetic lament, entitled *Morva Rhuddlan*, the strains of which is often heard upon the harp in Wales. "We may yet listen," says Palgrave, "to the rich and plaintive melody which, to us Saxons, commemorates the victory of the Mercian Offa."³³ From this time this part of Cambria became permanently part of Mercia and afterwards that of England, consisting of five counties, including Salop, Hereford and Monmouth. Powys being thus robbed of its fairest lands, its seat of government, Pengwern,—Shrewsbury,—was removed to Methrafal, within the more secure parts of Wales.

The reader's indulgence is asked while the following extract is introduced from Palgrave, so truthful and appropriate, not only at this time, but at any time during the Saxon conquest of Britain. It is a matter which is supported by concurrence of all history, but frequently controverted by a class of English historians who assert that all the Ancient Britons were by the Saxon invaders either slaughtered or driven into Wales; which assertion is not only savagely wicked, but palpably untrue. Palgrave says: "Upon the conquests of

³³ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. iv, p. 71.

Offa and his predecessors it is necessary to make one important observation, namely, that the political subjugation of Powys and the adjoining countries did not necessarily lead to the total expulsion of the British tribes. English colonies were partially introduced; but the British peasantry continued to dwell upon the soil, though the domain was transferred to other lords; and so numerous were they that the country continued British in appearance even until the reign of king John, when, in common language, Hereford was still considered to be in Wales. In fact, the whole of this border was held and peopled nearly as we see Monmouthshire at the present day. The mass of the people are *Cymri*, speaking their ancient British language, and continue to give the ancient denomination of *Gwent* to the lands on which they dwell. But the higher orders, the gentry and the clergy and the magistrates, are almost wholly of the English race, and the county is an integral part of the realm of England. Very many of the territories ruled by the Anglo-Saxons had a double aspect—Anglo-Saxons, if you consider them as a state; British, if you view the populacy by which they were filled; and by recollecting this circumstance, we may reconcile and explain many seeming anomalies and contradictions in our histories."

"The results of these conflicts seem to have confirmed the authority of Offa over the Britons of Cambria, who became the vassals of his crown. Offa lived to accomplish the subjugation of all the Anglo-Saxon states south of the Humber. Kent was conquered in open battle (A. D. 775-776). The West Saxons, after loosing part of their territories, submitted by compromise. The East Saxons were subdued; and the great and opulent city of London, with the "Pagus" of Middlesex, had been annexed to Mercia, perhaps by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants."

Offa's life had been distinguished by incidents of the romantic, as well as those of violence and outrage. Of his queen, Drida or Cynedrida, there is told a very singular and adventurous story, which possibly may not all be true. She was allied to the

French king, and in her youth was charged with some crime. She by favor escaped the ordeal of iron and fire, but was banished by being set adrift at sea, in a boat, to be carried wherever the wind and waves might fortunately waft her. Fortunately she was drifted to the British shore, and her romantic story and adventure commended her to Offa's protection, which soon accomplished a more enduring conquest over his affections. She made a fit wife and companion for such a man as the king of Mercia. In the latter part of her lives, the young king of East Anglia, Ethelbert, a prince distinguished for his elegance of manners and beauty, came to Offa's court, as a welcomed guest, paying his address to their daughter, Etheldretha. Ethelbert relied upon the honor of a king, and proceeded with confidence with his friends and retinue to the palace of his intended father-in-law. But the cruel and crafty queen, Cynedrida, said to Offa, "You have him now in your power, whose kingdom you have so long coveted." To a man of Offa's principles that was a sufficient suggestion. Before the next morning, after a splendid reception, the young prince was beheaded, and his kingdom reduced by Offa's power to his own possession. Thus was accomplished one of the most treacherous, dishonorable and wicked crimes ever perpetrated.

But crime was no uncommon transaction with the Saxon princes of those days, and especially with the house of Offa. Upon the death of Cynewulf by assassination, Bertric became king of Wessex; and Egbert, the rightful prince, was obliged to flee as an exile. He first went to the court of Offa for an asylum. Bertric then sent his ambassador to Offa charged with the double duty, to demand the hand of Eadburga, one of Offa's daughters, and the head of Egbert. The first request was readily granted, for Bertric could not have sent to him a greater curse; but the second was denied him. This caused Egbert to flee to the court of Charlemagne, where he remained many years, until Bertric's death. Eadburga, the queen of Bertric, became an active, profligate and vicious

woman. When any thwarted her purpose, or crossed her love, her vengeance became terrible, and either the king, whom she held under her control, or she herself with a woman's skill would carry it into execution. She had prepared a cup of poison for a young nobleman who was her husband's favorite, which by some accident was so deposited that the king as well as the intended victim drank of it and died a horrible death (A. D. 800). The crime was discovered and the queen degraded and expelled by the nobles of Wessex; who at the same time enacted, that for the future no king's wife should be called queen or suffered to sit by the side of the king on the throne. Eadburga fled with great wealth to the court of Charlemagne, where at first she was well received; but after a checkered life of affluence, profligacy and degradation, she died the horrible death of an outcast, in the streets of an European city.

In the meantime Offa soon after his war with Cambria died about A. D. 794, and was succeeded, one after another, by two of his sons, neither of whom were able to sustain his kingdom as he had left it. One of these, Kenwulf, not long after, overran and ravaged Kent, took and carried off their king, and perpetrated many outrages upon the people and country. During the same time the princes and nobility of Northumbria were equally successful in perpetrating all manner of outrages, crimes and injuries upon each other, and their unhappy country and people.

Upon the death of Bertric, Egbert returned to Wessex, and was gladly admitted to the government, and successfully and with great vigor maintained his reign thirty-seven years. Having been banished from his country many years by Bertric, his predecessor, and having spent that time with Offa and at the court of Charlemagne, he came to his government much improved by observation and experience. By nature he was endowed with great executive talent and administrative capacity. He became the most distinguished and prosperous sovereign of his day; and brought, in the course of his reign, the whole of Eng-

land under his rule. But this was done without any definite constitutional union, leaving each division of the country to be ruled by a subordinate king, or kinglet, without a federate union. Egbert is acknowledged to be the eighth *bretwalda*, as Os Oswy of Northumbria had been the seventh, bearing a space of a hundred and thirty years (670—800) between them. This shows the uncertain and unfixed character of that denomination. Offa was not acknowledged as one of the *bretwaldas*, but his rule over England was fully as extensive and decided as that of any king who preceded him. It is probable that the designation of *bretwalda* depended upon common consent; and that Offa, with all his power, was too obscure a character in lineage to be thus admitted. If the position depended upon an election, or an established right, his power and elevation would have demanded it.

As characteristic of the age, it is said, that, "On the day that Egbert succeeded to the throne, Ethelmund, the ealderman, rode over from Wic, and coming to Kempsford met Weoxtan, the ealderman, with the men of Wiltshire. There was a great fight between them, in which both the chiefs were slain, but the Wiltshiremen got the victory."³⁴ But Egbert soon brought his dominions to order, as far as those times of war and fighting would permit. Gradually during his long reign he extended his rule and dominion over nearly all South Britain, and some have designated him as the first king of all England; but that title was neither adopted or acknowledged until more than a hundred years later, in the reign of Athelstan, the grand son of Alfred the Great. Notwithstanding the progressive conquest and rule of Egbert over Britain, the several states and kings by which the country had been distinguished, were still kept up and acknowledged for a long period after Egbert's time, as subordinate powers—vassals and tributaries to the kings of Wessex.³⁵

For a long time the kings of Wessex

³⁴ Henry of Huntingden, p. 141 [A. D. 800.]

³⁵ Palgrave's *Anglo-Sax.*, ch. iv, p. 51 and 97; Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. iii, ch. xi, p. 281.

had maintained a continual war against the Britons of the peninsula south of the Severn—Somerset, Devon and Cornwall; but all their efforts to subdue them were only a temporary operation, while the Britons were collecting their forces to recover their lost ground, until now, in Egbert's time, they were able to reduce it to Saxon rule, which they were able ever afterwards to maintain. Now, by the conquest of Offa and Egbert, the dominion of the Britons west of the acknowledged line running from the South Avon north to Scotland, was broken in upon, so that all had become subject to English rule, except that which is now properly included within Wales, west of Offa's Dike; and that which was included in Cumbria, which still maintained its independence, until about A. D. 950, when it became a part of England.

It would appear that for some years after Egbert came to his throne, he maintained a peaceable relation with the adjoining states, and his first wars, like all those of his race, were those against the Britons directly west of Wessex, to which we have alluded. This was fiercely prosecuted during a number of years (A. D. 809—814). Against this encroachment the Britons made their usual gallant resistance; but, with the power which Egbert was able to control and bring into the field, it was unavailing. It terminated in a great battle at Camelford, in which several thousands fell on both sides.

With the customary disposition of the Saxons for war, it was impossible for two such states as Wessex and Mercia long to remain at peace. The king of Mercia, Bernwulf, becoming jealous of the prosperity of Egbert, invaded Wessex with a formidable army. Egbert met them near Ellandune, near Wilton in Wiltshire, with an inferior force but superior in discipline and equipments. There a terrific battle took place, of which the old historians say, that "Ellandune's stream was tinged with blood, and was choked with the slain, and became foul with carnage." After a prodigious slaughter on both sides, Egbert gained a complete victory; which enabled him to expel the king, and annex Mercia to Wes-

sex. The subjugation of the kingdoms east of these soon followed, leaving only Northumbria, out of the union of what now constitute England. But that state had been for many years in a state of decline, in consequence of the bad government inflicted upon that people by its rulers. These under pretence of a right to rule, imposed upon their subjects the consequences of unjust wars, crimes and oppression, so that a party sufficiently strong to relieve the people, submitted their country as a subordinate and tributary government to that of Wessex, and received Egbert as their paramount lord. Thus this prince (A. D. 828—830) had become fully established in the state and majesty of Bretwalda and sovereign of all England; but generally with vassal and tributary kings, in each of the several states, as subjects of Wessex.

In the meantime a new element of disturbance had arisen in the history of Britain, and repeating upon the country again that scene of conquest, oppression and injustice perpetrated by the Romans and Saxons. This was the commencement of the invasion and conquest of Britain, by the Danes or Northmen—a people from Scandinavia. These were kindred and relatives of the Saxons; who, in their own country, were of the same race and subjects of the same customs, habits and religion, but differing in language as a separate dialect. They both followed the savage doctrines of Woden's religion, in which the cultivation of war, with its consequent blood, carnage and death, was its principal teachings. Their form of government was part of their religion; all who participated in it, both kings, nobles and ruling men, were part of the family and descendants of Woden. They were never at peace,³⁶ always engaged in some piratical enterprises, and wholly dependent upon war and plunder for sustenance and life. In the pursuit of their object no act of cruelty or violation of faith was revolting to their principles. Such were the enemies that the Anglo-Saxons were now to meet, after they

³⁶ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, ch. v, pp. 87-88.

had been sufficiently reformed, by civilization and Christianity while in Britain, to understand and feel the keenness of the change.

The first appearance of the Danes or Northmen in Britain was very much like a repetition of that of Hengist, in history. It is said that the Danes landed in Britain from three ships, to plunder the country.³⁷ The magistrate of the place, being ignorant who the people were, who had landed, or for what purpose they had come, incautiously went to them to ascertain, and if proper, to take them into custody. But he was instantly slain in the throng. "He was the first Englishman killed by the Danes, but after him many myriads were slaughtered by them; and these were the first ships that the Danes brought here." But from this time until that of William the Conqueror, the Danes continued their war and depredations upon the English people. A few years afterwards (A. D. 795), the Danes—"heathens," as the English historian calls them—ravaged Northumbria, and pillaged Egbert's monastery "at Donemuth." The most warlike of the English people there met them in battle, and repelled them; and their leaders were slain, and they retreated to their ships. In their flight some of their ships were wrecked by a storm, many of the men were drowned, and some were taken alive and beheaded on the beach. Thirty-eight years after this, near the close of Egbert's reign, the Danes again made their appearance; and the first place they ravaged was the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. The next year they came over in thirty-five very large ships, and Egbert met them with his army, at Charmouth, in battle, in which the Danes were victorious, and two bishops and two ealdermen of the Anglo-Saxons were slain. The following year they again landed in Devonshire, where they were joined by some of the Britons in a revolt against Egbert, but against these the king was successful in routing them triumphantly. The next year (A. D. 836) Egbert, in the midst of his success and triumph departed this

life, with the fame of a great king who had rendered his country important service.

Offa's hostility to Cambria was continued by Egbert with that unscrupulous severity that has ever characterized their dealings with them. Cynan, the king of Cambria, succeeded to the throne in A. D. 755, upon the death of his father the brave and patriotic Rodri, the same eventful year that brought Offa to his throne, and its consequent hostility to Cambria. Cynan ruled until his death in A. D. 819, and consequently sustained a long reign of sixty-four years. It was this prince, therefore, who sustained his country so faithfully and vigorously against Offa the terrible when supported by Mercia and Saxon power. Offa, after wrenching Powys from Cambria, and securing it by his dyke, died twenty-five years before Cynan did; during which time the latter was frequently annoyed by the hostilities of the Saxons at his home, and upon his brethren on the peninsula of Cornwall on the south side of the Bristol channel. He was also annoyed in his latter years by his brother Howell, who was desirous to secure the inheritance to himself in opposition to Cynan's daughter, Essyllt, his only heir. But this daughter did succeed to the crown upon the death of her father, and by whom, with her husband, Merfyn, a royal chieftain and heir in right of his mother to the kingdom of Powys, Cambria was governed twenty-five years (A. D. 819—844). After the battle of Ellandune, in which Mercia was defeated, Egbert proceeded to bring Cambria to his tributary, and for that purpose first proceeded against the Britons of the peninsula of Cornwall, which resulted in the battle of Camelford already alluded to. He then reduced to subjection as tributaries the people of Northumbria, and next proceeded, with the whole force of England at his command, to subject what remained of Cambria, now Wales, in the same manner to his interest, as tributaries. In 828, Egbert accordingly^a led his powerful army into North Wales and enforced submission to his demand for the payment of trib-

³⁷ Henry of Huntingdon, B. iv, p. 138, in Offa's time about A. D. 789.

ute. and his control as their paramount sovereign.

In order to secure for the future what he had thus accomplished, and put Essyllt and her husband Merfyn and Wales completely under his control, as his vassals, Egbert seized upon Mona, Anglesey, which contained the capital of Gwynedd; and upon Chester, which formed the key to the communication between the Cymry of Cumbria and those of the south. Thus do we, for the present, leave the Saxons and the Cymry—not only the Cymry of Wales, but their number greatly multiplied in the descendants of the Ancient Britons left throughout Britain.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF EGBERT TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST. (A. D. 836—1066.)

§1.—*From the Death of Egbert to that of Athelstan.* (A. D. 836—940.)

Egbert, whose reign had just transpired, had brought all the Heptarchy under one government, not as a consolidated union or a confederacy, but as one superior and powerful state commanding subjection and obedience over another. It was not England, but Wessex extending its rule and command over the other states of the Heptarchy. Most of these states still, for a long time, preserved their respective kings and government, but they were subordinate, as vassals and tributaries to Wessex. Some of the *bretwaldas* had been addressed as king of the English; but none assumed the title of king of England until Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred the great, about a hundred years after Egbert. The name of England was not used as a general name of the country until after that time; the previous names were, Britain, Saxonia, Saxondum, or Heptarchy.

But the country, by whatever name it was then known, was hardly put under one government by Egbert when the new enemy of the country, under the general name of the Danes, made their hostile appearance, and kept the country in continual war from that time until the Norman

conquest, a period of about two hundred and thirty years. As already stated, the hostilities of the Danes commenced upon the Saxons precisely in the same manner as the Saxons commenced upon the Britons about three hundred and eighty-seven years previous. Both commenced as a piratical operation, with a view to the acquisition of spoils and booty; but after acquiring a foothold in the country, they adopted the idea of conquest. As professors of the religion of Woden, both made war their principal study and practice, with all its horrid consequences, injustice and wickedness. Their religion taught them to love battle and the shedding of blood; and that death in battle was the most honorable, and a sure way to heaven.¹ Their future hopes were concentrated in the soldier's future reward in the halls of Valhalla, "where the souls of those who bravely perished on the hard-fought battle field were at once waited." These were their hopes and incitement to action, without the least regard to justice or iniquity of the cause, or the misery and suffering it brought upon others.

The Britons gave the name of Saxons to all the invaders of their country who came from the neighborhood of the mouth of the Elbe and the Eider, though among themselves they were distinguished as the Jutes, or the Angles, or the Saxons proper, because to strangers they appear all as one people, and hardly distinguishable, except among themselves. So the Anglo-Saxons gave the denomination of Danes upon all these new invaders who were now about to trouble England so fiercely, though some of them came from Sweden and Norway, as well as from Zealand and Jutland—the proper Denmark. These were all called Danes in popular language, for the same reason that the former invaders were called by the one designation of Saxons. All these people were so similar in their habits, customs and religion that it was difficult to distinguish them—probably the Danes and Saxons originally differed more

¹ See Turner's *Anglo-Saxon*, appendix to B. ii, ch. iii, p. 147—163; Miller's *Anglo-Sax.*, ch. vii, p. 53—70.

in language than in anything else; but the foundation of both was the Teutonic language. The probability of the difference is this, that when the old Cimbri left the Cimbri Chersonesus, in the time of the Cimbri and Teutons, there was a part of the Cimbri who went north, as well as the others went south, and became mixed up and absorbed with the Teutons of the north, which accounts for the difference between the Dane or Northman and the Teuton of the south. This caused considerable change in the language of the Northman, but their habits, customs and religion continued to be that of the savage Woden.

These Northmen, so called Danes, were all addicted like the Saxons before them to a sea-faring life, and to piracy and plundering. The settled and improved part of their country became too populous, and required emigration, and they chose the enterprise and piracy of the sea, rather than the honest pursuits on land.

"It is declared," says Turner,² "to have been a law or custom in the north, that one of the male children should be selected to remain at home to inherit the government. The rest were exiled to the ocean to wield their sceptres amid the turbulent waters. The consent of the northern society entitled all men of royal descent, who assumed piracy as a profession, to enjoy the name of king, though they possessed no territory. Hence the sea-kings were the kinsmen of the land-sovereigns. * * * * We may expect that the ocean swarmed with sea-kings. * * * * Piracy was not only the most honorable occupation, and the best harvest of wealth—it was not only consecrated to public emulation by the industrious who pursued it, but no one was esteemed noble, no one was respected, who did not return in the winter to his home with ships laden with booty. The spoils consisted of every necessary of life, clothes, domestic utensils, cattle, which they killed and prepared on the shores they ravaged, slaves, and other property. It is not surprising that while this spirit prevailed, every country abounded in deserts."

"Even the regular land-kings addicted themselves to piracy. It was the general amusement of their summer months; hence almost every king commemorated by Snorre is displayed as assaulting other provinces, or as suffering invasions in his own. With strange infatuation, the population of the day welcomed the successful vikings with the loudest acclamation; although from the prevalence of the practice, domestic misery became the general lot. The victors of one day were the victims in the next; and he who was consigning without pity the women and children of other families to the grave or to famine, must have often found on his return but the ashes of his paternal habitation, and the corpses of those he loved."

Such is the description given, by a competent historian, of the enemies who were now attacking Britain, as pirates and conquerors; and as these were from the immediate neighborhood from which the Saxons came, and essentially the same race of people and customs, we can conclude from these facts as well as from the positive narration of history, that the invasion of the Danes or Northmen was only a repetition, in all its essential features, of the former invasion of the Saxons upon the Britons. When Henry of Huntingdon describes the Danes as a most barbarous nation loose, "like a swarm of wasps, sparing neither age nor sex,"³ the editor charges him with overstating the atrocities of the Northmen as compared with other invaders, and says: "The progress of the Saxons in subduing and settling the country would as fitly apply as that of the Danes." And so it would, and it would be hard to distinguish them. Both the Saxons and Danes destroyed and plundered wherever they went—burned and destroyed all churches and monasteries, and where there was any opposition all towns, and frequently slaughtered all the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. It is the favorite theory of a class of historians that the Saxons slaughtered all the Britons who did not flee the country. This was true in some instances, but by no

² Anglo-Sax. Hist., B. iv, ch. ii, p. 291.

³ Henry of Huntingdon. B. v, p. 148.

means universally so; for if it were, it would have been the most inhuman, cruel and wicked war recorded in history. There was, however, enough of it done to make it the most barbarous war on record; to destroy the improvements of the country, and remit it back to savage desolation. In the dispensation of human affairs, it is often the case that one crime or wickedness produces a return as a just retribution. This was an instance of it, when the Danes inflicted upon the Saxons the same injustice, barbarity and oppression which they themselves had upon the Britons.

The government which Egbert (A. D. 836) left to his son and successor, Ethelwulf, stood in need of a consolidation by means of some constitutional union. The Saxon aristocracy did not care for it, for that would lessen their power, and restrain their license and liberty of controlling and oppressing the people. The people themselves were too ignorant of the principles of government to understand and require the benefit of it; for they were all in the hands of their aristocracy, who all claimed they were descendants of Woden, and therefore ruled by some divine right. The rule which Ethelwulf had thus acquired over the Heptarchy was a divided government,—that of a powerful and superior state over its neighbors, who were bound to obey, and not the acknowledged and chosen sovereign of the whole. There was this difference between the British pendragons and the Saxon bretwaldas, that the former were elected by a general assembly of the states, and was therefore a sovereign of a confederacy; but the bretwalda became such by some tacit conventionalism, as the most powerful and distinguished sovereign in the Heptarchy, to whom the other kings were vassals or tributaries. The subsidiary kings were often at war with each other, and sometimes at war with the paramount sovereign. This was often the case to the great advantage of their common enemy, the Danes. Such want of union has been often charged against the Britons, as the cause of the Saxons' success against them; but the same charge is fully as conspicuous against the Saxons themselves, as the cause

of the success of the Danes.

Upon the death of Egbert the sovereignty of the Heptarchy passed to his son, Ethelwulf, as king of Wessex and paramount lord, and continued in his family—himself and four sons in succession—sixty-five years (A. D. 836—901). Ethelwulf reigned twenty-one years,⁴ and was succeeded by his son, Ethelbald, who reigned three years; and he by his brother, Ethelbert, who reigned five years; upon whose death his youngest brother, Alfred the Great—son of Ethelwulf, ascended the throne as king of Wessex, and reigned thirty years (A. D. 871—901). During these sixty-five years South Britain experienced most calamitous times from war and invasion; not only from the war of the invasion of the Danes,⁵ but frequent wars among the Saxons themselves, and against their neighbors, the Ancient Britons. For after Egbert's time the Danes renewed their war and piracies against Britain, with great fierceness and barbarity. These new enemies of Britain, like their Saxon predecessors, were renowned for their enterprise in the pursuit of piracy and plunder, and for the indifference with which they encountered the dangers of the sea, and death in battle. They assumed that ordinary death in the course of nature was dishonorable, and that death in battle was a sure road to heaven. They boasted that "they never slept under a smoke-dried roof; and had never emptied a cup seated in the chimney-corner."⁶ They despised the comforts of civilization, as well as the dictates of humanity. The sea-king, or viking, who had built up his reputation upon these principles

⁴ Henry of Hunt., B. v, p. 148.

⁵ Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. ii, p. 50. "The Danes or Northmen descended from the same primitive race," says Thierry, "with the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks; their language had roots identical with the idioms of these two nations: but this token of an ancient fraternity did not preserve from their hostile incursion, either Saxon Britain or Frankish Gaul, nor even the territory beyond the Rhine, then exclusively inhabited by Germanic tribes. The conversion of the Southern Teutons to the Christian faith had broken all bonds of fraternity between them and the Teutons of the north. In the ninth century the man of the north still gloried in the title of son of Odin, and treated as bastards and apostates the Germans who had become children of the church; he made no distinction between them and the conquered population whose religion they had adopted."

⁶ Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. ii, p. 57.

and practices, who was a-knowledged king on board his ships as well as when he was on land, was sure to rally around him sufficient number of his hardy and ignorant countrymen who believed in his doctrines and principles, and were ready to join in his enterprise. Three days of favorable winds would enable them to sail from their own country, north of the Elbe, to the southeastern part of Britain. Here they perpetrated upon the country the greatest calamity, wherever they happened to strike; and none could tell what port would be the first, or who would be the first sufferers. Their object was spoils and plunder, and nothing was secure or sacred from their grasp. Whenever they arrived neither man nor property was safe from their violence, and when they departed the country was left in desolation.

When the Danes first made their appearance their object seemed to be piracy and plunder; but like the Saxons, who preceded them, as they proceeded their demands increased, until they laid some claim to the country itself. It is said that at an early appearance of the Northmen, a seaking, Ragnar Lodbrog by name, had become renowned on account of his enterprises as a pirate on the borders of the Baltic. He afterwards, in large ships, with his three sons and followers, came to Britain to gain spoils and to return with booty. As in other places he landed in Northumbria; and after many battles and conflicts he was taken prisoner, and cruelly treated, by being thrown into a den of vipers. While thus suffering and calmly waiting death, he composed a celebrated epic and biographical song, in which he recites his adventures, exploits and misfortunes, and conjures his children and people fearlessly to pursue his adventures and avenge his death. Ragnar's death is supposed to have taken place in Northumbria, about 860, while Eila⁷ usurped a sovereignty there; but Ragnar's song of his adventures and cruel death, appealing to his people in the terrific spirit of Woden for war and revenge, excited them to renewed exertion

against the people of Britain; and induced them to set up a claim of the right of conquest, instead of piracy and pillage.

In the meantime, soon after the accession of Ethelwulf, his whole kingdom was attacked by the Danes in various places, and their system of pillage and plunder became intolerable, and injurious to the country. The first year of Ethelwulf's reign the Danes, in two large parties, attacked the country in the vicinity of Southampton, where they had come in thirty-three ships. Against these the king sent his army divided into two divisions; in one of which they were successful, and beat the Danes with great slaughter. In the other instance the Danes triumphed; the Saxon commander was slain and his army defeated. The next year similar events took place in the eastern part of the kingdom; and the Danes reduced to their subjection the eastern coast of England from the Humber to the south of Kent, putting a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword. The next year the pagan and heathen army, as they were called, penetrated further into the country and committed great ravages and slaughter about Canterbury, Rochester and London. The year after the Danes landed at Charmouth from thirty-five ships crowded with men, against whom the king sent his army which were defeated. Five years afterwards (A. D. 845) these pagan enemies of the country landed in the south west—in Devon and Cornwall—in large numbers, and a great battle was fought against them at the mouth of the Parret, in which they were defeated and great numbers slain. These attacks and depredations of the Danes were becoming frequent, if not constant. In the sixteenth year of Ethelwulf's reign they came in great force, and landed from two hundred and fifty ships at the mouth of the Thames, took London and Canterbury by storm, and defeated the king of Mercia in battle. Soon after this the royal army met the pagan, in Surrey, when a very great battle occurred, in which the English were signally victorious. The same year the English gained a naval victory over their enemies near Sandwich, in which they captured nine ships and put the

⁷ Turner's History Anglo-Saxons, B. iv, ch. 3, p. 397, n. q.

rest of their fleet to flight. About the same time another battle occurred in Devonshire, in which the English were successful in defeating and expelling their enemies. The English now greatly rejoiced upon their triumphs over their heathen and detested enemy, although the Danes were able to spend their first winter (A. D. 851) in England, on the Isle of Thanet, a place subject to the visits of every sort, of both friends and foes of Britain.

During these times the Cambrians were compelled often to meet one or the other of these hostile parties—the Saxons or the Danes. In one or two instances the Britons south of the Severn united with the Danes in an attack upon their Saxon enemies, with the hopes of retaining that part of the island within their own jurisdiction. At another the Angles united with the Danes in endeavoring to conquer the country between the Dee and the Conway, with the object of gaining common plunder. No policy was pursued towards the Ancient Britons but war and conquest. The Saxons appear incapable of inaugurating a policy of peace, and like the Romans under Agricola satisfy the people by affording a government of peace, conferring justice and safety; but the only policy was that of war and spoils, of conquest, vassalage and tribute, without any accompanying benefits. Whenever the Saxons were not sufficiently engaged in war with the Northmen, they were sure to be engaged against the Britons. In 844, Bushred, king of Mercia, attacked the Cambrians, and in a severe battle defeated them, in which was slain Merfyn, the king consort of queen Essyllt. Upon the death of the queen, which soon thereafter occurred, their son, Rhodri Mawr, (Roderic the Great,) acceded to the government of the whole country—that of Gwynedd in right of his mother, that of Powys in right of his father, and that of Dehenbarth in right of his wife;⁸ by means of which these three provinces were brought under one common government, and Rhodri Mawr was acknowledged king of all Wales (Brenhin Cymru Oil).

Rhodri was now compelled to sustain the war waged by the Mercians against the Cambrians, in which he was so successful as to expel them from the country, and compelled Bushred, the Mercian king to call on Ethelwulf for aid. Ethelwulf having now just passed a very successful year against the Danes, was ready to join in any war against the Welsh. Between the two kings a very powerful army was raised and sent against Wales. This army was able to march through and ravage the country, without being able to extort any concession of the territory thus overrun; but were induced, by this determined resistance, to accept a renewal of the usual tributary allegiance. This peace was soon more effectually cemented between the two parties by the marriage of the daughter of Rhodri to Bushred, the Mercian king; but in those days no family alliance was much guaranty to any lasting peace.

From the year 851 to 866 the accession of Ethelred, Ethelwulf's third son, England witnessed its portion of war and tumult, both with the Northmen and among its own rulers; but now the Danes were about to make a more determined and systematic effort, not only to rob and plunder, but to subdue and conquer the country. The people of East Anglia and Kent made some efforts to purchase their peace, and bribe the Danes to depart. After paying them large sums, they found them faithless and treacherous, always finding some pretense for evading or violating their promises.

In A. D. 871 Alfred, the fourth son, ascended the throne, and about the same time the most determined efforts were made by the Danes to invade Britain anew by the most formidable navy and army ever raised for that purpose. This enterprise was headed by three sons of Ragnar—Halfdane, Hingwar, and Hubba—who had excited the whole north, by reciting orally and singing the epic of their father's renowned piracies and death, and rallied them to revenge. They intended to land in Northumbria, the scene of their father's sufferings and death, but some fortuitous chance carried them south of the Wash,

⁸ Miss Williams' History of Wales, ch. x, p. 121; Annals of Cumbria, p. 110.

and they landed in East Anglia. These poured their heathen and barbarous hordes over the country, and their victories, which were gained as well by their artifice as by their prowess and fighting, placed the land wholly in their power. Great many of the people were slain, and all sorts of pillaging and devastations were committed. They proceeded west and south, and wherever they went houses and towns were sacked and burned, and those which were in any manner connected with the Christian religion were special objects of their malevolence; and the monasteries at Croyland, Peterborough, Thorney, Ramsey and Ely were sacked and destroyed. Many acts of cruelty and barbarity were committed,—no respect was shown to the rights of humanity or lives of individuals, which were often disposed of without regard to age or sex. They took possession of East Anglia, and placed it under their own government—made a prisoner of the pious king Edmund who governed, who was put to death with cruel barbarity, which has sanctified his name as that of the martyred king.

The Danes pushed their success across the island to the west, with great sagacity and military skill, taking and occupying important points in the interior as well as securing eligible ports on the sea shore. It was their common practice as soon as they landed to take possession of whatever they desired, and especially of all horses, with which they would organize an army of horsemen to invade and take by surprise the interior of the country and collect spoils and booty.

It was in the midst of this war and these difficulties that Alfred was called to the throne, upon the death of his brother Ethelred. He was now twenty-three years of age; and had been, from his birth, reared and educated, according to those times, with a view to his ascension to the throne. During the reign of his late brother Ethelred, he had been much trusted with the administration, and had rendered much service in the war against the invasions of the Danes. But as much as he was qualified by opportunities and experience for his elevation to his high, dangerous, and la-

borious position, he was still better qualified by those rare gifts of Providence, by which he was so greatly distinguished, in his mental character, for wisdom, discretion and prudence, as well as in his love of justice, humanity and improvement, which have induced all people to fondly contemplate him, and readily ascribe to him the appellation of Alfred the Great. The Danes then had overrun the country, and in many places, especially north of London, had made permanent settlements; but wherever they went or settled their first introduction was that of desolation, which took savage pleasure in the slaughter of all Christian people, and the destruction of all sacred places; of which the Saxons so justly and greatly complained; which was a retribution, exactly the same in kind—but perhaps to them unconscious—of those injuries which the Saxons formerly inflicted upon the Britons.

Alfred took possession of the government at a time when the Danes had become well acquainted with England, and when their forces there had become powerful. During his first year he was compelled to fight against his heathen enemy nine great battles in his hereditary dominion of Wessex, besides encountering them, in a real progress of conquest, in East Anglia, Lindsey and Northumbria. In all these places Alfred and his people were compelled to meet a most fierce contest with the Danes, not only for the preservation of their rights and property, but also for the possession of their country. In this contest the loss of life, and the consequent suffering, was terrific. To the Saxon people this was lamentable, and appreciated by them; but to the Northmen it was considered as a matter in their vocation, and death as on their way to heaven. Though many thousands of the invaders fell, yet the same country, in the neighborhood of the Elbe and the Baltic, was constantly sending recruits to fill up the void in the ranks of the invaders.⁹ It now became a conflict be-

⁹ Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, B. iv, ch. vii, p. 342; *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon*, ch. vi, p. 104, where it is said: "During these transactions a continual predatory warfare was carried on in every part of Britain by the Danish or northern chieftains. They infested

tween the Danes and the Saxons of England, as to the possession and government of the country, just as it had been by the Britons against the Saxons, and the Romans. Whether the Saxons were capable to appreciate that this repetition of the very same kind of infliction was, in the ways of Providence, a just retribution, may be very questionable; but it is a sad lesson to the world, teaching the justice and propriety of leaving every people to govern themselves. Apparently the Danes had now made up their minds to possess themselves of the country, and it was no longer a mere question of piracy and plunder, but of settlement and dominion, in which every Briton was again called upon to contend for his rights, property and liberty; and it is probable, as it will be seen, that it was only the efforts and merits of Alfred that prevented the intention and efforts of the Danes from becoming a success.

In the winter of 872 the Danes took their winter quarters in London; and no part of the island was now exempt from being subject to their excursions. Halfdene with his men had overrun and subjugated Northumbria, and proceeded to invade and harrass the people of Strath-Clyde and Cumbria, and from thence into Cambria, so that the Cymry were made the object of their hostility as well as the Saxons. They penetrated into Gwynedd, crossed the Menai into the isle of Mona, where Rhodri twice met them in battle, and gave them an effectual check; while other bands of Danes were marauding and carrying fire and sword through South Wales.

During the years of 876--877 the Danes had completely subdued the country north of the Humber and were rapidly doing the same with Mercia. Their progress was from the northeast to the southwest, as that of the Saxons had been from the southeast to the northwest. These two invasions of Britain were almost exactly alike in the character of the invaders and their mode

of warfare. The great difference between the two events is that the Saxons proceeded slower. It was about one hundred and fifty years after these took possession of their first settlement before they obtained possession of the whole of that part of the island included in the Heptarchy. They proceeded slow and cautious, first securing possessions on the sea shore and holding them, and getting well established before moving into the interior; which they did not do until they had three or four generations of native born, as well as continual accession from the country of their ancestors. Much progress into the interior was attempted to be made; but the progress of the Northmen was more rapid. They made hasty marches, and rapid movements from one part of the country to another, acquiring spoils, until they succeeded in making a fixed settlement.

The continued and perplexing invasions of almost every part of the country at the same time became very annoying and discouraging to Alfred and his people. In January, 878, transpired an affair which rendered the times still more discouraging and desperate. While the Saxons were one night celebrating the festival of epiphany, at Chippenham, in Wessex, the Danes made an attack by surprise, and, upon a desperate fight, slaughtered and captured many; and but few made their escape, among whom was Alfred himself. This sad defeat and other discouragements brought on Alfred much depression of spirit, that for a while he apparently had given all up for lost. He wandered to the west in the disguise of a peasant or a beggar; and at length, as such, sought the home and protection of a herdsman, at an obscure and forlorn place, in the midst of woods and marshes, at the junction of the Thone and the Parrett, in Somerset, where there is now a highly cultivated country, still known by its ancient name of Athelnay, or Prince's Island. Here he spent the most of the sorrowful winter in meditating his sad condition and devising plans for his future conduct, and to retrieve the lost condition of his unhappy country. Many romantic stories are told of transactions in domestic affairs between the herds-

the coast of France with equal pertinacity. Sometime they were defeated; but after every reverse they seemed more powerful than ever. 'If thirty thousand are slain in one day,' said the English, 'there will be double that number in the field on the morrow.'

man's good wife and her unknown royal guest.¹⁰ Here he spent the winter as an outlaw, but by the means of faithful friends received intelligence of proceedings in the country, in connection with the Danes.

In the meantime the Danes were active in desolating and subduing the country. Good news was brought to Alfred that the Danes had come in a great fleet from Kent and attempted to make a landing in Devon, but that the people there had met them and given them a successful battle—had slain many of the enemy, with two of their most distinguished chieftains, Biorn and Hubba, and had taken their magical banner, the Raven, which loss, added to the death of their renowned leaders, depressed the Danes with the idea that they had met with a fatal loss, which would be irreparable. This good news met Alfred's anxious hopes and inspired him with a new resolution. He disguised himself as a minstrel, and as a gleeman made his way into the Danish camp in Wessex. His singing and music were joyfully received in the Danish camp, and added much to their rude hilarity. Without raising the suspicion of the enemy, Alfred was able to make all his desired observations, and departed. Returning to his hiding place at Athelney, he settled upon his plan of operations, called in his friends and proceeded to fortify and intrench the place. The news spread, and the men of Devon and Somerset rallied to his aid. These people were a mixture of the Ancient Britons and Saxons, who now, not for the first time, met as allies in a mutual cause of defense.

Alfred now issued his proclamation to his people, announcing his situation and hopes, and calling upon his people to meet him at a given place and day to prepare for

further action, and redeem their country from its oppressors. That place was Egbert's stone, on the verge of the forest of Selwood; "which, by the Welsh or British inhabitants of Somerset, who perhaps constituted the majority of the population, was called by the name of *the great forest*, or *Coit Mawr*."¹¹ Here he unfurled his standard, and the people of the whole country joyfully rallied to his call, and zealously engaged in his good cause.

Alfred was now ready for operation, and he was enthusiastically supported by the people. He soon organized his army, and advanced to a place called Ethandune in front of the enemy, on the Avon, and but a little distance below Chippenham, and within five months of the time he was defeated at that place. A battle was inevitable, and Alfred addressed his men as Britons had been often before addressed, when called upon to repel an invading foe, either Roman or Saxon; and when perhaps they were told that it was the last opportunity of securing themselves from a disgraceful slavery. "The battle began by a flight of arrows. The English and British lances were next hurled against the Northmen, and when the missiles were expended the combatants engaged hand to hand." After a terrible conflict, a remnant of the Danes, under their chief, Guthrun, were compelled to seek refuge within their intrenchments, where they were closely besieged by Alfred. Within fourteen days they found themselves without hopes of relief, and being upon the point of starvation, they were compelled to accept the terms of surrender offered by Alfred. He saw a country large enough for both people, if they would resort to the peaceable pursuits of agriculture, instead of pillage and plunder. He also saw it was impossible to expel the Danes; he therefore offered to divide the island between them, they to take the east and he the west, "by a line stretching to the river Thames, and from thence to the waters of the Lea, and thence to its head waters; thence straight to Bedford, and finally going along the river Oure, and let

¹⁰ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, B. vi, p. 107, says that Alfred had there with him his mother, Osburgha, but this is doubtful; for Ethelwulf, his father, when Alfred was only about eight years of age, married Judith, the daughter of Charles, the Bald, of France. Other historians say she was dead. But Palgrave (p. 92) says: "It must be that Ethelwulf, in order to make way for Judith, had put away Osburgha, the mother of his children. This fact is not mentioned in express terms in our ancient historians, but Osburgha is noticed in a manner which cannot be explained by any other hypothesis." And this may be noticed as part of the evidence of the manners of the times.

¹¹ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. vi, p. 110. 1 Pictorial Hist. of England, B. ii, ch. i, p. 151.

them end at Watling-Street." East of this was to be *Dane-land*, or their dominion, which would unite with Northumbria, which was already fully in their possession. This proposed treaty contemplated to surrender to the Danes all the eastern part of England, but retaining to Alfred the west, including London.

Alfred was suspicious of Guthrun's good faith and honest adherence to the terms of the treaty, and observing the peace. About a year previous, Guthrun with his Danes had taken Exeter, where he was soon after besieged by Alfred. He was compelled to a surrender as in this case; and in his pagan manner made oath to observe the terms of that treaty and surrender, which Alfred found to be of little or no restraint upon his conduct or action. The Saxons generally complained of the Danes as being destitute of good faith, just as the Britons did of the pagan Saxons. Alfred urged this want of good faith upon Guthrun as a reason for hesitating to ratify the treaty. He urged upon him to become a Christian, the propriety of their principles, and the observance of good faith in treaties. Guthrun listened to these propositions and arguments with all the candor that a heathen would be supposed to be capable of, and consented to become a Christian and be baptized. This was done, and at his baptism and confirmation Alfred stood as Guthrun's godfather.

This treaty was thus concluded between the parties, but much censured by many of the Saxons, because Alfred did not insist upon the Danes leaving England. But Alfred had wisdom enough to perceive that the other Danes, except those who were parties to the treaty, would have laughed to scorn its supposed binding force upon them; besides the Danes had command of the sea, and could pour into the country their thousands of new recruits the next year. In fact, Alfred saw it was just as impossible for him to get rid of the Danes in that manner as it was formerly for the Britons to accomplish the same thing with the Saxons. Alfred justly thought it the best policy for both people to settle down in peace in their respective territory,

and cultivate the arts of peace. And so it was; but then, what could be depended upon a people who loved war better than peace, and who were taught to believe that death in battle was the sure road to heaven?

But the treaty was in a great measure observed, and each party for a considerable time did much to observe its terms. Guthrun, as long as he lived, appears to have continued in peace and friendship with his godfather, and rendered to him that subjection which was due from a vassal to his lord. Guthrun settled in East Anglia, where he was king; and the whole of the country east of the treaty line was divided up between different Danish chieftains under their own government: and Northumbria was already so. Peace prevailed for a while, and the country began to improve and recover from the effects of war and its desolation. In about eighteen years after this (A. D. 906) all this territory was recovered from the Danish government by Edward the Elder, Alfred's son and successor. The people for a while seemed to enjoy the just reward of peace, and to become sensible of the dire effects of their own wars and their cruel barbarity.

Alfred now proceeded to vigorously renew and restore the country to its wonted prosperity in time of peace. He confided the west part of Mercia, which by the treaty remained within his dominion, to his son-in-law, Ethelred Earl of Mercia, who had married his daughter Elfeda, to be governed subject to his control. He soon proceeded to London, took possession of it as part of Mercia, and restored it to its former condition, by repairing its walls and battlements.

But this state of affairs did not continue but a few years, before the Northmen again began to show their hostility. Though Guthrun, during his life, continued to observe the terms of his treaty in good faith, he died in a few years, in the government of East Anglia; yet the Danes, as pirates and marauders, hovered on the sea about the coast of Britain and France, and often attacked various places for spoils and plunder. To meet the naval force of the Danes, Alfred proceeded to build a navy

of his own, which among the Saxons had been neglected for many years, and for that purpose sent into Wales for workmen,¹² where they, as Britons, had long been distinguished as mechanics. He was soon able to send out a fleet capable to cope with the Danish pirates, and in some instances gained signal victories over them. The Northmen had troubled France in the same manner as they had Britain, and were now returning down the Seine from a siege of Paris. They first went to take St. Loo in Armorica, where the Bretons fought them; and driving them into the river, where many were drowned. They next collected a great army and a large fleet, with a view of making a descent upon England. They came with a fleet of 250 ships (A. D. 890) and disembarked in the south of Kent. In the meantime Hasting, a notorious chieftain, with eighty ships and another part of their pagan forces, landed within the Thames, and constructed a camp at Milton; but here he came to terms with Alfred, and solemnly swore he would never injure him in any manner. The king therefore showed him, his wife and children great favors, and were baptized, the king standing as godfather for one of them. Alfred thought these favors and solemn promises would secure the good faith of this disciple of Woden; but it was not so, for Hasting was as faithless as ever. He merely changed his camp to Bamfleet; and thence issued forth to plunder the king's country. Alfred stormed his intrenchments, and took his wife, children and ships. He restored his wife and children to Hasting, for he had been their godfather, and hoped it would have good effect on his pagan enemy. But that was an act of generosity which he was incapable of appreciating. He collected his forces, went into the interior of Mercia, and for a time carried on a war of ravage and plunder in the heart of England.

At the same time Alfred was informed that the Danes had landed, and were besieging Exeter, and committing acts of depredation and plunder on the coast of Dev-

onshire; and similar intelligence came from other quarters. Alfred was now perplexed with various attacks of his enemies as formerly. Those in the interior proceeded west as far the Severn under the lead of Hastings. Ethelred, the earl of Mercia, vigorously pursued him with his forces, and called upon his allies, the Cymry, for aid.¹³ These came with alacrity under the command of the brave and gallant sons of Rhodri, uniting with the Saxons in the preservation of their own country. The Danes were now beset by forces on both sides; and to save themselves they formed an intrenched camp on the banks of the Severn. After being here besieged several weeks, having lived some time on horse flesh, and being on the point of starvation, they took the resolution of cutting their way out, which they accomplished by unexpectedly rushing with desperate force through the ranks of the Angles, avoiding those of the Cymry. They made their way back, with great loss, to their shipping in Essex. The next year Hastings, still full of enterprise in war and mischief, collected another large army, confided the care of their women, children and property to their Danish friends settled in the east, made a rapid march to the west across the whole island, took Chester by surprise, fortified and intrenched it, together with the adjoining peninsula between the Dee and the Mersey. Alfred pursued them with his forces, laid siege to Chester and their intrenchments, but soon found that the Danes had fortified themselves with so much skill, that it soon became hopeless to reduce their works. He therefore laid waste the country round about there, and withdrew into Mercia. Forthwith, upon being relieved, Hastings and his hungry followers rushed into Gwynedd and plundered it of whatever was valuable to them. He then returned, laden with spoils, to Chester; and finding his service being called for in the east, he proceeded thither with his army, around Alfred's position, through Northern Mercia and East Anglia to his Danish people in Essex. He next proceeded with his army and shipping up the Thames, and

¹² This is so stated by Mr. Southey in his *Naval History*.

¹³ Florence of Worces., p. 83.

then some distance up the Lea, where he secured himself in an intrenched camp within a few miles of London, with a view of plundering and living upon the country around it. The Londoners bravely sallied forth to attack them; and heroically engaged them in battle, in which they were victorious, having slain many of the Danes and a number of their chiefs; they drove them into and confined them to their fortified camp. Hither came Alfred (A. D. 895) with his army, and besieged them. He found their intrenchments so strong that he had to make his approaches with great labor. He first diverted the waters of the Lea from where the Danish shipping were moored. This was so done as to leave the shipping stranded in the bottom of the river.¹⁴ When Hastings and his Danes had discovered that their shipping had been rendered useless, he adopted a new resolution, characteristic of his enterprising nature. He abandoned his shipping, and marched across the country to Bridgenorth near the Severn, in Shropshire, where they erected, in their usual manner, a strong fortified encampment for their winter quarters; again having confided the care of their families to their friends in East Anglia.¹⁵ In the meantime the citizens of London were active. They seized upon what was left of the fortification and shipping on the Lea, destroyed all they found there, except the most valuable of the shipping, which they took around to London, where they were received with great triumph and rejoicing.

For three years had Alfred now been particularly harrassed by new and successive attacks of the Danes in almost every part of his dominions. They had landed in Kent and Sussex, and were ravaging and plundering the country. They had done the same in Devonshire, and they

were again besieging Exeter. The sea was swarming with their piratical ships, and none could tell where they would first land to rob and plunder. In the midst of all this Hastings had escaped from his hands when near London, and was now intrenched on the border of Wales. The Cymry there detested them as they formerly did the Saxons, and called them black strangers, (*estrdnion du*) whom the Cymry now found to be as implacable enemies as the *Seiron* had been. They readily joined their Anglo-Saxon neighbors again to expel these unwelcomed visitors. Hastings again crossed the island, much discouraged. The Danish army dispersed; one portion withdrew to the Danish settlements in East Anglia and Northumbria, while others, with Hastings, crossed over to France and settled among the Danes there; and Hastings, worn out in his active and pestilent life, and the opposition he met with in Britain, never troubled it again.

Alfred had now a little more leisure to pursue those objects so near to his heart—the cultivation of his people in the arts of peace and humanity. He was, what was so uncommon among the Saxons of his day, by nature and taste fond of literature and study, and whatever tended to civilization and the improvement of humanity. He died at the age of fifty-three years, and had reigned thirty years; and during his reign no man in high position ever labored more earnestly or economized more time for the improvement of himself and people, and for the promotion of the general welfare of the country. Everything received his attention, from the education of his people to the building up the navy of the nation. The Saxons, after settling down in Britain, became indifferent of naval affairs, which dwindled to nothing. But Alfred revived them, and Modern Britain is indebted to him for laying the foundation of that which is their greatest security and glory.

The reminiscence of Alfred has come down to us a legend or tradition of a most excellent character, not only as a superior sovereign, but also as a sage, and a man of extraordinary benevolence and humanity.

¹⁴ "He dug three deep channels from the Lea to the Thames, in order to lower the level of the tributary stream. So much was the water thus drawn off, that where a ship might sail in times past, then a little boat might scarcely row, and the whole fleet of Hastings was left aground and rendered useless."—*Id. id.*

¹⁵ Henry of Hunt., B. v, p. 159; Palgrave's Anglo-Sax., ch. vi, p. 117; Turner's Anglo-Sax., B. iv, ch. xi, p. 378; 1 Pictorial English History, B. ii, ch. i, p. 155.

We conceived him to be a person of almost an ideal perfection. And such undoubtedly he was, to an extraordinary degree. But how much we are surprised, when we learn from historians, that in the early part of his career his character did not so comport with that of the latter and greater part of his reign; for character generally belongs to nature—is uniform and seldom changes. But that this change did take place in Alfred, is testified to by historians, and there can be no doubt of it.¹⁶ Thierry says: "The rigor of Alfred toward the great [in their administration of justice] was not accompanied by affability towards the small; he defended these, but he did not like them; their petitions and their appeals were distasteful to him, and his house was closed against them."¹⁷ And Turner says: "When we reflect that Alfred had, in the beginning of his reign, transgressed upon this point, he claims our applause for his noble self-correction [*i. e.* his subsequent reform]. It was highly salutary to his subjects; 'for,' says Asser, 'in all his kingdom the poor had no helpers, or very few besides him. The rich and powerful, engrossed with their own concerns, were inattentive to their inferiors. They studied their private, not the public good.'"

This extraordinary change, in the character of Alfred, is readily accounted for by the natural effect that the suffering, experience and discipline, that his forced retirement wrought upon him at Athelney. Previous to that time Alfred's education and experience, though without literature and its culture, was the best afforded by that ignorant and benighted age. It was characterized by the governing Saxon aristocracy, which excluded from the government all princes and nobility who were not the descendants of Woden; excluded from their society the great mass of the people. This induced the officers of the government to be proud, haughty and supercilious towards those who had no share in the government, but were its unconditional

subjects. As its natural consequence, such an organization had its tendency to treat the people and poor with indifference or contempt. It promoted a want of "affability towards the small," and fostered a spirit of contempt towards "the poor," and non-official. Alfred being a part of, and brought up among, such a people, it is no wonder that he was affected by that spirit of Wodenism, which even the meekness and affability of the Christian religion did not remove. But when his affliction and humble experience at Athelney had brought him to realize the realities of human life, he was taught to feel and sympathize with his fellow man, and understand his wants and interest in humble life, in a manner that the aristocratic ruler who claimed a family relation and descent from the divine Woden could not at all appreciate. But Alfred had by nature a fine and sympathetic heart, so uncommon in that family of men, that it required this experience and education only to bring it to its proper tone, which in its future action commanded the admiration of the world. He then could sympathize with the humble in life, and divide with the needy beggar his only loaf of bread. This constitutes the difference in the character of Alfred before his retirement to Athelney, and that developed in the after twenty-five years of his noble life. This shows the value of such experience to those who are called upon to rule, as illustrated by Alfred, Washington, Lincoln and others; and as the want of it in numerous tyrants who have disgraced humanity and the world.

After his restoration Alfred exerted himself in every manner possible to improve himself, his people and country. In that illiterate and ignorant age, the education of Alfred in literature and science had been neglected. Like that of the age, his had been confined, and depended upon his intercourse with the men of the world.¹⁸ He

¹⁶ Asser's Life of Alfred, in Bohn's Lib. Six Old Chron., 61; 1 Turner's Anglo-Sax., B. v, ch. vi, p. 476; 1 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. ii, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁷ Thierry, ut supra, who cites his authorities.

¹⁸ 1 Turner's Anglo-Saxon, B. v, ch. i, p. 386. "When Alfred began his own education he had not only to find the sciences in himself, to cherish it in opposition to the prejudice and practice of his countrymen, and to search out his own means, but he had also to struggle against difficulties which would have extinguished the infant desire in a mind of less energy. * * * The Anglo-Saxon language had been at this period very little applied to the purposes

now did all in his power to retrieve his neglected education, and devoted as much as possible of his leisure hours to the cultivation of literature and science, and acquired for himself the laudable appellation of a self educated man. For the purpose of aiding him in this, he called around him some of the very few learned men of that age; and his liberal sentiments, and absence of that national prejudice so common to the ignorant and disgraceful to our nature; he sought from other countries those masters who were able to render him that aid which he so fervently desired. Accordingly there came to his aid:—from France, Grimbald, the Frenchman, the priest and monk, “adorned with every moral excellence, and skilled in vocal music;” from the learned men collected on the continent, Johannes, or John the Irishman, whose great intellect was “acquainted with all the treasures of literature, versed in many languages, and accomplished in many arts;” from Wales, Asser, the Cymro, known to his countrymen as *Geraint Bardd Glas* *bishop of St. Asaph* who then presided over the great college at Menevia, and bore the highest reputation for his intelligence, learning and piety. This sage became Alfred’s most intimate friend and counselor—his historian and biographer.¹⁹ With such anxious care and assiduity did Alfred seek his own education, and in the midst of the most arduous attention to the interest of his government, and to the continued hostilities of the Danes. Nor did he neglect any matter connected with the government or interest of the country or their improve-

ment, by his devotion to literature and science, and his own cultivation; for all these were made subservient, in the due division of his time, to the best interest of his people, and to the progress of the common welfare of humanity.

Another of the great qualities of Alfred, so unusual in that age, was his strong desire and labors to promote peace, honest dealing and good faith, between his government and that of his neighbors. He labored in good faith to protect and maintain the treaty made between him and Guthrun; still the other Danes continued to trouble him the whole of his life, but was gradually declining as the good of his policy towards them became more and more apparent. But it was with the Ancient Britons, the Cymry, that this national liberality and justice was the most obvious. Between him and them war seems to cease to exist. This to the Saxons and Danes would appear very strange; for to them war would seem to be the normal condition of man, for their religion of Woden taught and inculcated it, so that it was difficult for even the Christian religion to eradicate it. Through Asser the good and pacific policy of Alfred was made known to his people. Its good effects became immediately manifest. They were found now to be in character just as Tacitus and Agricola had testified to nearly eight hundred years previous; that the Britons were peaceably inclined, and when well treated easily governed, and readily performed all duties; but when injured or oppressed with injustice, were terrible in their indignation. This character holds

of literature. * * * The hostilities of the Northmen augmented every obstacle; on every occasion they burnt the books which had been collected, and destroyed the men who could use them, in their promiscuous persecution of the Christian clergy.”

¹⁹ See Turner’s Anglo-Saxon, B. v, ch. i, p. 388, where he gives an interesting account of Asser, and his biography of Alfred. “The merit of Asser reached the king’s ear, which was open to every rumor of extraordinary merit. ‘I was called by the king,’ says this plain, but interesting biographer, ‘from the western extremities of Wales. I accompanied my conductors to Sussex, and first saw him in the royal city of Dene. I was benignly received by him. Amongst other conversation, he asked me earnestly to devote myself to his service, and to become his companion. He requested me to leave all my preferments beyond the Severn, and he promised to compensate them to me by greater possessions.’ Asser expressed a hesitation at quitting without necessity, and merely for profit, the place where he had

been nourished, and taken orders. Alfred replied, ‘If this will not suit you, accommodate me with at least half of your time. Be with me six months, and pass the rest in Wales.’ Asser declined to engage himself, till he had consulted his friends.” This was so arranged with the consent of his countrymen, and he became the most devoted friend of Alfred, who conferred upon him many honors and possessions; and among other preferments made him bishop of Sherburn, where a large portion of the people were descendants of the Ancient Britons, and called by the Saxons *Welshkind*. The king gave him Exeter, with all the parish belonging to it in Saxony and Cornwall. “Asser states the donations with which Alfred remunerated his attachment. No eloquence can do more honor to any human character, than this unadorned narration. The condescension, benignity, the desire of improvement, and the wise liberality of Alfred, are qualities so estimable, as to insure the veneration of every reader.”

good to all Britons of the present day, whether they be known as Welsh, English or Scotch.

Asser's announcement to his countrymen, and especially his appointment as bishop among his countrymen in Devon, Somerset and Cornwall, had their effect in convincing them of Alfred's good faith and honest intention. The distinction between the two nationalities as called by Asser *Britania* and *Saxonia*, may be noticed as evidence of the old distinction still existing. But with Alfred's liberal and just policy, the people for once were forgetting their just animosity, and fast assimilating as one people, as they really have within the century past, by the exercise of the same rational and just policy.

The effect of Alfred's policy upon the Britons, the Cymry, is well stated by Miss Jane Williams in her history of Wales, and as I believe it to be just and true, I take the liberty to transcribe it here: "The apprehension of the Welsh being soothed by the moderation of his demands, by abstaining from infringements upon the Cymric soil, and by treating them with confidence as brave and friendly coadjutors, he won and retained their real affection. The experience of his justice, his faithfulness, and his martial prowess incited the district kings of the Cymry to appeal to him from the encroachments of his Mercian deputy and from the despotism of their own sovereigns. Even the redoubtable six sons of Rhodri sought his favor; and Anarawd, as the paramount sovereign of Wales, was accepted to be a direct tributary of the king of Wessex, without the intervention of Mercia, to which he had previously been subjected, and on the same terms of fealty and dependence as those by which Earl Ethelred held Mercia—ever obnoxious to the Cymry because its wide western border had been torn away from them. The highest courtesy of England was usually shown under the Teutonic kings in some religious ceremony, king Alfred therefore acted as king Anarawd's sponsor in the rite of confirmation."

During the latter part of Alfred's reign he was more troubled by the Danish ship-

ping and piracies, than the army by land. He therefore made great exertion to increase his navy so as to meet and conquer them on the sea. In this he was very successful. He had great genius for invention and improvements, and he is credited with having produced many; but in regard to his navy he ordered many improvements of great value and success, in which was adopted whatever had been found the most valuable in the former Roman navy. This rendered him successful and superior against the Danes on the sea.

The great exertion made by Alfred to improve his people and country; the progress he was making in literature, arts and science; his strict administration of the law and justice; and his liberality in matters of charity, as well as in his dealings both with his own people and those of his neighboring countries, raised him to the summit of fame in his own time, and made him one of the most renowned and deserving sovereigns of any age or country. His kind and liberal policy towards all of the various people of the island, would soon have produced an union of all as one people under a consolidated government; but as soon as he had departed, the old policy, of war and conquest, and subjection to tribute and taxation for the benefit of others, was renewed as the only policy then known or appreciated.

In A. D. 901 Alfred departed this life,²⁰ and immediately the void left was felt throughout the island. No longer was his policy appreciated or understood, or a head or heart found capable of carrying it out. The system of mutual benefits, and recip-

²⁰ In *Pictorial History of England*, p. 158, it is said of Alfred: "His many labors in the coast, the camp, the field, the hall of justice, the study, must have been prodigious; and our admiration of this wonderful man is increased by the well established fact, that all these exertions were made in spite of the depressing influences of physical pain and constant bad health. In his early years he was severely afflicted by a disease, which only left him at about twenty years of age, to be replaced by another, still more tormenting malady, which baffled all medical skill of the age. * * * This malady never left him till the day of his death, which it must have hastened. He expired—in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried at Winchester." This sad calamity came upon his people while he was in the prime of his official usefulness, and while they might reasonably hope, according to the ordinary course of nature, that he might be left to them twenty years longer.

rocity, in the government and intercourse of two or more states in the same country or territory, was an idea beyond the conception of the age, unless it was in the mind of the departed sovereign.

At that time East Anglia, the northeast part of Mercia, and the whole of Northumbria, was under the rule of the Danes; north of that, including Strath Clyde and Scotland, was under the rule of independent princes, and so was Cumbria. Wales was under the rule of its own kings and princes, and these were the sons of Rhodri, or Roderic the Great, of whom Anarawd, the hereditary king of Gwynedd, was the paramount sovereign of all Wales, by the election of their general assembly. Cornwall was under its own kings, as tributaries to Wessex. All the residue of the island, now included in England, was under the rule of Alfred.

Edward, the son of Alfred, came to the throne of Wessex with all the advantage of being the successor of so renowned a father. His reign was comparatively successful, but more resembling the former kings of his country than that of Alfred. He sustained with vigor the supremacy of Wessex over the other states constituting his government, although his right was contested by his nephew, a son of Alfred's older brother, which brought on a war, in which he joined the Danes against his uncle and country. Mercia had been placed by Alfred under the government of Ethelred, the elderman, his son-in-law, who had married his daughter, Ethelfleda, who governed it as subordinate sovereigns; but the Saxons were scrupulous in calling her the queen, and therefore denominated her the Lady of Mercia. Her husband soon after died, and she continued to govern Mercia, with great vigor and success, more after the manner and policy of her father, Alfred, until her death in 920; when Mercia also came into the possession of Edward without a subordinate sovereign. In the meantime Edward had hostilities with the Danes settled in England, as well as with those who continued their piracy on the sea; in the course of which he recovered and subjected to his dominion East Anglia,

and all south of Northumbria.

This Edward, called the Elder, died in A. D. 925, after a successful and prosperous reign as compared with the kings of the Heptarchy, except Alfred; and was succeeded by his son Athelstane, a still greater and more prosperous sovereign than his father. He prosecuted a strenuous war against all the surrounding states which did not readily submit to his terms and sovereignty; for his policy was not a peaceful and conciliatory one, like that of Alfred, but one of coercion and consolidation.

This first demonstration was against the Danes, who continued to govern Northumberland; and reduced that to be a part of his own dominion, and not a separate Danish state. He next turned his attention to his relation with Wales. At that time the paramount sovereign of Wales was Howel Da, or Howel the Good. It is said that Athelstane summoned all the vassal or tributary kings west of the Severn to meet him at Hereford; and accordingly Howel and Owen, king of Monmouth, with other tributary kings, met him there. Owen made his complaint, and claimed a district which had been recently taken from him by the Mercians. At this meeting all the tributary kings met there were received and considered members of the king's Great Council, or Witangemot. Howel was anxious that this claim of Owen should produce no hostilities, and be settled peaceably, suggested that the claim should be determined and settled by the meeting as the king's parliament. By common consent this was done by this assembly as the representatives of the inhabitants of Great Britain; and it was thus determined that, for the future, the river Wye should be the eastern boundary of South Wales. This perhaps was the best effort ever made at that day towards a peaceable and harmonious settlement, and consolidation of the kingdom.

Some difficulty having taken place in Devon, the king's attention was called there. The population of the peninsula west of the Avon was principally the descendants of the Ancient Britons, but with-

in the government of Wessex east of the river Tamar—west of that they were still under their own tributary king. In the midst of that population was the city of Exeter; which was said to be a free city, and was inhabited by both people—Britons and Saxons. It is probable that these two people occupied different parts of the same city, and governed by their respective magistrates. Some misunderstanding took place, and Athelstane permitted the Britons to be expelled and take refuge with their brethren west of the Tamar. It is probable that those thus expelled included only the official and ruling part of the British community, and did not include those who chose peaceably to remain and come under the Saxon laws; yet William Malmesburg speaks of the transaction as a very laudable one; and deems the city to have been thereby cleansed of a "contaminated race." Undoubtedly so; for it was very natural to consider them as a "contaminated race," who were so tenacious of their rights—so obstinate, and difficult to be robbed of their property and liberty. But strange it is that Alfred did not entertain the same opinion of Asser and his countrymen who were with him, whom he held in such high estimation as to have made Asser bishop of this same part of the country.

In A. D. 937 great events took place to try the power and capacity of Athelstane. The Danes of Northumbria became dissatisfied with their condition, and anxious to throw off their Saxon government. For this purpose a general call was made to come to the rescue; and a general rush was made from all the sources of Danish and Northmen people. A Danish chieftain known by various names, as Olave, or Aulaf, or Olaf, had been a successful adventurer; had taken Dublin in Ireland and maintained a successful rule over the country in its vicinity. This chieftain came around with the fleet at his command; the pirates and adventurers in all directions flocked to him, so that he was able to enter the mouth of the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sails.²¹ This

show and his popularity carried all before him. The native sovereigns of the neighboring territories were induced to unite with them, with the hopes of liberating themselves from Saxon rule, and bettering their condition under the fair promises made to them. All the Cymry of the north—those of Cumbria, Strath-Clyde, and the Picts and Scots of Scotland—were easily persuaded into this alliance to rid themselves of those they considered to have been their oppressors. In the north, the Wessex power and authority were soon overturned. But Athelstane with great energy and expedition collected all the force and power of South Britain to meet this crisis; in which he appears to have been very successful. He was at Brunnaburgh or perhaps Brambaugh, in the neighborhood of Aulaf, with his forces, with that expedition, which took the latter by surprise; but who was soon able to assemble his forces, including his northern and western allies, and prepare for the contest, which he must have expected to be decisive. Aulaf, hoping to gain by surprise, made a bold midnight attack; which Athelstane met with his usual courage and vigilance. When the sun arose the fury of the battle had begun; and the conflict, which lasted all day with the greatest fury on both sides, terminated in a total defeat of the allies, who were entirely routed. On their side five kings and seven of their great earls had fallen in the strife;—Constantine, the king of the Scots, making his way home, mourning the loss of his son.

This very great battle and victory has been a theme upon which the English historians have dilated with great satisfaction, and raised him in high estimation among his neighbors on the continent, as well as with the vassal kings in Britain, who were readily brought to their former allegiance. He became popular, and always bore the reputation of being generous and charitable. Like Alfred, his bearing and conduct towards the Cymry was such as to overcome their just prejudices against the Saxons. When the Northmen invaded Armoric, and the *Bretons* flying for a refuge, Athelstane kindly afforded them a hospita-

²¹ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, ch. x. p. 173.

ble asylum among their kindred people in Devon and Cornwell; and he became the sponsor of the infant Alan, grandson of the Breton sovereign. When he became of age he was permitted to assemble his emigrant Bretons, and return with them in a successful expedition, in which Alan was enabled to take possession of Dol and St. Brien, by means of which this foster son of Athelstane was restored to his throne. Athelstane, however, well knew that these acts of kindness would not be lost upon the grateful and susceptible hearts of the Cymry. These matters rendered the reign of this great sovereign successful and peaceable to the end of his life, which expired A. D. 940. It is said that he was the first of the Saxon kings who, on account of the extent and character of his dominion, received the title of the king of England instead of that of Wessex.

The Cymry in Cumbria and Strath-Clyde during this time were generally under the government of their own princes, but subsidiary or tributary to the Saxon or Danish rulers of England. They were much encroached upon by Danes and Scots from Ireland settling among them, by means of which they have become somewhat distinguishable from those of Wales. In the latter country, we are in one of their interesting periods of their history—that of Howel the Good, or Howel Da.

In A. D. 915 Anarawd, the king of Gwynedd by inheritance, and supreme sovereign of all Wales, and of the Bretons by the national election, died; having been preceded in their position by his father, Roderic the Great; and was succeeded by his son Idwal, surnamed Foel (the Bald), as king of Gwynedd; and Howel ab Cadell, (or Howel Da) was king of Dehenbarth and Powys by birthright, and was elected supreme sovereign of all Wales—Brenhin Penraith—in accordance with law and custom. It is supposed that the character of Howel must have had a potent influence upon Idwal, to induce him to submit to the election of Howel without opposition; and see the supreme sovereignty transferred from his family, who had received so many distinctions from Alfred the Great, to a

younger branch of the descendants of Rhodri Mawr. But the matter was peaceably settled, and Howel set himself earnestly to work, peaceably, to promote the true interest of his people and country.

Howel's first official intercourse with the Saxon government was with Edward the Elder and his sister, the "Lady of Mercia." With these Howel was able to keep upon tolerably good terms. At one time the Lady Ethelfleda was called upon to subdue the claims set up by Owen, a subordinate king in the valley of the Wye. This being accomplished, she proceeded, in accordance with her usual policy and that of Alfred her father, to secure her possessions by castles and fortifications erected in every important place in her dominion, for its protection and security; and her territory on the borders of Wales and in the valley of the Severn was especially cared for in the same manner. For this purpose Chester, Bridgenorth and other strongholds were strongly fortified; and able to cut off all easy communication between the Cymry of Cambria and their brethren in the north—in Cumbria and Strath-Clyde.

Howel, during an administration of thirty-three years, labored with great skill and judgment to preserve peace, both in his own country and with his neighbors. His success was great, and his country under his rule was rendered prosperous and happy. The increase of production of every kind became so great, that every one apparently was becoming wealthy and poverty unknown. This according to the policy and maxims of that day with their surrounding neighbors, was only creating a temptation for others to make a raid upon them, and return from thence with rich booty. Howel, with his wisdom and sound policy, was able to preserve peace with his Saxon neighbors, but not so with the surrounding Danes. In A. D. 918, in particular, though such visits were frequent, a large fleet, bearing a large Danish army, passed along the western and southern shore of Wales, and landing wherever the surprise would permit them, for the purpose of ravaging and plundering the

country. They proceeded up the estuary of the Severn, without any serious opposition—for they kept out of its way—and taking plunder and booty on both sides. Elated by this success, they were led far up the Severn until the men of Hereford and Gloucester had time to collect and meet them. A battle ensued in which the Danes were terribly worsted and punished, and they escaped with difficulty, and their numbers much reduced. These raids of the Danes into Wales were frequent, and sometimes they were the cause of much fighting and severe battles. But in them the Danes resorted to every means to plunder and gain booty. In one of these they took a British bishop as a prisoner, and demanded ransom, for which £40 were paid.

Every means of improving and bettering the condition of his people and country were looked to and sought for with avidity by Howel. Nothing, that was known at that day, available for this purpose, was left by him untried. Like Justinian and a few other great sovereigns, he was anxious to give his people a good Code of laws. This laudable object engaged much of his attention and exertion. To this end he called to his aid, at his residence, at Ty Gwyn ar Daf, (The White-house on the Taff), the archbishop, principal ecclesiastics of the country, and nobility of Cambria, with six of the wisest and most learned men from each cwmwd (township), to consider and advise with him upon the subject of his proposed code. After many days spent in considering the matter, and in religious exercises, in invoking the aid of God's Holy Spirit, in reforming the laws and customs of the country, in such manner as would best promote the welfare, peace and happiness of the people.

When this meeting was closed, Howel appointed a commission to form such code, consisting of twelve of his most learned and experienced men, at the head of which was placed Blegwyrd, chancellor of Llandoff, a person distinguished for learning, wisdom and piety, and which were charged with the labor of composing such code, by selecting from the ancient laws and customs and making such changes as the interest

and welfare of the people then required. This was done, and it produced one of the most noted literary productions in relation to law and codification of that age. Great pains were taken to make it accurate and satisfactory. Copies were made; and for the purpose of giving it greater sanctity and authority, Howel was desirous it should receive the sanction and commendation of the Pope. For this purpose he proceeded to Rome, (A. D. 926), with a large retinue of distinguished men, where it was recited to the Pope in a Latin version, and received his confirmation. It was also approved and ratified by the great national council at home; and made the general law of all the provinces of Cymru. All violation of it was to be denounced by church and state; and no alteration, except by the consent of an assembly as numerous as that by which it had been enacted.

The preamble to this code declares that Howel found the ancient laws of Britain, of Dyfnwal Moelmud, more excellent than any other, and therefore made them the basis of his own. The body of the code is divided into three parts: the first related to the organization of the government,—the rights and duties of the king, his court, and officers; the second, to the commonwealth,—the rights and duties of individuals, the domestic relations, and the right and protection of private property; and third, to the administration of the law and justice in regard to all the previous matters.

This code specially designated the rights and duties of the king as sovereign; such as the exclusive right to coin money, the duty to command the army, to preserve the peace, and see that justice was administered. It prescribed the officers, and the number of persons constituting his administration, court and household, with their rights and duties.

The rights and duties of private persons were well guarded and protected, as well in their private as in their social relations as husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant; and protected to every man certain property, necessary to his welfare and support, from levy and execution, so that the farmer, the mechanic, the arti-

san and the scholar, should not be deprived of the necessary implements of his profession, "or the man unmanned."

In the administration of justice it provided, that the judges should hold courts in the several provinces of the country, and that every cantref and cwmwd should be entitled to its local judge. All crimes and offences were declared to be punished, and their several penalties fixed.

To this code were annexed those ancient triads, which were principles and maxims in the administration of the law, and the dispensation of justice and equity; so as to protect the freedom, rights and liberty of every man in accordance with the due administration of the law. These ancient maxims clearly pointed out the distinction between the legislative, the executive, and the judicial duties of the government, and kept them distinct. The code also clearly recognizes these distinctions and the principles upon which it is founded, with this exception: that all causes concerning the inheritance of land should be heard by the king in person, or in case of sickness or inability, by his special commissioner. This exception, contrary to the ancient maxim of the British law, that the dispensation of justice should be by the judge, separate and distinct from the executive department of the government; and in ancient times the office of judge was performed by the druids; and this exception was undoubtedly introduced into the code, by the influence of the example of the English fudal law which made their king the source of all title to land; and the exception was intended to enable the king to place the title to land, when in dispute, in the hands of his friend instead of his enemy; and in this, the ancient sound principles of justice were violated.²²

Athelstane ended his reign and life in A. D. 940, and the good Howel continued his eight years longer, to the great advantage and prosperity of his people and country. His influence and peaceful policy produced so happy an effect in the increase of the

population and wealth of the country, and in the prosperity and happiness of the people, that some began to suppose that the soil itself had become more productive. The only drawback to this general success was the continued attacks and depredations made by the Danes upon various parts of the country. They ravaged and plundered the country, wherever they found they could. But generally they were vigorously met and repelled. They were never able to obtain a footing and make settlements in Cambria, as they were in other parts of the island. Howel being the supreme sovereign, the numerous sons of Anarawd and Idwal, the former sovereigns, were subordinate kings and princes of the various provinces into which the country was divided. Many of these were slain in various battles which took place in repelling the Danes. Their efforts in thus defending their country were always meritorious and gallant. The great merit and influence of Howel during the whole of his time was able to keep down and settle all conflicting claims and hostilities between the various princes, provinces, and their people, as to the right of succession and other matters in dispute, which so often occurred amongst all people, where they are not definitely settled by law and constitutional principles.

§2.—*From the Death of Athelstane to the Norman Conquest.* (A. D. 940—1066.)

That part of Britain which heretofore has been known as the Heptarchy, and of late generally ruled by the king of Wessex as its supreme power, and at last consolidated into one kingdom and government by Athelstane, may be hence known by the name of England. Upon the death of Athelstane he was succeeded by his brother Edmund I, who, in the course of a reign of seven years, conducted vigorous measures against the Danes, and the Cymry of North Britain. Some difficulty took place between Edmund and Idwal Foel, the subordinate king of Gwynedd, which Howel, the supreme sovereign, was unable peaceably to control, and Edmund attacked Gwynedd with an auxiliary of Danes, in which Id-

²² See Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales, published by the Record Commission of England in 1841.

wal and his brothers were slain; but which ended without the English king taking any more territory from Cambria.

In A. D. 945 Edmund waged war against the Northern Cymry of Strath-Clyde and Cumbria, in which he was successful in ravaging the country and bringing the people to his subjection, which he turned over in vassalage to Malcolm, king of Scotland; and these provinces were for many years thereafter governed by a prince of Scotland as vassal of England; but otherwise very much as the heir to the British crown is made prince of Wales. The next year after this conquest Edmund, "the magnificent," was slain by a vile and obtrusive robber at a festival upon the revelry of a holiday by the English people. He was succeeded by another brother, 948, Edred; and he by his nephew Edwy, in 955. These several changes and successions produced no great alteration in the condition of Britain, except what will be noticed in the next chapter. But as to Cambria, there occurred a period of about fifty years, (948—992) from the death of Howel the Good to the accession of Idwal ab Monrig, in which the country suffered much by wars of all kinds, with Danes, the English, and dissensions amongst their own princes, a very large number of whom were slain in these wars, who seemed more ambitious to earn the reputation of a gallant soldier than a great and beneficent ruler like Howel the Good. The continued war and enemies with which they were surrounded had a natural tendency to produce this result. The wars they were compelled to encounter in those rude times tended more to make them brave and skillful warriors rather than able statesmen; as was the case throughout Europe, in this dark period in history.

Edwy died in A. D. 958, and was succeeded by his brother Edgar, who was quite a young man, of a mixed and doubtful character, but who managed by the aid of able and vigorous ministers to rule Southern Britain for seventeen years, with very great success; and brought it to the height of prosperity for that day. He was called Edgar the Pacific; and during his

reign there is hardly any evidence of a war, yet such obedience was rendered to him as had never been enjoyed by any other Saxon king. His first display was to meet his old British neighbors and make himself sure to be right with them. For this purpose he ordered his large navy consisting of five thousand vessels, it is said, to proceed around the south end of the island to meet him at Chester; and thither he himself proceeded by land with a numerous army. On his arrival there was performed one of the most splendid pageantries of the day. Around his throne were assembled all the vassal kings and princes of the island; among them were Kenneth, king of the Scots; Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, king of Cumbria; Maccus, the Dane king of Mona and the Isles; then the kings of the Britons, Dyfuwall, Sifeth and Idwal, and the kings of Galloway and Westmere stand amidst their compeers. All these appear before king Edgar, and take their feudal and vassal oath, in accordance with the form of that institution. On the next morning Edgar and his vassals entered the royal barge, moored in the Dee,¹ in front of the palace. Edgar took the helm, and each of the royal vassals an oar, they made their way across the Dee to the monastery of St. John. After divine service had been celebrated there, the barge, with Edgar and his royal party, was rowed back to the palace in the same manner; with the glory of king Edgar being helmsman, and each oarsman a king.

This triumphant feat of Edgar was his alone—and was never repeated. It may have had the effect, by its eclat, to harmonize the discordant elements of his kingdom; and aided in rendering pacific the residue of Edgar's reign.

There was no special event that particularly distinguished the prosperous reign of Edgar. It was a prosperous and progressive reign, of fifteen years of peace and success. No person so distinguished and characterized that age as he who acted as the principal minister of Edgar. This was Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury.

¹ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. xii, p. 208.

He was distinguished for learning and capacity of every kind. He had been a distinguished and prominent person during six reigns, from Edmund I. to Ethelred the Unready, including a period of sixty years in the midst of disturbances and distractions of every kind. He was the Wolsey of his age; but between him and Wolsey, though in position and in many respects they resembled each other, there was a striking difference. Dunstan was of an aristocratic and royal descent, which was necessary in those Saxon times, in order to acquire a position amongst their nobility; and yet he was rough, rude and harsh. Wolsey was a plebeian—the son of a butcher—yet he possessed all the learning and acquirements of his day, with much of the refinement and elegance of the aristocracy; and was much nearer in character and manners to a modern Briton, while Dunstan represented that of a Saxon. Both were devoted to the church, the exaltation of its power, and the importance of their clerical position. Dunstan despised personal wealth, because he deemed it unnecessary to the advancement of his native powers; while Wolsey coveted it, as means to enhance the attraction of his natural powers, and to gratify the gaze of the multitude. Both loved power, and exercised it with princely authority but little subordinate to their royal masters. Dunstan was distinguished, amongst other matters, for his exertion to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and to make them a distinct class of the people. In this he had a hard task, and a slow progress; but as one of Edgar's great ministers, the prosperity of the reign was, undoubtedly in a great measure, due to the vigor and capacity of Dunstan.

Another incident in the reign of Edgar is characteristic of the people and age. Edgar was much of a gallant and libertine. He had heard of the extreme beauty of Elfrida, the daughter of the earl of Devonshire, and sent his earl, Ethelwold, to examine and return to him the truth of the report. This officer became himself smitten with the object of his investigation, and made a false report to his master. He soon after that

courted and married Elfrida himself. Jealous courtiers soon found opportunity of informing Edgar of the dishonesty that had been played upon him. He disguised his resentment, and took an occasion to inform Ethelwold that he would pay a visit with him to his wife upon a stated time. The officer was fearfully alarmed, disclosed the matter to his wife, and begged of her to save him. Upon the visit, however, Elfrida was more excited by her ambitious hopes than by her attachment or duty to her husband; and she made ostentatious display of her beauty and accomplishments. Understanding and concert were speedily formed between this guilty couple. Soon after that Ethelwold was found assassinated in a woods, and, as it is said, by the procurement of Edgar, with the assent of Elfrida. It was not long thereafter when Edgar was married to the beautiful widow.

The success and reputation of Edgar as a sovereign was greatly tarnished as a man, by acts of high handed wrongs and injustices of this kind; and it is said on another occasion he caused a beautiful young lady to be abducted from a monastery. For this last offense, and especially the violation of the sacred character of a monastic institution, the church made him pay penance and suffer contrition. Whatever private injury he might commit, he was not suffered to violate the institutions of the church with impunity. In those times institutions and persons in power were cared for and protected; but the rights of the masses were but little regarded.

Edgar had but just attained the summit of his power and prosperity, when in A. D. 975 he departed this life; and was succeeded by his son Edward, known as the martyr. Edgar had left two sons; the eldest was Edward, the son of Elfreda the Fair; and Ethelred, the youngest, the child of his second wife, Elfrida, whose memory is tainted with so many suspicions. These children were only of the ages respectively of fifteen and seven years. To secure the succession to Edward, Edgar had exercised the usual privilege of the king, to nominate him as his heir. But the mother and her friends were partisans in favor of

the younger, Ethelred, who was then a mere infant. Edward was supported by the powerful Dunstan, and was fully installed as sovereign and successor, but not without great opposition and division of the nobility, both in the church and in the state.

But another great crime transpired in A. D. 978, which transferred the sovereignty from one head to the other; of which the English historian says: "It was the foulest deed which ever stained the English name." Between Edward and Ethelred there was friendship and brotherly affection; still Elfrida entertained extreme aversion towards her step-son, and plots were formed at her instigation against his life. An opportunity soon offered to effect their intention. Edward, having been engaged in hunting deer in a park, proceeded incautiously to the royal mansion, where Elfrida and her son Ethelred resided. It is said he was led alone to the residence by a favorite dwarf servant of the mother. She received him with great apparent kindness at the door, and kissed him. Before the youthful king had time to alight, a cup of wine was offered him; and while he was taking the draught, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. He immediately put spurs to his horse, with the hope of proceeding to his companions; but on the way he fainted, fell, and was dragged by the stirrup with the affrighted horse. He was found dead; and upon examination they found evidence of the crime and cause of his death, which conferred upon him the appellation of "Edward the Martyr."

Ethelred thus came to the throne, but at that tender age which acquits him of a participation in the crime which brought him there. But he was still afflicted with a bad name, of the Unready. Although he was personally acquitted of any participation in the crime, yet the story of Edward's death clung to him; but as there was no strong competition against him, he and his party were permitted to assume the government. Thus Ethelred, the Unready, commenced his reign, and exercised it for a period of thirty-eight years, during which the coun-

try and people suffered more from wars, distractions, and adversities, if not from humiliation, than in any other period of their history.

From the commencement of Edgar's reign, the Danes who had settled in England had quietly submitted to the government set over them; but now the Northmen began to invade the country anew, and harass it with continual scenes of destruction and plundering. This happened occasionally in every part of the country; in Wales as well as in England, though in the former these enemies frequently landed, plundered, and carried off much booty, yet they were never able to acquire a permanent footing there as in other parts of the island. These hostilities were experienced, not only along the sea coast, but frequently in the interior, in all directions from the mouth of the Humber to St. Davids and the Lands-End. "Everywhere they repeat the plunder, the devastation, and the merciless destruction of human life which had marked the path of their predecessors two centuries since." All efforts to resist and repel were but temporarily successful; and Ethelred's attempt to purchase peace with them by money proved equally so; for the Danes paid but little regard to their agreement, and the money they received was only an inducement to repeat their aggression. Large sums were thus paid; but no sooner were they received and the oath taken to observe the peace than it was forgotten.

At length these hostilities and injuries produced upon the Saxons strong antipathies and hatred against the Danes; which affected the king as well as his people. It was an age of crime and cruelty; and it is not to be expected that those who had been disciplined in the war school of Woden would loathe at anything because it was attended with blood and carnage. At this time there were many Danes in the country, besides those who had been long residents, and had acquired a permanent settlement. Many had but temporary residence, and some were only quartered upon the people as soldiers. The king and his people, during his reign of twenty-four years,

had endured these wrongs and oppression, and it was resolved to avenge themselves by the commission of one of those darkest national crimes, which have been but seldom perpetrated to disgrace mankind.

Ethelred and his people, having lost all faith in the Danes, and smarting under the injuries received, though forgetting that they were the same, which they themselves had formerly perpetrated upon the Britons, came to the resolution to put all the Danes to death. Accordingly it was ordered, in the spring of the year 1002, that on the approaching religious festival in honor of St. Brice, the Saxons should fall unawares upon the Danes and put them to death. The order was kept secret; and on the appointed day the massacre ensued. The fury of the people, in many places, added much to the cruelty of the destruction. It is possible that this massacre did not extend to those permanent settlements, where the inhabitants were principally Danes; but where it did prevail, neither sex nor age was spared. In some instances special claims upon gratitude and mercy were totally disregarded, as in the case of the sister of Sweyn, the great Danish chieftain, whose husband had rendered special service to the Saxons, were all—themselves and children—consigned to the same unmerciful doom; but not without the wife's prediction, that all England would have ere long to meet a dire retribution for the wicked deeds of that day.

As might be expected, the Danes seemed to be called upon for a new exertion, and to deem their ordinary works of injustice to be the righteous acts of retribution. The next year Sweyn made a new descent upon England, and took possession of Exeter. For four years the country was in a great measure, at his will and mercy. He came as an avenger, not only to plunder, but to consume with fire, and to slay with the sword. He then consented to leave the country upon being paid the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds of silver; which was paid. But no sooner had he departed with his army than another appeared under the chieftain Thurkil, who perpetrated all kinds of outrage and depredation in Kent; de-

stroyed Canterbury; took the archbishop as a prisoner, and who, heroically refusing to permit himself to be ransomed, was by them most cruelly put to death. After ravaging the greater part of the kingdom, Thurkil was induced, by the payment of a very large sum of money, to enter the service of Ethelred, and many of his men settled in the country. This arrangement displeased Sweyn, who had sworn, upon the death of his sister, to possess himself of the sovereignty of England.

Upon this Sweyn again came to England with a most extraordinary large and well prepared armament of both naval and land force. He landed on the Humber, sent the fleet under the command of his son Canute to the Thames, while he himself went there with his army by land. He spared Northumbria and the Danish settlements; but the rest of the country was wasted far and wide with fire and sword. London, which was occupied by Ethelred and Thurkil, held out with patriotic resolution against Sweyn. The citizens greatly distinguished themselves for their martial spirit; and made such resistance as compelled the Danes to retreat. But he met no such resistance elsewhere. Wessex soon fell under his control; and he took and made Bath his headquarters. Ethelred and the people became discouraged; and he retired to the isle of Wight (A. D. 1013), sending his wife, Emma, and her two children, Edward and Alfred, to the protection of her brother Richard, the duke of Normandy, where he soon after followed. In the meantime Sweyn had assumed the sovereignty, and was acknowledged by the people.

Sweyn controlled and governed England as its sovereign for three years, when in A. D. 1015 he died unexpectedly; and was followed and succeeded by his son, afterwards known as Canute the Great. He returned to England with a vast fleet and army, which is described by the historians of the times in glowing terms as magnificent. The English submitted to him with reluctance, but resistance was apparently impossible. A large party was in favor of Ethelred's return, but he was irresolute and

inefficient. His son Edward, a person of great promise, force and vigor, attempted independently to resist Canute, but in vain. In the meantime (A. D. 1016) Ethelred departed his checkered and troubled life.

Ethelred died in London while the city was surrounded and besieged by Canute and his Danes, and while Edmund was with him; who was immediately proclaimed the successor by the citizens, who supported him with resolution. Edmund was entitled to their confidence, even in that depressing crisis. He was subtle and valiant; and his subsequent heroic deeds acquired for him the appellation of Edmund the Ironside. He made his way out of the city, through the midst of the Danish fleet, and for the country to the rescue. Numerous battles immediately followed. At Assingdune Edmund encountered the Danes under Canute, where a very severe battle ensued, in which the former would have been victorious but for the treason of one of his officers, Edric, who had slain a thane who resembled Edmund in a remarkable degree, and holding up the head, the cry was immediately raised, "Flee, Englishmen, flee; Edmund is dead." He and his troops then took flight, and the whole army was thrown into consternation, and entirely routed. Thus did Canute gain a victory, procured by a treacherous stratagem, while almost all the English were against him.²

Canute then hastened with his army towards Gloucestershire, and spiritedly followed by Edmund. A deadly battle was upon the point of being again fought, when Edmund stepped forward and challenged Canute to a single combat, "for it is a pity," he said, "that so many lives should be put in jeopardy to satisfy their ambition." This was declined by Canute, alleging that he, a man of small stature, would have no chance with the stalwart Edmund. To this prudent determination he added that it would be better that they two should divide the realm between them, as their fathers had done before. This proposition was hailed with gladness by the respective

armies, and Edmund was compelled to yield to it; and upon negotiation Wessex, Essex, East Anglia and London were assigned to Edmund, and the residue of England to Canute, subject to the superiority of the former.

It was not long after this that Edmund ceased to live; and his death was not free from suspicions of violence; nor but that Canute was an accomplice. Canute, however, claimed that he had the legal right to the sovereignty of all England, by the terms of the treaty; and this was yielded to him. From this time Canute continued to rule over England until the time of his death in the year 1035, when he was buried at Winchester. During these nineteen years Canute, without neglecting his other three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, exercised a very beneficial and vigorous rule over England, with great impartiality restraining hostility, and encouraging peace between the English and the Danes, and people within his English jurisdiction. England flourished; and he became popular with the English people, and well entitled to the designation given him of Canute the Great.

Canute became not only connected with England by a beneficial government, but connected with the ruling family of the country. Queen Emma, the wife of Ethelred, had by him two children, Alfred and Edward, and these were heirs and claimants to the throne. After the death of Ethelred, Emma, as the widow, returned, and became the wife of Canute, and again the queen of England; and had by him a son, called Hardicanute, who was also claimed to be heir to the throne of England. Besides this, Canute had two illegitimate sons by an English lady of Southampton, Sweyne and Harold Harefoot. Canute intended, by some devise by him made, to divide his dominions to his three sons—thus, to Harold he intended England, to Hardicanute Denmark, and to Sweyne Norway. But upon his death there was great strife as to who should rule in England. The children of Ethelred had their partisans as well as those of Canute.

Upon the death of Canute, the question

of succession was assumed by a great council of the nobility of the English government, held at Oxford, called Witenagemot, in which the known wishes of the citizens of London had great influence. In the midst of great conflict of wishes and opinions, this council determined that Harold should be king of Mercia and Northumbria, and all north of the Thames, with London as his capital; while all the country south of it should go to Hardicanute. The latter being absent, his mother, Emma, and Earl Godwin, governed in his name with Winchester as the capital.³ But the claims of Alfred and Edward were not forgotten, though the mother with doubtful principles was negligent of them, and placed her whole regard to those of Hardicanute. Alfred was inveigled by some false pretenses to come to London to assume his rights. He was there betrayed, with 600 followers, who came with him, into the hands of Harold. These followers were immediately seized and slain, and Edwin sent to a monastery, where his eyes were forcibly torn out, and he soon after died from the injuries inflicted upon him. Such horrible crimes and wickedness were constantly perpetrated by the ruling class of that day.

Harold was active in making preparation to seize the government of the country, was threatening war, and resorting to all means of intrigue to accomplish it. But in the year 1040 the country was relieved of his worthless care by death, after a short and inglorious rule. Immediately the English friends of Hardicanute, who had as yet remained with his friends in Denmark, sent a strong invitation to him to come without delay to assume his royal rights. They soon found cause to repent of their haste, for he proved to be a worthless ruler—a drunkard and a glutton, and soon died of their effects.⁴

The name of Godwin—the Great Earl Godwin—has already occurred, and no man in English history, within the Saxon period, presents to the reader so great and interesting a character. He was almost the only man among the Saxons who was permitted, by his own talent and capacity, to rise to importance and power; for the Saxon aristocracy, or rather oligarchy, did not permit a peasant or one of the commonalty to rise to any important position in the government. No one who was not a descendant of Woden, or within that sacred family relation, was so permitted to aspire, whatever his talents might be.

In one of those battles fought between the Saxons and Danes, in the time of Edmund the Ironside and Canute, in the southwestern part of Warwickshire, when the Saxons had been victorious and the Danes dispersed, a Danish captain missed his way and came upon a peasant lad engaged in taking care of his oxen. The stranger saluted him, and inquired his name. "I am called Godwin," said the young man; "and you, if I mistake not, are one of the Danish army." Obligated to acknowledge himself, he begged the young herdsman to tell him the distance he was from their vessels stationed in the Severn, and by what road it would be possible for him to reach them. "The Dane must be mad," said Godwin, "who looks for his preservation at the hands of a Saxon."⁵ The stranger earnestly entreated the herdsman to guide him on his way, and urged it with the most tempting promises of reward. To this the young man replied: "The way is long, and it will be dangerous to guide

sages in the old writers, we should conclude that the Saxons themselves were sufficiently addicted to drinking, and the pleasures of the table, and required no instructions in those particulars; yet it is pretty generally stated that hard drinking became fashionable under the Danes; and more than one chronicler laments that Englishmen learned from the example of Hardicanute their excessive gormandizing and unmeasurable filling of their bellies with meals and drinks." And Sir F. Palgrave says: "The death of Hardicanute is singularly characteristic of the age (A. D. 1042). * * * * At the marriage of the king's marshal, Hardicanute graced the banquet with his presence. * * * * The potations were prolonged deep into the night. In the midst of the revel Hardicanute dropped speechless upon the ground, and a few days afterwards he expired."

5 (Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. v, vi, pp. 106, 140.

3 1 Pictorial History of England, B. ii, ch. i, p. 174.

4 1 Pictorial History of England, B. ii, ch. i, p. 174. The last cited history says: "During Hardicanute's short reign, Earl Godwin and Emma, the queen-mother, who were again in friendly alliance, divided nearly all the authority of the government between them, leaving the king to the tranquil enjoyment of the things he most prized in life—his banquets, which were spread four times a day, and his carousals at night. From many incidental pas-

you. The people are elated with our victory of yesterday, and are armed throughout the country; they would show no mercy to either your guide or yourself." The Danish chieftain attempted to bribe him with such article of gold as he had about him. These were tempting enough to the young peasant, but not sufficient to overcome his integrity. After looking at them with great curiosity, and considering a moment, he returned them, saying: "I will not take them, but I will give you my aid." After passing the day in the cottage of Godwin's father, as they departed in the night, the old peasant said to the chieftain: "This is my only son who trusts to your good faith; there will be no safety for him with his countrymen from the moment he serves you as a guide; present him, therefore, to your king, that he may take him into his service." The Dane was faithful to his promises, and took every opportunity to promote the young man, who was found so worthy as to be made his son-in-law by a marriage to his daughter. And Canute, when informed of the affair, was pleased to confer upon him a military rank; and subsequently the herdsman attained the dignity of governor of a province in that part of England occupied by the Danes.

This extraordinary man, by this casual good fortune, but principally by his own great talents, energy and perseverance, ultimately attained the highest position, next to his sovereign, in wealth, power and influence, of any man in his country. It was his singular destiny and good fortune, after being thus involved with the foreigners, to be enabled to contribute more than any other man, to liberate his country from a foreign rule which then oppressed it. This he was able to accomplish without inheritance, or patrimony, or family influence, by his own native genius, guided solely by good common sense and patriotism, which ultimately placed him in the history of his country amongst the first and greatest men of his age. His great energy and abilities placed him in high and responsible stations during the reigns of Canute, Harold Harefoot, Hardicanute and Edward the Confessor, as will be seen in the course of our his-

tory.

We are now called to turn back to our last special notice of the Cymry of Cambria, at the death of Howel the Good (A. D. 948), and take a review of their history, from that time to the close of this period, a space of one hundred and eighteen years. During this time we find both in England and Wales one of the most forbidding and wretched periods in the annals of man. We find war, with its slaughter and carnage, treachery and treason, assassination and murder, and unusual cruelty and crime, in every page of that lamentable history, to whatever part of unfortunate Britain it may refer, or what people it may concern—whether pagan or Christian, whether Dane, Saxon or Cymry—all are involved, more or less, in the unhappy charge. It is only necessary to refer to such instances as the horrible treatment perpetrated by her people upon Algiva, the queen of the king Edwy; the murder of Edward the Martyr, by his stepmother, Elfrida; the massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's day; the murder of Edmund by the procurement of Canute; the constant practice of disposing of adversaries by burning out their eyes; the common disregard of good faith, treachery, treason, and violation of treaty obligation. These matters were common during that age, and they were the natural concomitants of such desolating wars, slaughter and carnage as the Saxons and Danes brought with them. If it be said, that during this particular period the Cymry have imitated and practiced the same offences and violence, it must be admitted that it is too true. Morals, between nations as between neighbors, are contagious, and whether good or bad they are often imitated. These offences may well be considered as the natural result of the dire principles inculcated in relation to war, by the pagan religion of Woden, introduced into Britain by those people; which took Christianity a long time to eradicate.

During the time referred to, what is now known as Wales was divided into three provinces, or kingdoms, as Gwynedd, or North Wales; Dehenbarth, or South

Wales; and Powys;—each of these were separate states and kingdoms, with a local king at its head, and usually one as a supreme sovereign over the whole. Sometimes these provinces were further divided into smaller districts, and local kings ruled over them; but such subordinate might well be considered as mere chiefs of the people or tribes. During most of this time the country was sorely distracted and afflicted by various wars and hostilities—frequently by incursions from the adjoining states of Wessex, Mercia, or Northumbria, or plundering expeditions of the Danes or from Ireland, or by competition amongst the chiefs for the supremacy. It appears like a change for the worse, that the Britons had ceased to elect a pendragon or a supreme sovereign by a general assembly of the states; but followed the example of the Heptarchy in establishing the *bretwalda*, to permit that to be assumed by him, who, by his power and influence, was able to maintain it. The example of the long, peaceful and successful reign of Howel Da, and that of many of his predecessors, was entirely neglected. That good sovereign left four sons, who by inheritance were entitled to rule in Dehenbarth and Powys, and were specially distinguished for their personal appearance, their gallantry and patriotism; while Idwal Foel left three sons, who in like manner were entitled to rule in Gwynedd. Contention and war arose between these two sets of sovereigns as to the supreme sovereignty of the whole (A. D. 954). After battle and hard fighting, in which a number of these princes were slain, the sons of Idwal gained the victory. Such feuds and war were lamentably frequent; and though these princes were brave and gallant men, and frequently very talented, they were constantly sacrificing their blood and lives, either in these feuds or in defending their country from attacks made upon it, either by the Saxons or the Danes or expeditions from Ireland. Thus, about the year 960, Alfric, the earl of Mercia, marched into Gwynedd, and unexpectedly ravaged the whole country in order to enforce the payment of a tribute; which was compromised by the agreement

to deliver annually the heads of three hundred wolves; which would result advantageously to both countries.

About the same time occurred the celebrated feat of Edgar at Chester, and his display in the barge on the Dee. Similar occurrences would sometimes transpire, in which were enjoyed the triumphs of peace, in the midst of these scenes of war and devastation; which were prosecuted here with the same fierceness as in the adjoining country. Notwithstanding these wars were frequent and distressing, both in domestic contentions and with the Saxons and Danes, still Cambria enjoyed some intervals of peace and prosperity, between the time of Howel the Good and the Norman conquest. Among the princes of that day was one Howel ap Jefan, a king of Gwynedd, who was distinguished for his fierceness and pugnacious disposition, and for his contests with all around him—with Iago ap Idwal his kinsman, with Alfric the Mercian, with Godfrey the Dane, and with all with whom the Cymry had to contend and repel. But in repelling Alfric the duke of Mercia, (A. D. 983,) this Howel at length was slain, in valiantly fighting in defense of his country and freedom; yet in consequence of his character being tainted with some cruel and detestable acts, as the blinding the eyes of an opponent who had fallen into his hands, by scorching them with hot irons—a crime common in that dark age in Europe—his countrymen detesting his character, while contrasting it with that of his royal kinsman, whose honored name he bore, distinguished him by the name of Howel Drwg, or Howel the Bad.

But in the midst of this time, there were at least three of these princes whose memory deserve a more particular notice. Between the year 984 and 998, Maredudd ap Owen was sovereign of all Wales,—the three provinces being united under him. His reign was a troubled one, by both domestic and foreign foes. In 987, Godfrey with his Danish host attacked and ravaged a part of the country. In a great battle with them Maredudd was defeated, when two thousand of his men were taken prisoners, among whom was his brother, Lly-

warch, whose eyes were put out by the foe.

Again, in 992 the Danes returned and ravaged and plundered the Isle of Mona, and Gwynedd, and were repelled by Idwal ap Murig, the gallant and able king of Gwynedd. Five years after this the Danes again, under Sweyn, the king of Denmark, landed in Mona, plundering it; in defense of which, at the head of his countrymen, the brave and patriotic Idwal ap Murig lost his life. The Danes then passed to St. David's, and the south, plundering and ravaging the country, burning the monasteries and slaughtering the monks.

In the midst of these calamities king Maredudd died, leaving a daughter, Angharad, his only child. He was succeeded, as king of Powys and Dehenbarth, by Llewellyn ap Seissyll, who had married the daughter, and became one of the most distinguished and praiseworthy sovereigns of that day. In the year 1013 an usurper, by the name of Aeddan, had become king of Gwynedd, and Llewellyn collected his forces to expel him and restore the country to the proper and united government. This produced a great battle, in which Aeddan and his four sons were slain, and Llewellyn by the victory became king of the three provinces. Hence he conducted a successful and prosperous reign over all Wales, and became, it is said, "the chief and most illustrious king of all the Britons." Notwithstanding its affliction from the hostilities of its numerous surrounding enemies, the country recovered from its unhappy discord and desolation. "Under his good government the recruited people employed themselves in agriculture and commerce, the earth produced abundantly, the cattle multiplied, beggary and poverty disappeared, the land was fully inhabited, and all the inhabitants were well provided for."⁶ But this tranquil and prosperous reign became disturbed in 1019 by the factious rebellion of Meurig ap Arthfael, who was encountered by the king and slain in battle. A more formidable insurrection soon followed in South Wales, where an

adventurer, by the name of Rhun, from Ireland, of great plausibility and craft appeared, claiming himself to be the son of the late king Maredudd. With much arrogance and pretension this usurper prepared to meet the forces of Llewellyn. A great battle ensued, in which the pretender was soon put to flight; but was fiercely contested by the southern chieftains who had been inveigled by his pretensions. In the battle Llewellyn lost many men; but the pretender was pursued and slain. During these difficulties, and while Canute reigned in England, the southwest part of Wales was again ravaged, by Eilaf the Dane and his piratical horde.

In A. D. 1023, this Llewellyn was assassinated by the procurement of his political enemies; but the heinous act was so reprobated by the nation, that those who had engaged in it gained nothing by the infamous deed. The throne of Gwynedd was seized by Iago ap Idwal, a descendant of Rhodri Mawr, and that of Dehenbarth by Rhydderch ap Iestin. The succession to the rights of Llewellyn was due to his infant son, Gruffydd, which for sixteen years was kept in abeyance. In the meantime Idwal did for the north all that an able and honest prince was able to do for his subjects; but in the south the various claimants for the government brought upon the country hostilities and distraction, until Gruffydd had grown up to manhood, came forward full of energy and enterprise. The memory of his illustrious ancestors readily induced this martial people to receive him with joy; and his own engaging personal appearance and brilliant qualities secured to him general favor. He soon secured control of the south; but Iago ap Idwal, claiming a right as descendant of Roderic the Great, was not disposed to yield peaceably to him the north. A conflict therefore ensued, in which Iago was defeated and slain A. D. 1039.

This Gruffydd ap Llewellyn (or Griffith as usually pronounced) commenced his administration during the reign of Harold Harefoot in England. He immediately made a military progress through every district, receiving the submission and

⁶ Miss Williams' History of Wales, ch. xii, p. 163, and her authorities there cited.

homage of his subordinate rulers. Howel ap Edwyn, one of his opponents, and his partisans, fled to the earl Leofric, of Mercia, for protection and succor. A powerful English army was raised with a view to restore this Howel to his claims, and to gain a more decided foothold in Wales. When these arrived at Pencadair in Wales, and being joined by their allies there, Howel believed his cause to be invincible, and exultantly rejoiced in his anticipated triumph over Griffith. The latter hastily collected his forces, and a great battle ensued, in which the earls Edwin, Thurkell, Eligar, and many other English noblemen, were slain. Griffith's victory was complete, but Howel effected his escape.

After this triumph Griffith became renowned among the English, and his favor and good wishes were courted, and he became allied with the ruling families of England by his marriage⁷ with Alghitha, daughter of the renowned Leofric, earl of Mercia. This secured the friendship of her equally renowned brother, Algar; and these alliances gave rise to many important events in the history of England and Wales.

Considering the numerous difficulties that Griffith had to contend with, surrounded by various enemies on all sides, it is astonishing that he was able to sustain himself as supreme sovereign until his death, after a reign of twenty-four years, in the year 1063. There were but few years but in which he was compelled to be engaged in war. From the time of Offa it was the constant practice of the Saxon Heptarchy, and the English government after them, upon every favorable opportunity, to grasp some small piece of Wales, one after another, with the hopes soon to take the whole. One of their policies, as means to accomplish this, was to patronize and encourage every prince and aspirant to power, in opposition to the legitimate and admitted rulers of Wales. Of these Griffith had numerous ones to contend with. Many of these were able and gallant warriors, who, with the aid and encouragement given

from abroad, kept this active and most able sovereign in constant war, in which he was always successful, but which are too numerous to be herein narrated. Griffith, finding a constant pressure upon him to take from him some more territory, was frequently induced to counteract this by military expeditions into English territory, which were conducted with so much skill and success as to baffle the efforts of his enemies. "Griffith, for some years," says Turner, "molested with good fortune the countries near Wales, and for some years his aggressions escaped unchastised."⁸ Frequently the English forces brought against him were with great skill defeated and cut to pieces.

During his time Griffith's renown became greater, and fugitives from other countries were frequently seeking his court and protection as an asylum. This was twice done by the great earl of Mercia, Algar, and also by Fleance, the son of Banquo, fleeing from the oppression of Macbeth.

It is said that such fugitives found a friendly welcome at the hospitable court of king Griffith. "Though cruel in his wrath, that king was gentle and kind to his associates, courteous and hospitable alike to his own people and to strangers, liberal to his dependents, and equitable in the administration of the laws. He is said also to have been costly in apparel and appendages, and royal in every word and deed. His love for his subjects, his adventurous daring, his resolute courage, his majestic bearing, and his extraordinary success in war, rendered him the idol of the Cymry, and the frightful terror of his foes."⁹

Towards the close of the feeble reign of Edward the Confessor, (A. D. 1055) by the machination and power of the Godwin family, Algar, who had been made earl of Northumbria, was, by Edward's government, outlawed; but trusting still to the great power of his father Lofric, the great earl of Mercia, he determined to resist. For the purpose of making preparations, he retired to the court of king Griffith, his brother-in-law, who had married his sister

⁷ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, ch. xv, p. 314.

⁸ *Anglo-Sax. History*, B. vi, ch. xiv, vol. 2, p. 50.

⁹ Miss Williams' *History of Wales*, p. 174.

Alghitha, who was then waging war against Harold, the head, since his father's death, of the Godwin family. Griffith and Algar raised a large army, and marched triumphantly through Herefordshire into Gloucestershire, where they met Harold. After much bloodshed had been occasioned, peace was established between the competitors, the sentence of outlawry being revoked, and Algar restored to his possessions and dignity.¹⁰ During the negotiation for this peace, while wrath was meditated against Griffith and his people, he took the daring resolution to appear before king Edward in council at Gloucester, as a peaceful member of the Witangemot, where he eloquently vindicated himself against the charges made against him, and won the favor and friendship of the English king. This gave Harold a mortal offense, which he never pardoned. Between Griffith and Leofric, the great earl of Mercia, there was a double alliance, for the daughter, the sister of Algar, was the wife of this sovereign of Cambria, and the daughter of the latter was the wife of Algar. So that Griffith was at once the father-in-law and brother-in-law of Algar;¹¹ he was twice restored to his important earldoms of Mercia and Northumbria. Whenever the Godwin family were politically strong enough to expel members of the Leofric family, the court of Griffith was their asylum and their avenger.

This Griffith, Gruffydd ap Llewellyn, by means of the constant hostilities brought upon him by his surrounding foes, and their continual advance upon his country, was during his whole reign compelled to live in perpetual war; but always a lover of peace when he could obtain it with safety to himself and country. From this compulsion he usually kept up a large navy and army. The number of battles in which he was engaged are innumerable. It is said that the constant attacks made upon his country by the Saxons and Danes compelled him to fight over a hundred battles, in which he was the prominent actor; in some of which he obtained great victories

over allied forces of English, Danes and others, as that over Leofric, the great earl of Mercia, in 1040, and that over Earl Ralph, king Edward's nephew, at Hereford, in 1055. At length, in the year 1063, Harold, the son of Godwin, who then was the leading spirit of the English government, and who had just been defeated in an attack on Wales, determined to make the greatest effort, backed by the whole power of the English government, to crush Griffith and conquer Wales. A large army and fleet was prepared for that purpose, and the two brothers of the Godwin family had now joined hands for the conquest. Harold, with the navy, was to skirt the sea shore, while Tostig marched with the army and ravaged the interior. Great pains had been taken to equip the army anew for the purpose. Light armor and shields of leather were procured, in order to render the English troops as active as the Welsh.

Every effort was made by sea and land to ravage and subdue the country; but the love of liberty in the hearts of the people, and their loyal attachment to their heroic king, rallied them in defense of the country, and several severe battles were fought, and when overcome by numbers, they retired to the mountains, putting into requisition the natural defenses of the country in aid of their just and righteous cause. Wherever a conflict had taken place the kingly earl set up a monumental stone, bearing the triumphant inscription, "Here Harold Conquered." Griffith opposed him with his usual energy and valor, and proceeded south with a large army and navy to meet this great and unusual hostility. But his enemies resorted to means of success, common in those Saxon and Danish times, instead of fair and honorable contest. By some treacherous arrangement Griffith was treacherously slain, and his head, with the prow and tackle of his ship, were sent as trophies to earl Harold. This being accomplished; without further effort to conquer and subdue the country, and it being in the midst of harvest which called upon the English people to return home, the victorious army returned to Gloucester, the court of king Edward, presenting

¹⁰ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. xiv, p. 298.

¹¹ Pictorial Hist. of England, B. II, ch. i, p. 184.

him with the savage evidence of the actual death of king Griffith.

In the meantime the Cymry in other portions of Britain were fast becoming the people of either England or Scotland, just as the Loegrian Cymry east of the Severn and the South Avon had submitted to become, in early Saxon times, the fixed people of the country; so at this time those who resided in the peninsula east of the Avon and south of the estuary of the Severn, and those residing in Cumbria, between the Dee and the Solway Firth, were fast yielding to the same inevitable change of time, and becoming Anglicised, but the change of language and habits did not change their blood or race, but left them still the descendants of the Ancient Britons. Those north of the Solway Firth, by a union with the Picts and Scots, formed the independent state of Scotland, in which the name Cymry and Picts have become extinct; but they too will claim to be the true descendants of the brave people who fought for their independence and freedom under Caractacus, Galgacus, and Arthur, who still maintain their true character of an invincible people.

We now have arrived at a time in our history in which we have only the reign of Edward the Confessor to close the Saxon period, to which we will return.

The death of Hardicanute was sudden and unexpected; and there was no one on hand of the Danish dynasty to claim the sovereignty. Edward, the son of Ethelred the Unready by his queen Emma, was then on a visit with Hardicanute, and upon good terms. They were half-brothers by their mother, but Edward was without any Danish blood—still the rightful heir of Ethelred, and of the throne in the absence of his cousins, the children of Edmund the Ironside, who were absent in Austria, having been sent out of the country for their safety during the previous troublesome times—one of whom was known as Edward the Outlaw. But there was no great division of parties in opposition to Edward, the son of Emma who was also the mother of Hardicanute, the late king. The earl

Godwin was the great man of the kingdom, and in the name of Emma as guardian of her children, or under Hardicanute, from the death of Canute to that of the late king, (A. D. 1035—1042) ruled all north of the Thames with royal authority.

When Edward was informed of the death of the late king he was struck with extraordinary consternation for his safety, and immediately sought the great earl for counsel and protection. The great man, who had been but so recently charged with the death of Alfred, the brother of Edward, was rather tardy in coming to the relief of the royal heir. But when he came he was greatly surprised to find Edward's requests to be what they were. Instead of soliciting his aid in recovering the sovereignty, he attempted to throw himself at the feet of the lordly man, and prayed that he would be pleased to assist him in returning to Normandy to the protection of his uncle Richard, where he might spend the remainder of his days in peace and obscurity.

Godwin replied in a very different tone. "Are you not," he said, "the lawful heir to the throne, the son of Ethelred, the grandson of Edgar; and why should you prefer an inglorious exile?" Godwin proceeded, with his great ability, to restore his protegee to confidence and hope, and to assure him in his destiny, and the great good he was called upon to accomplish. But Godwin in doing this never forgot his own interest and position. King Edward was to be his friend, Godwin and his sons were to retain all their honors; and Edward, by marrying Editha the Fair, the daughter of Godwin, was to become a member of his family. This discourse was artfully calculated to restore Edward to his confidence, and to secure his own ambition. But we are assured from the known character of Edward that he cared as little for the pride and pleasures of royalty as he was unfit for its toil. Had he returned to Normandy, he probably would have secluded himself in some monastery, without the slightest regret for the honors he had abandoned. The prince was persuaded with reluctance; and within a few days after the decease of the late king, the great men of the Anglo-Saxon realm assembled at London and accepted Edward

as their king. This was principally procured by the great influence and abilities of the earl of Wessex, who was said to be eloquent—a quick and fluent speaker, witty and clever, and well calculated to please the multitude.

The government was soon organized; and Godwin as the earl of Wessex, and his six sons, Harold, Sweyne, Wulnoth, Tostig, Gurth and Leofwine were well provided for. The kingdom was partitioned off into a number of earldoms to accommodate them; and Editha became nominally the queen of England.¹²

Edward became a mild and merciful sovereign, without much force or energy, but benign and with great sympathy for the interest and welfare of the people. He was generally desirous of relieving the people as far as possible of the payment of taxes; especially of that tax which had been laid upon them by foreign power, so odious and oppressive to the people, called *Danegeld*, was entirely abolished. By these qualities the name of Edward the Confessor was halloed to their memory.

The reign of Edward extended over twenty-four years, (A. D. 1042—1066) and during that time the country was much relieved from the piracy of the Northmen, and almost entirely from the hostilities of the Danes in the country. Upon the whole, it was a very peaceful reign; the exceptions would be limited to occasional rising and rebellion of some of the earls against Edward, or the continued hostilities of the Saxon population against the Cymry, with a view to the conquest and taking more territory, or to compel them to pay more tribute; or in other words to take by force that which was not their own, which was an affair not very easily accomplished.

The first affair which produced any considerable commotion with Edward's government was a matter caused, as usual, by the interference of foreigners. Edward had been brought up and educated in Normandy, and was more of a Norman-Frenchman than an Anglo-Saxon. Edward was, therefore, continually surrounded by Normans

and foreigners. These being patronized, protected, and encouraged by the king, became overbearing and insolent, and became very obnoxious and disagreeable to the native people. In the year 1051, Eustace, the count of Boulogne, a foreign prince, but a brother-in-law of Edward, by marriage with his sister Goda, came over from Normandy with a large retinue of retainers, on a visit to the king. When these were on their return, passing through the town of Dover, and preparing to embark in the crossing of the channel, they behaved with great insolence to the native citizens of the place. Without the permission of any one Eustace and his friends determined to take free quarters in the town. Had they been enemies they could not have done worse, or anything more obnoxious or insolent. The retainers of the count dispersed themselves over the town of Dover; and a couple of them, under their resolution, attempted to force their way into a house, a scuffle ensued between them and the owner. The Frenchmen drew their swords, and wounded the Englishman, and the latter, in self-defense, slew one of the foreigners. All were now on an alarm; and count Eustace and his retinue were immediately armed and on horse, and attacking the house of the unfortunate Englishman, they forced their way in and killed him; then scouring the streets of the town as though taken by storm, and killing and wounding several of the townsmen. The people rallied against the fearful array, and so effectually defended themselves, that Eustace was driven out of Dover, and the most of his men slaughtered.

Count Eustace resorted to king Edward with a terrible story of his wrongs and grievances. The king believed, and in his credulity sympathized with his brother-in-law. He ordered, unfortunately, without any further hearing, earl Godwin to proceed forthwith to Dover, and punish the town with military execution. This in itself was cruel, and Godwin strongly sympathizing with the people in opposition to being thus run over by foreigners, refused to obey the order; and perhaps rejoicing over the unfortunate transaction, as giving

¹² Palgrave's Anglo-Sax., ch. xiv. p. 280.

him further opportunity for maneuvering and ingratiating himself with the people. This at once produced a feud between the king and his father-in-law who made him king, and might unmake him. Godwin, with his six active and promising sons, was a power. They rallied the people in their favor, and were fast raising a large military force. The king became alarmed, and though Godwin was strong with the people, he had many jealous adversaries among the nobility. The king was, therefore, able to call to his assistance the wise and powerful Leofric, the earl of Mercia, and the fierce and heroic Siward, the earl of Northumberland, who were ready to engage against Godwin, their envied political opponent. Civil war was apparently inevitable.

The king and his party, in the course of this delay, must have discovered that he had been too hasty; and Edward was always inclined in his sober thoughts to peaceful measures. The result was a compromise, and a truce negotiated. Each party delivered hostages, and it was agreed to submit all matters in dispute to the decision of the legislative body to be assembled in the fall. In the meantime Godwin's forces dwindled away, and the aristocracy were active in concentrating their powers against Godwin. When that Witanagemot met, Godwin and his sons were summoned to appear before them. This family, recently so powerful, now became alarmed for their own safety, and with much wealth hastily collected, and with some difficulty, made their escape to Flanders.

This reverse of fortune was wonderful, and it was asked: "Who would have ever thought in the days of their power, that this family would ever have become exiles." But such is the mutability and uncertainty of human greatness. These exiles were men of talent and vigor, and were not to spend their days in listlessness. Harold went to Ireland and raised some ships and an army of adventurers to effect his return to his country, and his father soon joined him with a similar force raised on the continent. With this force they appeared off the southern coast, and the king's marines at Hastings were the first to join them.

The people of Kent, Surry, and Essex, who were still smarting under the impositions placed upon them by the aristocracy and foreigners, and knowing that Godwin was the champion of their cause, at once declared for him. Many other districts followed the example, and declared, if necessary, they would die in the good cause. The citizens of London beckoned to them to come to their aid; and as they advanced up the river their forces continued to increase. The people supplied them with provisions, and all the country seemed to be at their command. These appearances overcame the king's reluctance; and the people's dislike to divide and engage in civil strife and spill fraternal blood were pleased to favor some compromise. Edward, however reluctant, was constrained, under the circumstances, to yield to the evident wishes of his people, and agree to a compromise. Proposals were made which satisfied the ambition of Godwin and his sons, and that other matters should be submitted to the Witenagemot. Before that council, consisting of the earls and the great men of the land, Godwin appeared and declared that he and his sons were innocent of the crimes with which they were charged. To this the council not only agreed, but decreed the restoration of their honors and property; and such was the old earl's influence with them, that they adopted all the views of his party.

All this revolution in affairs had taken place and was accomplished in less than two years; and the foreign satellites, who so obnoxiously surrounded the government, were expelled from the country. The Godwin family were now restored to an elevation more firmly than ever, and the fair Aystha, who had in the meantime been very badly treated, was restored to her rights and position as queen. The sons were assigned to various earldoms over the country. But not long after this the great earl died suddenly, in the year 1053, his place being more than usually well supplied by his son Harold.

Harold, who had now become a ruling power in the English government, had frequent contention (A. D. 1053—1055) with

the old enemies of his father, the earl Leofric of Mercia, and his son Algar, and Siward the earl of Northumbria. Among the affairs arising out of these contentions was that already spoken of, in which Algar fled to king Griffith of Wales, the husband of his sister Alghitha, for protection and aid. Although Algar was restored, yet Harold was able to retain his place and influence with king Edward, and his brother Tostig was made earl of Northumberland. This Tostig had not the judicious policy and management of his brother Harold, became tyrannical and oppressive to his people, and was expelled, and his place given to Morcar, a son of Algar. Because Harold submitted to this expulsion, Tostig became his brother Harold's mortal enemy, as will be hereafter seen. It was in this affair, in giving aid to Algar and Morcar, that king Griffith became involved, which brought on his last war with Harold, in which he lost his life.¹⁴

The mild and amiable Edward, who by his meekness and religious devotion, had acquired the appellation of Edward the Confessor, was now (A. D. 1063—1066) approaching the end of his earthly glory. He was without a lineal descendant, and was anxious and distracted upon the subject of a successor. He sometimes thought of distant relatives, as of William the duke of Normandy, of the descendants of Edmond the Ironsides, and perhaps of his brother-in-law Harold; but whether he had made any devise, as was sometimes pretended, in favor of either, is very uncertain; and if he had, its legal effect, as well as the respect which would be given to it by the English nobility, is still as uncertain. But there is no doubt that Harold meditated upon the subject, and aspired to the throne. He, therefore began to prepare the way, and conciliate his powerful enemies. For this purpose he was desirous to be reconciled with the powerful Earl Algar, and possibly this may have been the reason why he submitted to the expulsion of his brother Tostig, in favor of Morcar, the son of Algar; but more certain it was the motive of

forming a closer family connection with the Mercian, by marrying Algar's sister, Alghitha, the widow of king Griffith, whose husband he had beheaded. But it has been suggested by an able historian,¹⁵ that "the obstacle arising from Harold's ancestry was indeed insuperable. No individual, who was not of an ancient royal house, had ever been able to maintain himself upon an Anglo-Saxon throne."

At length on the fifth of January, 1066, the good king, Edward the Confessor, expired, and immediately Harold, the son of Godwin, rightfully or wrongfully, assumed the sovereignty, and from that time until his death at the battle of Hastings (Oct. 14, 1066,) Harold acted as king of England, a short reign, of a heroic and gallant effort, of only nine months, which may be conveniently considered in the next period, as the Saxon period must terminate with Edward the Confessor, who is said to be the "last legitimate Anglo-Saxon king."¹⁵

CHAPTER IV.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

§1—*The Condition of the Britons at the Advent of the Saxons.*

In order to understand the condition of a people at any particular period it is necessary that their origin and antecedents should be known and understood. At the commencement of this period, which we have denominated the Saxon period, it has been assumed and attempted to be proved, historically, that the people of Britain, from the British channel to the Grampian hills, were especially Cymric. Then came the Saxon; first the Jutes, and next the Saxon proper, and the Angles, who slowly and gradually, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, spread themselves over the south and east part of what is now England, and have generally been denominated the Anglo-Saxon. West of them, that is west of a line extending from the mouth of the Tweed south to the Avon of the British channel, the people were still principally

¹⁴ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. xiv, p. 390.

¹⁵ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. xiv, p. 393.

¹³ See ante.

and essentially Cymry. It has been an interesting question in the history of the island to know whether the Celtic Cymry inhabiting this part of England, as the Saxons proceeded westward, were entirely extirpated, and the country became anew and exclusively settled by the Saxons; so that their descendants were purely or essentially a Teutonic people; or whether a large portion of the original Britons, becoming subdued, became mixed with their conquerors, and became absorbed and assimilated with them.

In reading most English history upon this subject the impression is inculcated that the Saxons, as they progressed over the country, drove the Ancient Britons before them, some fleeing to Wales or Armorica, who were able to do so, and all others of the unfortunate people, men, women and children, were unmercifully slaughtered in cold blood; so that they had a clear, unpeopled country in which to establish a new and unmixed Saxon race. They also inculcated the idea that these Ancient Britons were such barbarians and savages that they were not at all entitled to a better fate, or to the commiseration or sympathy of mankind—that it was all a rightful and business-like affair that they were thus slaughtered. To inculcate this impression more thoroughly, one of her most able and recent historians, in the most attractive language, says: “Her inhabitants, when they first became known to the Tyrian mariners, were little superior to the natives of the Sandwich islands. She was subjugated by the Roman arms; but she received only a faint tincture of Roman arts and letters. Of the western provinces who obeyed the Cæsars she was the last that was conquered, and the first that was flung away. No magnificent remains of Latian porches and aqueducts are to be found in Britain.”¹

So much of the like matter is found in English history, has induced the writer to pause and inquire if it can be true. If so, let it stand; and neither complain or fret against God, Providence, or fortune. But

if untrue, it is just and proper, if the truth of history is worth anything, that that truth should be vindicated. With this view the writer, in the midst of numerous other vocations, has read and consulted history, and the result of his inquiry is a conviction, as that of a sworn juror, that the impression thus created is untrue and false.

In the course of the inquiry the writer had sometimes to encounter the most bitter, if not malicious, hatred. On the other hand, he sometimes met with too vivid love to be impartial, though perhaps without the malicious intention to traduce an opponent. This extreme hate or love upon this subject has been protested against by Pro. Matthew Arnold, in a noble article upon the subject, has condemned this prejudiced and partial feeling of a party, “either as warm Celt-lovers or as warm Celt-haters, and not as disinterested students of an important matter of science. One party seems to set out with the determination to find everything in Celtism and its remains; the other with the determination to find nothing in them. A simple seeker of truth has a hard time of it between the two.”²

If it were true, as above intimated by some historians, that the Ancient Britons did not enter materially into the formation of Anglo-Saxon or English character, then that part of England would have no more to do with this subject than as neighbors to the descendants of the Ancient Britons. But if the Ancient Britons—their blood and race—form a material part of the English race, and that these may well claim that Caractacus, Boadecia, Galgacus, and even Arthur, are part of their glorious ancestors, as well as Hengist, Horsa and Ida, or any one who may have emigrated from the mouth of the Eider; and then the history and condition of the English people form a part of our history, as well as those of Cambria, or Cornwall, or Cumbria, or Strath-

¹ Macaulay's History of England, ch. i, p. 3.

² See Matthew Arnold's four essays on the study of Celtic literature, in the New York Eclectic Magazine, in June, August, September and October Nos., 1866; taken from the Cornhill Magazine then recently published. These articles are striking manifestations of truth and candor; and especially so as it is intimated that his father was a good Celt-hater.

Clyde and its adjoining parts of Scotland. And it is intended to contend, as a matter of fact and truth, that the Ancient Britons did largely form a part of the original people of England; and that, however complacent it may be said, that all the Ancient Britons who did not flee were heartlessly slaughtered; still it is contended that a very large portion of them remained and were absorbed in the English population, and aided in forming their present character; and this is the principal reason why the English differ so materially from the native Teuton. This has been indicated in the course of the previous chapter; but it must be further pointed out in the statement of the condition of the people. But at present only the facts of history will be introduced as evidence of the position; but in a future chapter evidence to the same point will be deduced from language, physiology, and antiquarian researches. This history and research are necessary, in order to know and understand the condition of a people.

And as to the Ancient Britons, it is proper that the eye be cast back and see who and what they were at the commencement of this period, when Hengist and his followers first made a foot-hold on British soil. Previous to the coming of Cæsar, we have frequent incidental accounts of the Britons from the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks and Romans. These represent them, during the course of many years, in dress and appearance, as considerably civilized; kind and hospitable to strangers; industrious, laborious and given to work the earth for metals; accustomed in a foreign commerce to exchange the products of their country for foreign goods;³ and disposed themselves to be engaged in shipping and commerce. The great fleet of the Venetians, which struck Cæsar with so much astonishment, and so severely tested the Roman power. That fleet was the product of the commerce of that part of the world, and was collected from the shores of Gaul and Britain for the

defense of the country. The state of things then and there found would have gradually and progressively grown up into a new civilization of its own, had it not been for that scourge of humanity and of the Celtic race—Cæsar and the Roman power. This commerce connected itself with Britain; and its greatest development was in the neighborhood of Portsmouth, for there was Victa, the great emporium of ancient Britain. All history and antiquity point to that vicinity as the place to which the ancient commerce resorted for tin and other productions of the country; and where the greatest progress was made in the arts and civilization. There were gathered the greatest population, and the greatest evidence of their labors and arts. There were Stonehenge and Avebury; and there the twenty cities⁴ taken by Vespasian, after thirty-two hard-fought battles.⁵ These two ancient temples prove a dense population, with great industry, art and skill; and consequently great progress in civilization.⁶ This part of Britain Cæsar never

4 See B. i, ch. 1.

5 Richard of Cirencester, B. ii, ch. i, §xiv. See Bohn's Antiquarian Library, Six Old Chronicles, p. 465. 1 Pictorial Eng. Hist., p. 36.

6 Upon the subject of the arts and science exercised by the Ancient Britons in the monuments left by them at Stonehenge and Avebury, a learned writer in the British Quarterly, and copied in the New York Eclectic Magazine, in April No., 1870, p. 308, says: "In the case of the Cromlechs, it is probable that the use of the mason's tools on the giant slab was only of rare occurrence. In the case of the circular buildings, on the other hand, there is reason to conclude that it was the rule. The principal stones at Avebury impress the observer with the idea that they have been carefully wrought. It is possible that this idea is erroneous; but it receives a very distinct confirmation from the investigation of Stonehenge. Of the masonic character of that great edifice there is not the shadow of a doubt. Carefully finished mortise and tenon joints are still to be seen in the stones. They were no mere up-piled blocks. A horizontal ring of wrought masonry was supported by wrought stone uprights, at the height of from twelve to sixteen feet from the ground, the whole structure being bound together by carefully wrought and fitted joints. We have here as distinct an instance of mason's work, strictly so called, as in the Great Pyramid itself." What great art, skill and science it must have required to transport these mighty blocks from the quarry, and then to hew, raise and fit them. It may well be compared with the great Pyramid. This is an answer to Lord Macaulay's enquiry for a Roman portico.

The same learned author further says: "Stonehenge, Avebury, and other prehistoric ruins, regarded in this light, have a new import and legend. The mystery that surrounded them may be to a great extent expelled, but the wonder and awe which they are calculated to create are rather enhanced than diminished. We have commenced with the vague idea that we had before us some rude relics of a giant

3 1 Pictorial History of England, pp. 31, 80, 88, 127. Publius Crassus Ibid., 88. 1 Gues's Ancient Britons, 10-11, 65-66.

saw, and knew nothing about it; but that which he did see was comparatively new and not so much improved. These considerations, with the description given of them by Tacitus and others of his time, prove that the Ancient Britons, before the Romans, had made great progress in the arts and civilization. Their organization in defense of their country, their spirited contest for their liberties and freedom, and the ready manner in which they adopted improvements suggested to them, attracted the admiration of Tacitus and other Romans, and show that they were not to be compared with the natives of the Sandwich islands; but were among the most civilized and interesting people of Western Europe.

But the question is not so much as to what the Ancient Britons were at the commencement of the Roman period, as it is that of the Saxon period; and upon that subject there is in general a very erroneous opinion prevailing. It should be remembered that the Roman conquest of Britain took place a hundred and thirty years after that of Gaul, or Cæsar's time. At that time the Romans were essentially an agricultural people, desirous of acquiring land; and did emigrate to and possess themselves of some portion of the land in the country they conquered. They therefore did emigrate to and settle in Gaul; to that degree that they materially affected and changed the language of the country. But at the time of the conquest of Britain, all these matters were entirely changed. In the time of Claudius and Nero, the Romans ceased to be agriculturists and a land seeking people.⁷ They then, instead of cultivat-

ing and producing their own agricultural productions, obtained them as tribute from other countries and were distributed to the Roman populace at home. There was, therefore, no emigration of the Roman people to Britain. There were no Roman people who went to Britain, except the army, its officers, and its hangers on; and possibly a few merchants. There were so few outside of the army that the Romans never affected the language of the country. We are also informed by historians that the Roman laws prohibited the Roman officers and distinguished men from settling in Britain or acquiring lands there; and a distinguished English historian says, which is very true, that grants of land were made to the Roman veterans as *beneficium* in Gaul; but we have not equal full proof of the same practice in Britain.⁸ Indeed it may be asserted that no such distribution of land was made by the Romans in Britain. Where land was confiscated, it was sold, and the Romans derived their revenue from such confiscations, but principally from taxes and tributes. The Roman people in Britain were always very small—usually an army of about fifty thousand men against two or three millions of the native population; and when the army was withdrawn there were no Romans left, except some half-breeds. The Romans never improved Britain with a view to their own personal property—it was only a national affair to increase their revenue by taxes and tribute. The improvements were left to the people themselves, which the Romans encouraged with a view of increasing the taxes they could collect; but they did not make the improvements. The exception to this was the roads, which were necessary to facilitate their military movements and the collection of the taxes; their camps and fortifications, which were neces-

barbarism; that the ancient people, whom we agree to term Druids, had piled up rough stones, by the exercise of rude though gigantic force, into some mystic hyphæral court of worship. We find, on more careful investigation, the ruin of carefully built, accurately wrought structures, the imperishable remains of which attest such a high degree of masonic skill and science, as well as such outlay in transport and in labor of all kinds, as to indicate a very high degree of craftsmanship and artistic education. And above all must it be noted that we find no trace of image or of idol—no indication of any idolatrous form of worship, any more than any structural reference to that astrological creed, which we know to have exercised an important influence over mankind."

⁷ Prof. Fisk in Appleton's Journal, Oct., 1860, p. 241, says: "It must be remembered that the Ro-

mans, as a general rule, neither exterminated, enslaved nor colonized. On the other hand, they *assimilated*, wherever it was possible, the people whom they had overcome. The Greeks were great colonizers; but the Roman colonies were, in the main, simply military posts." * * * "Thus, in the fourth century, the population of Roman Britain must still have been almost purely Celtic; and during a long period of comparative peace, it cannot have been less, but was probably greater in number than in the time of Cæsar."

⁸ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon, ch. xii. p. 214.

sary to their security and to hold their possession; and some public buildings necessary to the transaction of their public business. Great complaint was made by the Britons that they were compelled to labor, by detail, upon these public improvements in addition to the payment of their taxes. All beyond this were the labor, the enterprise, and the improvements of the native Britons. Beyond this the Roman officer only encouraged, and occasionally produced a design; and, as Tacitus says, "thus encouraged, the natives were induced to build temples, courts of justice, and commodious dwelling houses, * * * and by degrees baths, porticos, and elegant banquet halls."⁹ And he shows that they readily understood and engaged in such improvements.

All the improvements in Britain during the Roman period which did not belong to the Romans as national property was the property of the native Britons, built and produced by their industry, intelligence and taste, and should be called British works and improvements, and it is unjust to them to denominate it as Roman, in any other sense than as certain buildings and erections are now called Grecian, Roman or Gothic architecture. These names classify the character of the improvements, but it is the industry and talent of the natives of other countries that produce them.

According to the testimony of Richard of Cirencester, there were among the Britons at the close of the Roman period ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and conspicuous,¹⁰ probably capitals of provinces and districts. And

although of these there are two designated as municipal and nine as colonial, there is nothing to warrant the supposition that any considerable number of Romans occupied any of them, except officers of the army for a temporary purpose. So that at the commencement of the Saxon period all these cities, population and improvements were essentially British, and not Roman; produced by their industry, skill and capacity, only aided by Roman designs, just as English or Americans are now aided by foreign designs.

The civilization of the Britons at this period is conclusively proved by other facts in their history, as well as those already referred to. The Christian religion had then been cultivated among them about three hundred years; and for many years had the bishops and Christian clergy been in the habit of attending all the Christian councils held, even before the reign of the emperor Constantine; and their religion and principles were considered sound. At that time they had large and thriving schools or universities at Winchester, Carlisle, Bangor, and other places, which produced such Latin scholars as Pelagius, whose scholarship was then admired and acknowledged by the Roman world; and also St. David and others, whose learning and attainments were well known. Notwithstanding the coming of the Saxons and their hostilities to civilization and Christianity, which swept over Britain with destruction and desolation, these schools and their learning continued down, past the seventh century, where the Ancient Britons—Cymry—remained.

A most decided matter in establishing the condition of the Britons just before the coming of the Saxons is the account of the visit of bishop Germanus from Gaul, at the request of the Britons, to aid them in confuting the doctrines of Pelagius. His preaching was in aid of the exertion made by the British clergy. He held his meetings and preached at all eligible places, from his landing in Kent to the western shore of the islands in North Wales. Everywhere the people flocked to these meetings in great multitudes, to be enlightened

⁹ Tacitus' *Agricola*, §xvi. In Appleton's Journal (October 9, 1869, p. 243.) Prof. Fitch says that Cæsar "will not allow us to assume for South Britain (i. e. England) a population of less than a million and a half or two millions; while the working of tin mines, the use of metallic armor and wheel carriages, the possession of neat houses, of roads, of river dams, and of stone piers, (Cicero, "Ad Atticum," iv, 16,) testify to a considerable progress in material civilization. It appears undeniable that the Cymry of Southern Britain were as much civilized as their cousins of Gaul, and that both were far more advanced than the Teutonic tribes beyond the Rhine." These observations are just and true; but then how much more advanced was the progress of the Britons at the commencement of the Roman conquest by Claudius; and still how much more so must their progress in civilization have been at the termination of their rule in Britain.

¹⁰ B. i, ch. vii.

on the various intricate questions involved in the Pelagian doctrine. Nothing could be a more striking evidence of the progress made by these people in Christianity and civilization than the account given by this transaction. They were also the people by whose industry and care everything in the country had been produced, sustained and protected, from the time of Constantine the Great, a period of one hundred and fifty years, during which there were no Romans there, except the army and officers, and most of the time even they were withdrawn, and difficult to keep them there. During that time the people were unaccustomed to war or military affairs. The young men who were taken into the Roman army were taken off to other countries, and generally never returned. They were therefore a highly improved, civilized and Christianized people, unaccustomed to military affairs, because the Romans, as far as possible, prevented them from being so accustomed. The British historians claim that after the Roman conquest all that part of Britain south of the Thames was permitted to remain under their own organized government, of their own kings, subordinate to the Romans, paying them the required tribute and taxes. This is probably true; for we never read of war or rebellion there, for the wars were always to the north. We should also recollect that by the decree of Caracalla, in the year 211, all Britons were made Roman citizens.

§2.—*The Condition of the Saxons During this Period.*

The Saxon population who first became inhabitants of England were a people in character, habits and training as different from the Britons as they well could be. They were pagans, and despised Christianity; and were particularly hostile to the Christian priesthood and churches, and destroyed them as far as in their power. They also despised all special objects of civilization, as architecture and literature; and these were also special objects of their hostility and destruction. They venerated and protected nothing, except those which afforded them the rudest protection and

sustenance in time of peace, and the battle-axe and hammer in war. It was their greatest boast that they had never slept under the smoky beams of a house, and that their battle-axe had been the most prolific in slaughter. When they were able to take possession of any part of the country, destruction and ashes marked their course; the ruling population who were not slaughtered in battle either submitted to their exactions or fled; the body of the people succumbed—the men to pay tribute and cultivate the land for sustenance; and many of the women were made their wives and servants. Their residences were rude cabins, often built up against the ruined walls of houses they had destroyed. These rude soldiers, when settled in a part of the country, lived by means of the tribute paid them by the conquered people, in provisions and clothing; and as they brought with them but few or no women, they took wives from the choice women of the land, and commenced a new household as rulers of the country. In a few generations these matters would change and improve. The two races would intermingle, assimilate, and improve. The new comers would adopt such improvements as struck their fancy; and the natives, so overwhelmed, would gradually adopt their language. But that language would not be Saxon, but a new language gradually modified to adapt it to the new state of things; and the adoption of many new forms and words, especially as to names of things, and forms of expression.

Over a hundred years the conquest of the Saxons was confined to the neighborhood of the sea shore; over a hundred and fifty years before it extended into the interior and west as far as the line already described, extending from the Southern Avon to the mouth of the Tweed; and it was over three hundred years before Offa extended his conquest west of the Severn. In this slow progress the Saxons took possession of the country—the rural districts, and in most instances left the cities untouched. London was never taken by the Saxons, and from this and other circumstances it is to be believed that the cities

were favored by the Saxons, upon some terms, perhaps upon paying tribute in manufactured articles and clothing. There are many facts which go to prove this, some of which are entirely overlooked by English historians. As where Cadwalla, the British king, in the year 635, put Osric, king of Northumbria, to death, because he had *besieged a free town*.¹ Such free towns or cities are frequently alluded to. Exeter for a long time after that was a free city, as London and other cities undoubtedly were. Another instance is illustrative of this, in the siege of the strong town of Andred-caster by Ælla in A. D. 490, where the Britons made such resistance as to drive the Saxons from the walls three times; but at length the town was taken, and, because they had sustained such loss in the course of the siege, the Saxons became so "enraged at the loss they had sustained that they totally destroyed the city, and the people all fell by the edge of the sword, with their women and children."² If it had been a common thing with the Saxons to destroy all towns, and put all women and children to the sword, it would not have been said that this was so done because they were so enraged on the account of the extreme resistance they had made. The probability is they refused to surrender and agree to come under their government and pay tribute, as other cities were doing.

Another matter which goes directly to show the condition of the people, which was so decidedly different with the Saxons than with the Britons, was their form of government. It was as aristocratical and oligarchal as any that history gives any account of. This also is a matter that has generally been overlooked by historians; and the Saxons represented to have been under a very free and equal government. All the rulers of the Saxons in Britain from the king down claimed to be descendants from Woden,³ their great ancestor,

whom they worshipped as their god; so that they governed by divine right, and none other were permitted to rule. Every Saxon king in history, their pedigree is accurately deduced from Woden, and all the earls or aldermen and ruling men were connected with the same family, and all other people strictly excluded. "Our Anglo-Saxon alderman," says Palgrave, "constituted a kind of ruling caste or tribe, all sons of Woden, perhaps anciently invested with sacerdotal functions, the priests as well as the law giver and leaders of the nation. Collectively as a caste, and individually over their own immediate followers and retainers, they possessed great dominion and influence, * * * * but the rule expired with the urgency which had given it birth, and all the aldermen were alike again."⁴ This last expression of Palgrave conveys a false impression—that all power so returned to the people. This was not so; it was a mere return of "the rule" to the aldermen, as one family or caste, but the people had no part in the government, which both in time of peace remained in the king and aldermen, who were all of one family and caste. This characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon government continued down to almost its very last. The first instance of its departure was in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, (A. D. 1009) when one Edric, "a man of low birth, but of great eloquence and abilities," was greatly promoted and elevated by the king. He became a great favorite, received the hand of Edgitha, the king's daughter, and was made earl of Mercia. Upon this Palgrave says:—"This promotion, and still more, this misalliance of a daughter of Odin, constituted an entire departure from the ancient principles of the Anglo-Saxon government."

But the greatest departure was just after this time, in the case of Godwin and his family. And as to this Palgrave again says: "The obstacle to Harold's elevation, arising from his ancestry, was indeed inseparable. No individual, who was not of an ancient royal home, had ever been able to main-

¹ Henry of Huntingdon, B. iii, p. 96. See ante, B., ch. .

² Henry of H., B. ii, p. 45. See also ante, B. — ch. —.

³ See Pictorial History of England, B. ii, ch. ii, p. 214. Also Mallett's Northern Antiquity, in Bohn's Lib.

⁴ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. iv, p. 60.

tain himself upon an Anglo-Saxon throne.⁵ And such was the character of this government up to this time, that by its prejudice in favor of birth, and against native talents, that by means of these principles of aristocracy and caste the people were kept as serfs from any participation in the government, and excluded such men as the great Godwin and his son Harold, who were among the greatest men who ever ruled in the land, on their birth and humble ancestry. And Palgrave further says: "Hitherto the crown had been preserved from domestic invasion by the belief that royalty belonged exclusively to the children of Woden."⁶ * * * * "The Danish chieftains imagined they possessed a right to the government of the Anglian states of Britain. The Danish kings were sons of Woden, like our Anglo-Saxon monarchs."⁷ Turner is to the same effect, who says: "The nobles were jealous of their race and rank. Nobles married nobles only, and the severest penalties prohibited intrusions of one rank into the other."⁸ They equally impugned the reign of a woman,⁹ and when the government of Wessex fell into the hands of the queen Saxberga, the queen of the late king Cenwalch, "the proud barbarians of Wessex disdained even a government of wis-

dom in the form of woman; and for ten years the nobles shared the government."

These Saxons were rude warriors; and war and slaughter were an essential part of their religion. They believed that to fight and die on the field of battle was a sure passport to heaven, and a glorious introduction to Walhalla; and with the same zeal and hope as the Christian martyr met his death, and courted it, so did the Saxon warrior, with the same indifference, for life, seek death in battle, and claimed that he was only exchanging a mortal life here for one that was immortal in heaven. They were imbued with this idea, and it was long before Christianity could divest them of it. This is well illustrated by the following anecdote and character of Siward the stout earl of Northumbria, (about A. D. 1053) who, when informed that his son was slain in an expedition into Scotland, inquired: "Was his death-wound received before or behind." The reply was, "Before." Then said he, "I greatly rejoice; no other death was fitting for him or me." The next year, when he himself was about to die, and perceiving his approaching dissolution, said: "Shame on me that I did not die in one of the many battles I have fought, but am reserved to die with disgrace the death of a sick cow! At least put on my armor of proof, gird the sword by my side, place the helmet on my head, let me have my shield in my left hand and my gold-inlaid battle-axe in my right hand, that the bravest of soldiers may die in a soldier's garb."¹⁰

These invaders had been pirates and plunderers for generation after generation, before they attempted a settlement in Britain. For a long time they had been in the habit of robbing and plundering the country nearest the sea. Their experience informed them that since the departure of the Romans, and the inexperience of the people in military affairs, it was easier and safer to remain on shore; and hence caught the idea of a permanent settlement. They came as soldiers or pirates, without wives or families—not as emigrants—and as such they were constantly sending to their orig-

5 Palgrave's Anglo-Sax., p. 300.

6 Ibid., p. 300.

7 Ibid., p. 88.

8 Turner's Anglo-Sax., appendix to, B. ii, ch. ii, p. 140. Palgrave says, ch. VII, p. 224: "The earls had many royal rights, though of course inferior to the king in degree. One-third of the revenues of the earldom belong to them; other prerogatives varied in different parts of the empire; and so did the prerogatives of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and we may easily suppose that the farther they were from the seat of government, the more would be assumed. 'Give him an inch and he will take an ell,' may be fairly applied to all mankind, and I do not see any reason for excepting an earl. I mean a Danish or Anglo-Saxon earl—from the general rule."

The government was strictly an Oligarchy. The alderman, chieftains and nobility were all of one family, and descendants of Woden, and they were numerous enough for rulers. In being summoned by the sovereign to meet in council, they were called as "their dear cousin." Turner says: "Their consent in their gemot continued to be necessary to the more important acts of authority. There were four orders of men among the Anglo-Saxons: The nobles, the freemen, the fieldmen, and the servile. The nobles were jealous of their race and rank; and nobles married nobles only"—(Turner, *Ibid.*, 146). And such nobles were of the same family, and the king and all were descendants of Woden.

9 Turner, *Ibid.*, p. 252.

10 Henry of Huntingdon, B. vi, p. 204—5.

inal country for more aid. Re-enforcements of men were constantly coming to their aid, and forming new settlements. Wherever they were able to establish a permanent footing in the country they formed new relations with the people there. The priests and officials fled. They took for wives such of the women as they chose—the men and the residue of the population were left to work and cultivate the land; and instead of being plundered they were only compelled to divide with them as a tribute or mode of taxation.

These new-comers had only the habits and disposition of warriors and pirates; they were destitute of all acquaintance with literature, and despised industry and labor. They trusted only in their battle-axe, and upon the labors and property of other people. They had long been accustomed to pillage and plunder, and they took from others whenever they could, without remorse or any compunction of conscience. They had no sense of the rights of others, and were taught that whatever they could take from others was evidence of their right to do so. Plunder by sea and land had been so long their habit—it had become their regular vocation.¹¹ The open heavens, or the tent or cabin of the wanderer or soldier was their boasted home. When they had taken possession and settled down, a new generation grew up around them, a mixed breed of Saxons and Britons. New enterprises of this kind gradually and slowly spreading over Southern and Eastern Britain, until a new people had sprung up, known as Anglo-Saxons. But this intermixture of races not only took place upon the first settlement, but also it continued in the intercourse and commixture of the two people throughout the whole country. And, as we have seen, the people of the numerous cities were frequently left undisturbed; and in the great interior, the great body of the country included in Mercia, the great mass of the original people, except the priests and ruling people, remained, and were swallowed up and assimilated with

the Anglo-Saxons. This mixture became a new people, so very different from the original Teutons. They, by these means, became a different people in blood and character, partaking some of both races; even of their language, the foundation of which was still Saxon; for the Germans are, of all nations, the most tenacious of their language—it is generally the last thing they will part with. The oldest Saxon settlements in the southeastern part of England, by this operation, soon changed in their civilization and character; and this accounts for the greater ease and readiness with which Christianity and civilization took in Kent, Sussex, Essex and East Anglia than in Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria, where the new importations of Saxons were constantly coming in to carry on their progress, and to fill up the constant loss in their numbers in the wars against the Britons. This will also account for the great difference in the character and history of the people of the four first mentioned from those of the three latter named countries. In the former Christianity took readily, but in the latter only slowly; and these were in continual war not only against the Britons, but also with each other. The difference we see between Ethelbert of Kent, and Penda of Mercia or Ethelfrith of Northumbria; and the progress made by Christianity and civilization in the several countries.

The Saxons, when they first came to Britain, were as much as any people destitute of all acquaintance with literature and science, and so continued for many years. It was Christianity that first introduced them to these. Up to the time of the conversion of Ethelbert of Kent to Christianity they manifested a decided opposition to the Christianity and civilization of the Britons. Much of the architecture and improvements of the country were utterly destroyed, as matters that were utterly worthless and beneath their regard. But when they became Christians they gradually paid some attention to architecture and its concomitant improvements, but their progress in literature was slow; in this, their first production was Bede's Ec-

¹¹ Vaughan's *Revolutions in History*, B. ii, ch. ii, p. 105.

clesiastical History, which for its time was a wonderful work, and highly credible. But that was the work of Christianity; and without the aid that Bede received from the Christian priests, principally from abroad, he would never have acquired the taste or literary attainment necessary to produce a historical work of the kind. Christianity was introduced a hundred and fifty years after the settlement made by Hengist, and Bede's time was nearly a hundred and fifty years later. But it was the great Alfred that first encouraged and introduced a taste for literature among the Saxons, about 900, which until then was entirely neglected.

It was many years after the introduction of Christianity before a priest existed among the native Saxons; and when they came to exist great distinction was made between the clergy who were from the noble families—the descendants of Woden—and those of plebian descent. The high positions in the church were secured by the children of the nobility, while the plebian priests were compelled to occupy an humble position. The great distinction made in the English church between one class of the clergy and another dependent upon their rank in society as represented by Lord Macaulay,¹² so very humble and degrading to the humble priest, was a relic of that cruel distinction made among the Saxons between those who were connected with the families who were descendants of Woden and the great mass who constituted the humble people. This great distinction in the Anglo-Saxon society, between the aristocracy who descended from Woden and the plebian people, continued without any encroachments upon it until the time of the great Godwin, who was probably the first instance of its violation; but it is probable that the success of Godwin was wholly due to the change wrought in the condition of society by the Danes and their wars. This humble condition of the great mass of the Saxon population continued at least to the Norman conquest, and it included all below the nobility, and

was divided into two classes—the freemen and the servile. The Saxons, without any apparent compunction, always recognized the right and institution of slavery. Into this mass of people the subdued Britons were admitted upon the same terms as other plebian people. It was only those who were taken prisoners in actual war were made slaves. And history furnishes evidence that the subdued Britons frequently held land upon the same terms as the free plebian Saxons.

Before the Saxons attempted the conquest and settlement in Britain, they had been for many years as pirates and marauders, the terror of the Roman empire.¹³ During that time they had become expert and relentless warriors; and their religious notions rendered them fearless, and taught them to court danger and death in battle as the happiest event of human life. In the course of this experience they had been taught the arts of a rude war, and had learned what were the most deadly and effective arms, and what was their most efficient armor in their wicked warfare. Their most efficient weapons were the battle-axe and a club with spikes bristling from a knot at the end of it; and these were made with great length and weight, in order to give the most deadly blow with the greatest security, and fall with terrific effect on their enemies.¹⁴ They then sought to clothe themselves in the most efficient and protective armor—a shield, a helmet with metal projections to protect the head, neck and nose. With these weapons and defensive armor they generally went into battle in a close solid body or in the shape of a wedge. They were generally successful, as any body of men, thus armed and disciplined, would be; but still they often found their match amongst the Britons, as when Hengist was driven back into the sea by Vortimer;¹⁵ or at the great battle of Badon Hill, and under Arthur.¹⁶ But slow and progressive success attended

¹³ About 170 years, from the time of Carausius about 280, to the time of Hengist in 450.

¹⁴ Vaughan's *Revolutions*, p. 108.

¹⁵ See ante, B. iii, ch. i, §.

¹⁶ See ante, B. iii, ch. i, §.

¹² Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i, ch. iv, p. 246.

them; principally by means of the Britons, permitting them to acquire a settlement on the sea shore, without taking the alarm as to the consequences, until after a new race of native Saxons had been fixed in the country; and also for the reason that the part of England which first became subject to the Saxons, was the country of the Lloegrian Cymry, who did not resist with that vigor, which characterized the Cambrian Cymry¹⁷ or the Cymry proper. The Lloegrians more readily united and assimilated with the Saxons than the Britons of Cambria, and it was their country which was first taken. There, until Offa's time (about 777), the western line of the Saxon conquest remained as the western line of Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria, before any portion of Cumbria was taken by them. But the mystery of the conquest consists in the fact, that from the commencement to the end there was a continual re-enforcement and acquisition of men from North-western Germany. From the time of the Romans to the time of William the Conqueror (about 600 years) there was a constant stream of Germans going to Britain to find a grave there, until the lives of millions were spent in making that conquest. On the other hand the Cymry had no such aid or resource, and in the battles with the Saxons their numbers were constantly being reduced. The force that is perpetually increased must eventually overcome that which is on the decline without a re-enforcement.

During this time, from the year 450 to 1066, was the period which in the history of Europe is properly called the dark ages; when all science, literature and improvements were on the decline, consequent upon its being overrun by the barbarians of the north; and all these objects by them subverted, until all Europe had become a scene of desolation; all commerce, friendly and civil intercourse between nations lost, and Europe thrown back into its original savagery. The first circumstance of improvement in the condition of the Saxons in Britain, was their conversion to Christi-

anity. But that improvement, though a decided one, was slow in making its way against the principles and practices of the devotees of Woden.

The next improvement was that produced by Alfred the Great. This was after they had been in Britain about four hundred years (A. D. 450—870). The exertion made by him to establish peace upon solid basis, and the exertion by him made for the introduction of science and literature, produced an almost incalculable advancement in the condition of the Saxons; and from this time forward their improvement was progressive. And strange as it may appear, the coming of the Danes was an actual improvement to the Saxons, though they complained that the Danes were savage pagans, who brought war and desolation with them—the slaughter of their people, and reduction of many of their towns to heaps of ashes. These complaints may have been only the just retribution of Providence, in inflicting upon the Saxons the very same misery and injustice which they had previously inflicted upon the Britons. But it taught the Saxons a severe lesson of the demands of justice and humanity; and the benevolent doctrines of Christianity, which they had slowly adopted, gave them an opportunity of practically studying its benevolence and humanity. But wherein the Danes were of the greatest advantage in improving the Saxons, was the partial reform they produced in their form of government, and their social and political relations. Although the Danes were a people of the same pagan religion, and social relation taught by Woden to the Saxons, still the Danes were not so thoroughly bound, in that aristocratical distinction which divided the Saxons, politically and socially, into the few, who claimed descent from Woden, and the great body of the plebeian people, who could never hope to rise to their condition, however great might be their merits. The Danes were the cause of the first breaking in upon this principle of the Saxon government, and were the cause of elevating the first plebeian Saxon from a herdsman to one of the greatest and most powerful men in the

¹⁷ See 1 Thierry's Norman Conquest, p. 23.

land, in the person of the great earl Godwin.¹⁸ This break was of great consequence to the common of the Saxon people.

§3.—*The Condition of the Britons during the Saxon Period.* (457—1066.)

As already stated, it is held that the Britons at the time the Saxons became first permanently settled in Britain were a civilized people, with cultivated arts, science and literature. Upon their condition the coming of the Saxons had the most deteriorating and lamentable effect. Christianity had been for many years firmly established in all South Britain, and their theology had been recognized as sound and correct at the various councils previously held on the continent, at which their bishops had attended. Archbishops had been established at York, London and Winchester; and in the course of the excited controversy upon the subject of Arianism and Pelagian heresy, the true doctrines of Christianity had been firmly engrafted. But in the course of a hundred and fifty years, the Saxons had expelled from that part of Southeastern Britain, of which they had taken possession with special hostility, all evidence of Christianity with its bishops and priests, and destroyed all churches and schools. Those who were not disposed to submit, as the clergy and officials, fled—some to Armorica among their brethren there, and others to the Cymry in the west, while the great body of the people remained, principally in the cities, and were eventually swallowed up by their conquerors and became Anglo-Saxons.¹ But in the meantime the Cymry, west of the Saxons, did all in their power to preserve Christianity, literature and science, so far as it was possible in that dark age, when a war was prosecuted against everything of the kind, and all communication

and commerce with southeastern and civilized Europe were cut off and destroyed. They did all in their power to preserve *Bangor is y coed*, on the Dee, and Caerleon on the Usk, as centers of religion and learning. The first of these, Bangor, was destroyed about A. D. 605, by Ethelfrith, the stout and destructive king of Northumbria;² the second, Caerleon on the Usk, was wonderfully preserved amidst all hostilities, so that in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, about the year 1185, it especially attracted his attention and description as wonderful specimen of the architecture and works of more ancient times. In the midst of those wars and hostilities of the Saxons, and then the Danes, the Cymry maintained their attention to literature and the Christian religion, as is fully proved by the prose writings of Pelagius, Gildas, Nennius and Asser; but especially by the productions of the bards during the sixth and seventh century, during Western Europe's darkest hour, as is sufficiently proved by the poetic productions of Taliesin of Bangor, Aneurin of Cumbria, whose great epic poem, *Gododin*, describing the circumstances of the great battle of *Cottraeth*, in which the poet himself was engaged as a warrior. The merits of this poet is such as to designate him as the sovereign bard of his times. These were followed by numerous other poets and bards, as *Llywarch Hen*, *Myrddin* and numerous others, who have not only received the admiration of their own countrymen but of generous and impartial Englishmen and others.³ Of Aneurin it has been said, that his description of manners are happy, and the incidental allusions are strikingly illustrative of the age; but his chief power consisted in his pathetic lamentation, and his elegies have many fine sentiments. These literary efforts of this people were continued to the time of *Howel the Good*, which produced his code; and survived the dark and gloomy times that followed him; and again burst

¹⁸ See ante, B. iii, ch.—.

¹ This is so declared repeatedly by the British historians. The triads say: "That the *Llegrians*, enticed by the *Coranians*, entered into a conspiracy with the enemy and became Saxons." This positive declaration is in accordance with common sense; and no one with that sense will believe that they were either expelled or put to the sword.

² See ante B. iii, ch. —: Henry of Huntingdon. B. iii, p. 82. See, also, the article *Caerleon*, in *Chamber's Encyclopedia*; also *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

³ See *Turner's Vindication*; Prof. Arnold's *Study of Celtic Literature*; also the writings of *Southey* and *Wadsworth*; also the able essay of *Stephens on the Literature of the Cymry*.

out in a revival of literature in a subsequent age, in that of the twelfth century.

At the commencement of Offa's reign in the year 755, west of the line already described as then the west line of Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria, the people throughout Western Britain were almost exclusively Cymry; and this includes the peninsula of Cornwall west of the Avon, Cambria west of the Severn, Cumbria from the Dee to the Firth of the Solway, Strath-Clyde, running far into the northeast of Scotland; including the Picts, who were the descendants of some of the Ancient Britons who fled from the oppression of the conquering Romans to the protection afforded in the recesses of Scotland. These were in part the descendants of those gallant men, who defended their country under Galgacus. The exception to this, if there be any, were the Scots, and the Highlanders in the northwest of Scotland. The Scots were, undoubtedly, originally Britons who fled from the invading Romans, first to Ireland, and afterwards passed over to Scotland; and by their enterprise and energy gave their name to the country. For the reason that the Scots last came from Ireland, they are frequently called by the ancient historians Irish; but were probably descendants of the Ancient Britons. The Highlanders were Gaels—the elder Celts, who inhabited Britain before the coming of the Cymry. These three Celtic nationalities—Scots, Picts and Gaels, so nearly related, by an union formed the new nationality of Scotland—a country and people who have most gloriously retrieved themselves from the fierce and savage life which the Romans compelled them to seek for freedom and independence; until now they have, in literature and science, in arts and manufacture, and in the requirements of peace and war, placed themselves upon an equality with the first people of the world. Such are the Scots, now made up of the Gaels and Cymry of Ancient Britain, with a small sprinkling of Anglo-Saxon.⁴

It is rather strange that we have so many undoubted evidences of the love and cherished fondness of the Celts of this Western Europe to literature, and their devotion to it under such adverse circumstances. Besides the Cymric names already mentioned in connection with their literature, there are names of Scots and Irish, equally entitled to our regard and admiration. The production of Ireland and Scotland in early times, when we might justly expect nothing from them; some of whom are claimed by each country. But whether Scot or Irish, they are equally due to the Celts. Ossian is one of these; and though his existence has been denied by the "Celt-hater," yet that has been abundantly vindicated by fair and able men. Mr. Giles in his history of the Ancient Britons places Ossian in the time of Carausius, and says that he refers to him by the name of Caron. Another is John Scotus Erigena, who has added to the fame of his countrymen, but added to the enlightenment and literature of Europe. Though we have abundant evidence of the extraordinary production of literature at this period by the Cymry, the Irish and the Scot, yet the greatest development of it belongs to the next period, in the twelfth century.

Since the commencement of the Christian era, literature, civilization and Christianity have always gone on hand in hand; and civilization requires the true and genuine principles of Christianity for its greatest development. Here again the Celtic population of the west may justly claim priority and the superiority over the rest of Northern Europe. They were the earliest missionaries to the heathen. St. Patrick⁵ was induced to devote his life to the conversion of Ireland, which was attended with extraordinary success about the same time that the Saxons began to overrun

territory. This limit the inhabitants of the South never afterwards altered, making from that day the new point of separation between the two parts of Britain. The tribes of Anglian race who inhabited the plains between the Forth and the Tweed became by this change embodied with the population of Picts and Scots, or Scotch, the name which this mixed population soon took, and from which was formed the modern name of the country." See ante, B. iii, ch. —.

⁵ See ante, B. iii, ch. —.

⁴ Thierry in his *Norman Conquest*, Vol. i, B. i, p. 51, 1 says: "After the death of Uthfrith of Northumbria (A. D. 684) the Picts and Scots approved their victory and advance south of the Firth, the limits of which they then made the limits of their

England and extinguish Christianity there. Out of this mission to Ireland came St. Columba, who, about 550 or some earlier, established his mission on the Isle of Iona on the coast of Scotland, which afterwards became celebrated as the great seat of learning and religion. The followers and students of Columba appear to have rendered great service to Scotland, and even to England, in matters of learning and religion. Teachers were often sent from among them to the seminaries of England and the continent; and they undertook missionary enterprises to Norway, and even to Russia. They taught, in a great measure, the principles of primitive Christianity, and rejected the ceremonies of the Roman church. But eventually Iona became subject to the Roman Catholic, and fell to ruins in the progress of the Reformation. It had produced the conversion of the Scots and Picts to Christianity. It was among these Scots and Picts that Osric and Eanfrid, two young princes of Northumbria, when banished during Edwin's time, took refuge and became Christians, but on their return, after Edwin's death, they abandoned their Christian faith, and again became pagans among their Saxon people.⁶

At this time the Celtic people, it is probable, were the foremost in literary attainments, and the most advanced in Christianity, of any people of Northwestern Europe. Elsewhere it was a dark period in the history of Europe, during which the northern barbarians were carrying on a war of extermination against civilization.

One of the most striking incidents of the times, which affected the condition of the Cymric people during this period, was the continual scene of war in which they lived. This is specially observable with them from the death of Howell the Good to that of Edward the Confessor, (A. D. 948—1066,) a period of one hundred and eighteen years; during which there was almost a constant war, either with the English government, or the Danes, or marauding parties, or the dissension of partisan aspirants. Either external or internal war was com-

mon with them. But to this they were compelled by the continual pressure and war brought upon them by the Saxons and Danes. They were compelled to keep their armor on, and to live the life of a warrior. Their enemies were always upon them; and in times of external peace, their enemies were constantly aiding one party out of power against another in power, for the purpose of keeping them in war and dissensions among themselves; and for this purpose advantage was taken of any pretended claim or right, to aid it against the peace of the country. But this has ever been the unhappy fate of all people similarly situated. Tacitus said, that it was the acknowledged policy of the Romans always to aid the factions and contentions, against those in power amongst their enemies; and for this purpose they frequently aided and allied the most pretentious claimant. The same was the case with the Saxons. This has brought upon the Ancient Britons the charge that they were contentious and quarrelsome; which instead of being a charge against their national character, should be laid to the charge of human weakness; for we find the same weakness, under the same circumstances, among all brave people jealous of their rights and liberties.

This charge against the Ancient Britons is principally supported by what is said by the querulous Gildas. He dealt in fault-finding philippic; but was no historian dealing in facts. He was a priest probably accustomed to preach in florid generalities, and not in precise facts. He was out of temper with his countrymen, and laid everything to their charge, because they were not more successful against their enemies; when perhaps that success was beyond human power. The language of Gildas is looked upon as untrue and unjust, as applied to the Cymry or Ancient Britons, more than to any other people of whom warriors could be made. The love of war, and a pugnacious disposition is no more manifest, if as much so, in the Cymry as in the Saxons. In this respect the Ancient Britons have sustained one uniform character from the earliest time in history to the

⁶ See Henry of Huntingdon, B. iii. p. 90.

present day. Tacitus represents them as a people who well understood their business—easy to be led by kindness, but hard to drive. "Serving the government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression." In this respect, Tacitus pays the Britons the highest commendation ever given to any people.⁷ After the Roman conquest under Agricola, the Britons for nearly four hundred years were as peaceable a people as any in the empire. So they were even during Saxon times, when they had to do with such men as Edgar the Peaceful, or Alfred the Great. So they were under their own rule, during the long reign of Howel the Good; and so are they now since the just government of Henry VII. But they are a people who know and understand when they are injured and oppressed, and when that is the case, they will resent it; and when necessary, will fight for their rights.

§4.—*The Condition of the Saxons at the Close of this Period.*

The Saxons when they first settled in Britain were the most hopeless people as to civilization. They had been marauding pirates—entirely destitute of literature and science, and without any pretension to anything except their capacity for war. Their religion was the most hostile to civilization of any that was ever invented; it made war the supreme end of man, and death in battle as a sure passport to the felicity of heaven. For a hundred and fifty years they carried on a most implacable war against civilization and Christianity, and the special objects of their hatred were Christian priests and Christian churches. The Britons took them to be so incorrigible pagans that there was no hopes for them in Christianity; and they must have been surprised, if not astonished, when Augustine proposed to make Christians of such subjects. The Britons had been too glaringly injured by them to have any other opinion of them. With the Roman priests it was otherwise. But their conversion of the

Saxons to Christianity was to them and to the world a great boon, and was the first step in their improvement. But still their progress in improvement was very slow. The Roman priests in some measure introduced to them letters; but until Alfred's time, about three hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, their progress in literature and science was slow, and almost nothing. The good Alfred did all in his power to cultivate a taste for these matters among his people; and in this he was greatly aided by the learned Cambrian, Asser, who was his friend, companion, and his biographer. From this time to the Norman conquest their improvement was considerable.

During the time just alluded to, with very few exceptions, the Saxons were in almost continual state of war, either with the Britons, in taking from them their land, or with each other. The seven states composing the Heptarchy were frequently at war with each other when not particularly engaged in robbing the Cymry; and internal, partisan war for the sovereignty was not uncommon. Although Christianity greatly improved the condition of the Saxons, and ameliorated their native rudeness, yet it was a long time before the habits and principles inculcated into their nature were entirely worked out of them. The love of war, with its exciting scenes of blood and slaughter, for a long time remained with them; and long did they profess Christianity, before its first principles of brotherly love and that golden rule, to do unto others as they would wish that others should do unto them, could be inculcated into their nature, as to induce them to respect the property and rights of others. When rights were inquired into, it was too common a matter for the sword to be exhibited as evidence of their title, and the means by which it was acquired.¹

¹ In a note to Henry of Huntingdon (B. iv. p. 11) is the following: "These tables, which embrace a period of little more than a century and a half, extending from A. D. 681 to 830, contain a melancholy record of the unsettled state of the times. War, revolutions, treason and murder so did their work, that of the forty-five kings of the Heptarchy enumerated in the lists, fifteen only, and three of these after a very short reign, died peaceably, and in the possession of their kingdoms. Of the remainder, eleven

⁷ Tacitus' Agricola, ch. xiii, p. 595: see ante, B. ii, ch. —.

This love of war was taught and impressed upon the common people, so that they were always ready to fight; but the great mass of plebeian people had no control over it. That was a matter which belonged, by divine right, to those who could claim their descent from Woden. In war, as in civil matters, none were presumed to command but the king, his nobles and chief men who were able to show their right to command and to be obeyed, by showing their descent from that divine personage which they all worshipped, when the form and principles of their government were established. This caste, nobility and family arrangement was not interfered with by their adoption of the Christian religion. It was not changed until Danish war, and Norman conquest, had beat them out of it.

It has already been claimed that the statement so frequently found in English history, that the Saxons on their conquest of the country expelled all the Britons—that those who did not flee to other countries were all slaughtered—"put to the sword," was not and could not be true: and this is a question which materially affects the condition of the people of both races. In the first place, it is contrary to the history of German and barbaric conquest in all other countries, as well as being incredible in itself. Historians universally say that it was the practice with the German conquerors to divide with the conquered, and only take one-third of the land to themselves;² and this would be in accord-

ance with what might be expected, and it would accord with that which would subserve their best interest. The victors would be only the warriors, the fewest in numbers; the conquered the great mass of the people—the disabled, women and children. The conquerors would seek to turn these, as far as possible, to their advantage. The choice of the women they would make their wives; others they would make pay tribute in some shape. They would first take the rural part of the country, and divide it, to supply their wants of its products. Wherever terms could be made, the cities and towns would be spared, to supply them with clothing and other articles which the towns could produce. London and other towns were never taken by the Saxons. These were left under their own municipal regulation, as they existed in Roman times.³ Christianity was expelled from the country; and in the course of the long time that elapsed between Hengist and Alfred, the Britons who submitted to the Saxon rule, became Saxonized; and the union of the

² Palgrave (Anglo-Saxons, ch. v, p. 170) says: "The city [Exeter] was a kind of a little republic, like the free cities of Italy or Germany; or like Marseilles, which, though *enclavée* in France, had all the rights of a free state, until it was seized by the French kings. And this, I think, may have been the case with many other great towns and cities of England, which probably enjoyed their franchises and liberties before any one of our Anglo-Saxon kings had a crown upon his head, or a sceptre in his hand." Again, (on page 185) he says: "From the Ribbles, in Lancashire, up to the Clyde, there existed a dense population, consisting of Britons, who preserved their national language and customs, agreeing in all respects with the Welsh of the present day. So that even in the tenth century the Ancient Britons still inhabited the greater part of the western coast of the island, however much they had been compelled to yield to the political supremacy of the Saxon invaders." Also (page 188): "The Britons of Strath-Clyde and Cumbria gradually melted away into the surrounding population; and losing their language, ceased to be discernible as a separate race." See, also, pp. 195, 225.

Gibbon says (Vol. i, p. 327, ch. 38): "Neither reason nor facts can justify the unnatural supposition, that the Saxons of Britain remained alone in the desert which they had subdued. After the sanguinary barbarians had secured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peasants, as well as the cattle of the unresisting country." To the same effect Woodward, in his history of Wales (page 236), says: "We know that there was not only a dense British population in the western shires of England, but numbers of the descendants of the original possessors of the whole island were to be found even in East Anglia a short time before the conquest." Turner (in his Anglo-Saxons, 1 Vol., p. 219) is equally decisive upon this subject, and says: "There is no doubt that the majority of the British population was preserved to be useful to their conquerors." See, also, Miller's Anglo-Saxons, p. 88; Florence of Worcester's Chronicles, pp. 13 and 51.

were driven from the throne; eleven died violent deaths, some in battle, but most of them numbered as such, Henry of Huntingdon admits, to escape a violent death as from motives of piety. The kingdom of Northumbria presents the worst spectacle. There, of thirteen kings during the period above mentioned, three only died possessed of the throne, one of them falling sick and dying in the second year of his reign. It is remarkable, also, that all the three died in less than half a century and a quarter, not one of the kings who successively filled the throne of Northumbria died in it. Four were expelled by their subjects; and of four who were killed, one only fell in battle; the rest were traitorously murdered, and two became monks." But these kings of Northumbria were fully matched in their love of war, their crimes and cruelties, by such kings as Penda and Ofa of Mercia, and Beorhtic and his son Eadburga, of Wessex.

² See 2 Niebuhr's Lectures, p. 44.

two races produced what is called Anglo-Saxons—or the English people. This was specially the case with Mercia, which included the great body of the interior of England, where the mass of the people united by mutual agreement, and without much or any war. The people of Mercia were Lloegrians who were Cymric, and the Coranians who were of a more recent foreign element; and these were accused by the western Cymry to have readily united with the Saxons, and became a part of themselves.⁴ But it was London, with its great population, that, more than any other locality, aided in forming the character of the English people; for with them there was a constant intercourse with other parts of the Heptarchy. In this manner the Saxons, who came over as warriors, and not as emigrants, united with the natives and formed a new combination and nationality, differing in character from either but partaking of many of the qualities of both; but differing most decidedly from their ancestors and brethren they left in North-western Germany.

The vast country occupied by what was called Mercia, extended from the Humber to the Thames, and from the German Ocean to the confines of the Severn. This extensive and fertile region was thickly peopled, generally Lloegrians; but the Coranians occupied a large tract of it, in and about what is now Lincoln and Leicesters shires. This Mercia country remained untouched by the Saxons, for nearly a hundred and fifty years after Hengist came; and then their progress was slow, and apparently without much war. Crida and his son, Peda, made some progress in acquiring a rule there, but a general government was not established over Mercia until Penda's time, about A. D. 626, and the evidence of history is strong that all this ancient population was swallowed up with the comparatively few Saxons in forming the subsequent population called the Anglo-

Saxons.

London in Saxon times, when it ceased to be under its own independent government, became a part of Mercia; and these facts in relation to the population of Mercia, with what must be equally true in relation to other parts of England, must satisfy the candid student that a very large portion of the Ancient Britons were assimilated with the Saxons, in forming the present population of England. The fact that the Saxon language became the basis of the English, is no very strong argument against this; for it is no strange matter for one race to adopt the language of another—as the French making the Latin the basis of their language instead of the Celtic, or the Africans in America becoming English in their language. But the English is a very mongrel language, being borrowed almost from every other language with which it has come in contact, as will be hereafter more fully shown.

What is here said is supported by many English and other candid historians, as is said by Palgrave: "Upon the conquests of Offa and his predecessors it is necessary to make one important observation, namely, that the political subjugation of Powys and the adjoining countries did not necessarily lead to the total expulsion of the British tribes. English colonies were partially introduced, but the British peasantry continued to dwell upon the soil, though the domain was transferred to other lords; and so numerous were they that the country continued British in appearance even until the reign of King John, when, in common language, Hereford was still considered to be in Wales. In fact, the whole of this border was held and peopled nearly as we see Monmouthshire at the present day. The mass of the people are *Cymri*. * * * * Very many of the territories ruled by the Anglo-Saxons had thus a double aspect—Anglo-Saxons if you consider them as a state, British if you viewed the populace by which they were filled; and by recollecting this circumstance, we may reconcile and explain many seeming anomalies and contradictions in our history."⁵

⁴ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. ii, p. 100, where he says: "The Romanized Britons of Lloegria appear to have united more readily to their invaders. Apprehend that they possessed less nationality; and sometimes even national prejudices are the safeguards of independence."

⁵ Palgrave's Anglo-Sax., ch. iv, p. 71.

But though the Britons who thus remained became subjects of the Saxon government, yet it is very certain that they were not slaves; for the Saxons considered only such as were taken in battle; except the nobles, there were two classes of subjects—the free and the slave. But all the people, both Saxons and Britons, were under the abject rule of the Saxon nobility, in whose hands was all the political power—who were a caste formed of only the children of Woden, to which none other were admitted. These were generally called ealdermen, and constituted the king's council—his *Witenagemot*. The king seemed to possess monarchical and almost unlimited power; and his council had but little or no power over him when he pleased to call them in council, or when they rebelled and deposed him. The aldermen were subject to his orders, but they possessed all the political power under the king, and held and controlled the landed property of the country, which they let to the freemen and villains upon such terms as they chose. The freemen had no political power, unless it may be some police regulation among themselves. If a plebeian, he had no hopes to exercise any part of the government or become an alderman. The first instance of such elevation was that of Godwin; and this was produced by the disturbance and upsetting of all governmental matters by the Danes. The Danes themselves were governed by the principles and institution of Woden; but they seemed not to hold so closely to an oligarchy as the Saxons. But this close institution of the Saxons was gradually broken in upon by the Danes and the Normans; and finally abolished by the English people themselves. No government in Britain ever existed in which the mass of the people was kept at such a distance from the government as that of the Saxons.⁶ It was a close oligarchy, in which

none participated except those who could claim divine rights as a descendant from Woden.

In English history there are many things said for the purpose of impressing upon the reader the belief that the government established by the Saxons in England was a very fine institution, in which the condition of the people was equal and just; that the body of the people had a controlling influence over the government by their representatives in the *Witenagemot*, as the commons in the present day are represented in parliament. But nothing can be further from the truth. All that is said for the purpose of conveying the idea that the people had a just control over the government for the purpose of preserving their own rights and liberties, according to the notion and practice of the English people of the present day, is creating a very false notion of the government of that day. From the very first establishment of the Saxon government until after Alfred's time, a period of very nearly five hundred years, and perhaps not until after the Norman conquest, there was nothing in the Saxon government for the protection of the liberties and freedom of the people, or to establish a just and equitable government, which can be traced to or found in the English government of the present day, except that the *Witenagemot* had some distant resemblance to the House of Lords, in case the parliament was so changed as to abolish the commons and leave the king and nobles to rule the country without any restraint or balance of power. Every king carefully traced his descent from Woden, and every alderman in blood and lineage was connected with him, and these only were members of the *Witenagemot*; and then only as they were summoned by the king as his dear cousin. The mass of the people were entirely excluded. These were divided into two bodies—the freemen and those who were not freemen, the villains and the slaves proper, and even in

⁶ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, ch. v., p. 88: "Some of the Danish chieftains imagined that they possessed a right to the government of the Anglian states of Britain. The Danish kings were sons of Woden, like our Anglo-Saxon monarchs. *Walmund* and *Offa*, who appear in the genealogies of Mercia, as before mentioned, were the ancestors of the Norwegian 'sea kings.' And the allusions in the *Sagas* to

the conquests effected by the Danish heroes in Britain, at a very early period, can only be explained by supposing that they related to the chieftains by whom our island was colonized."

the time of Edward the Confessor these constituted more than one half of the people. The freemen had no political power, except police regulation among themselves. The king and nobles, during this long period, exercised all political power—made laws, established peace or war, regulated the taxes, controlled the landed property, and owned most of the personal property; and all this was so exercised and regulated as to promote and preserve their power. During this long period, two events transpired to ameliorate this Saxon rule: First the introduction of Christianity; and secondly, the coming of the Danes and Normans, and breaking up the government in a most violent manner; and though that was very much like the homely operation of jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, it actually aided in improving the condition of the people;—the greatest sufferers were the nobility.

The introduction of Christianity made but a slow and faint impression upon the form of government or its action. It then very rightfully assumed not to interfere with the government. But then war existed for no other cause than a desire to plunder and take spoils—to make slaves and enforce tribute. The right to make slaves in war, and to buy and sell them, was always a principle exercised and contended for by the Saxons until very modern times. We read, however, of bishops and high clergymen becoming members of the Witenagemot; but whether they were not themselves of the nobility, in every case, is not very certain. The great and violent bishop Dunstan was himself a noble man by birth—or the Woden caste.

7 Palgrave (*Anglo-Saxons*, ch. iv, p. 101) says, "Our Anglo-Saxon aldermen constituted a kind of ruling caste or tribe, all sons of Woden, perhaps anciently invested with sacerdotal functions, the priests, as well as the lawgivers and leaders of the nation. Collectively as a caste, and individually over their own immediate followers and retainers, they possessed great dominion and influence; but there was no political power of any wide extent [save as to this] vested in any one individual, except during hostilities. A chieftain was then elected to lead the nation, but his rule expired with the urgency which had given it birth, and all the aldermen were alike again. Such was the government of the 'Old Saxons.' *All the aldermen were alike again!*" That may be; but what difference did that make with the great body of the people?

1 Turner's *Anglo-Saxons* (B. vii, ch. ix, p. 240)

At that time great distinction was made among the clergy between those who were of a noble birth and the plebeian priest. It was nearly six hundred years before the great Godwin, a plebeian, became the first who was recognized as an alderman. These Saxon nobles were governed with some sense of liberty and justice among themselves; but in that the mass of the people exercised no influence or authority, the nearest approach to it was their right to present a petition as to wrongs and grievances to the Witenagemot, which was the great court of justice and political affairs of the kingdom; and in which the king usually presided, and therefore the kingly and executive powers were not separated from the judiciary.

§5.—*Condition of the Cymry at the Close of this Period.*

There was reason to believe that there was no distinction made between the rights and privileges of the Britons who submitted and the native Saxons. They were either freemen or slaves by the rules as the Saxons themselves were. If there was any difference it was in favor of the Britons:

Turner says: "Without the possession of a certain quantity of landed property, the dignity of sitting in the Witenagemot could not be enjoyed." Mr. Turner still differs from the view here expressed, and contends that the Saxon people were represented in the Witenagemot (in B. vii, ch. ix, p. 241), with which I cannot agree; Still he says: "The numbers of the individuals constituting these classes were very much smaller indeed than their present amount. The great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population was in a servile state, and therefore without any constitutional rights. All the villani, borari, &c., that is all the working agricultural population, and most of those who occupied the station of small farmers, *villeins*, and all persons analogous to our inferior artisans and mechanics, were the property of their respective lords, and with no more political rights than the cattle and furniture with which they were classed and transferred. Two-thirds, at least, more probably three-fourths, of the Anglo-Saxon population were originally in this state, until voluntary or purchased emancipation, and the effects of war and invasions, gradually increased the number of the free." Douglas's book shows that even in the reign of the Confessor, the largest part of the English population was in the servile state." And he, on page 173, Turner again says: "A freeman among our ancestors was not that dignified independent being, lord of his heart and eagle eye, which our poets truly ascribe his appellation; he was rather an Anglo-Saxon not in the servile state; not property attached to the land as the slaves were; he was freed from oppressive arbitrary bondage; he was, of course, a freeman, and had a master, but he had the liberty to quit the service of one lord and choose another." And I can hardly conceive how a people could be put in a more humble condition, as to rights and privileges.

for the most of them were the burghers of the towns and cities, and maintained their guilds and corporations from the Roman times down to the present day. They were the manufacturers and artisans upon whom the Saxons greatly depended. But the intermixture of the Saxons and Britons took place by the conquest in the manner pointed out, but also by alliances and ordinary intercourse between any two people; and they were not always at war. We have seen the great coalescence between Cadwalla, the British king, and Penda, the king of Mercia. Their armies were united in all their operations. In Mercia, where the great body of the Ancient Britons who had united with the Saxons, they had no war or fighting; but the great war of this alliance was against the Angles of Northumbria. Frequent marriages took place between the princes of the two nations, as the relation which took place by marriage between Cadwalla and Penda, and other instances mentioned in this history. But such relations took place between the Cymry and the Mercians, but also between them and other Saxon people of other states of the Heptarchy, to a far greater extent than history discloses. Where the princes marry we must suppose that marriages take place between the humble people to a far greater extent than history notices. Of such unions is that of Cenbert, king of Wessex, marrying the daughter of Cadwaladyr, the king of Wales, whose issue was Cadwalla, king of Wessex, their eldest son; and his successor Ina was a near kinsman, who always took great and affectionate care of Glastonbury, because Arthur, whom he considered one of his ancestors, was buried there. But we may particularly refer to the friendly intercourse between Alfred and Asser and his Welsh friends.

After the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, some better understanding mutually existed between the two people, the churches of each were upon the same terms and the like principles united with the church of Rome. But before such union the British church was an independent apostolic church, acknowledged by the

Christian world to have been sound in its doctrines and practices, except the Roman priests complained that the British clergy did not adopt the right tonsure and did not keep the right day for easter; but whether they considered this as an absolute obstruction to the Briton's way to heaven or not, we are not informed.

Although there were frequent and severe wars between the Britons and Saxons, principally on account of the continual aggression of the latter, yet there were many things between them in common, and many of their old institutions becoming that of the Saxons. But where they differed the most during this period was in their laws and institutions in relation to the administration of justice, which have since been adopted by the English people, and have become a part of the common law of England. The first of these is a matter which has always appeared in their political organization, that the judiciary must be kept distinct from the executive and the legislative departments. This was so adopted and acted upon in the time of the druids. Another was, the equal distribution of the estate of a descendant among all his male heirs of the same class equally, and thus discarding the principle of primogeniture. This has always been adhered to by the Cymry, until it was otherwise regulated by the adoption of the English laws in very recent times. This mode of distribution is called in the English law gavel-kind tenure, and has been retained by the people of Kent from the British period, under all changes and revolutions, as their most favored institution. A third difference may be noticed in the institutions of the Saxons and the Britons, was the limitation that the latter always held over the power of their kings, exercised by the people and their general assemblies. Cadwallon excused himself to Cæsar for what was done, by reason of his being controlled by his people. So probably would have said Caractacus, Arthur and Cadwaladyr; for the institution of the general assembly of the people was always specially acknowledged as a controlling power over the monarch and people. It is not probable that either

Penda, Offa or Ethelrith would ever have acknowledged any such limitation over their powers; for there were none, except the Witenagemot, which was only convened at the pleasure of the monarch, except when the throne was vacant or in the hands of an imbecile sovereign; and when assembled it consisted of only the nobility—none of the people, none of the plebeians, however great their wisdom may have been. The commons was not represented by any institution. Such representation is of a modern English growth, since the Norman conquest, and partakes more of the British general assembly than any institution of the Saxons. And we may notice in the fourth place, as a decided difference in the laws of the Saxons and the British, in the decided acknowledgement and protection given by the former to slavery and the opposition to it. The individual man was always protected by British laws as a man, that “nothing should be done to unman the man.” From one end of the island to the other it has always been claimed by the descendants of the Ancient Britons that “man was a man for all that.” Whatever there is in modern English law which goes to the protection and elevation of man, it is more to be attributed to the British law than anything of a Saxon origin.

The present English people and their institutions are more the outgrowth of this mixture of people and their laws and habits on the island, than anything imported or brought by the Saxons from the mouth of the Elbe or the Eider. Macaulay was therefore right in saying: “During the century and a half which followed the [Norman] conquest there is, to speak strictly, no English history. * * * Early in the fourteenth century the amalgamation of the races was all but complete; and it was soon made manifest, by signs not to be mistaken, that a people inferior to none existing in the world had been formed by the mixture of three branches of the great Teutonic family with each other and with the aboriginal Britons.”¹ But while

he acknowledges his inability to attribute much or any of the recent elevation of the English people to Saxon origin, he does great injustice to the Britons and their Celtic origin in diminishing or ignoring their great influence in producing the result which he so much glorifies. The Normans were at least half Cymric Celts; and when the Saxons came to the island, in their ignorance and barbarity, they found the island highly cultivated and improved by British industry and perseverance, guided by Roman taste and arts. The Saxons found in Britain a people highly civilized and cultivated, with the true apostolic Christian religion established among them, with its bishops and archbishops, its churches and monasteries and schools of learning well established. Upon these the new comers for a hundred and fifty years made an exterminating war, with an utter hostility and contempt for everything that was Christian or civilized. All priests and bishops were compelled to flee; all churches, monasteries and schools were destroyed wherever they conquered; all officials expelled and the people subjected and compelled to submit to the rude customs and practices of their Saxon conquerors.

But in the slow progress they were able to make, so much slower than the conquest the same northern barbarians were able to make on the continent, it was impossible but that the objects of civilization they found there, especially in the towns and with the people who became a part of their families and society, should pass off without making an impression upon them. And so it did; and it so cultivated the people of Kent and preserved the people of London that they readily, and more readily than any other part of the Heptarchy, accepted Christianity when Augustine came to preach to them the doctrines of salvation. After that England made slow progress in the recovery of the arts and civilization; it made a spasmodic effort under the great Alfred, but it still required the “amalgamation” of Teuton and Briton, spoken of by Macaulay, in the fourteenth century, to lay the foundation for the pres-

¹ Macaulay's History of England, p. 8—14.

ent civilization of England. But that amalgamation and mixture has been going on ever since its commencement, of Briton and Saxon, of Cymry and Angles, and of Celt and Teuton, to make the distinguishing character of the people of England; and there has not been a day since its commencement, when any great act or event took place, which added to the glory of England or became renowned in history, but that when all these elements of the English people were apparent in their accomplishment. Every battle fought for the glory and renown of England, from that of Crecy to that of Alma, but in which Cymric blood and Celtic valor has not aided in producing English success; nor has there been an achievement in English literature, arts or science but in which the descendants of the Ancient Britons have added to its accomplishment.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS,

AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BOOK IV.—THE NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD I. A. D. 1066 TO 1272.

§1.—*The Norman Conquest, A. D. 1066.*

Among the marauders and freebooters who came from the north to ravage and plunder upon the coast of Gaul and Britain there was one company under the direction and guidance of Rollo or Rolt. This man was a native of that part of Norway then under the sovereignty of Harold Harfager; and had been brought up in the business of the vikings, and enured to the fatigues and dangers of a pirate. He was tall and athletic, and could by his muscular power, as well as by his good sense and judgment, command the respect and obedience of his comrades, without reference to his parentage. He was too tall to ride on a small horse without his feet touching the ground, and therefore generally chose to walk, at which exercise he was so expert that he acquired the appellation of Gang-Rollo, or Rollo the Walker. On an occasion when he and his party were in want, they had indulged in taking by plundering in their own country, for which offense Harold had banished them; for Harold's sense of justice would not permit them to do at home what they were encouraged and freely permitted to do abroad. As exiles he and his party sailed south, seeking plunder, and hoping that they might by chance improve their condition. They touched at some of the British islands and in the north of Gaul, where they had increased their force in men and vessels. At

length they arrived at a place on the river Seine, a few miles below the city of Rouen. The report of the arrival of the pirates filled the city with consternation and terror.

But the equanimity of the archbishop saved them. He approached the marauders with terms of accommodation, by which they were invited to the city and hospitably treated upon the terms agreed upon; by a treaty between Rollo and his companions on the one part and the city on the other, and by which in consideration of their admission to the city, they guaranteed that no violence should be committed by them. Upon examination of the city, its ramparts, its quays, its fountains, and various improvements, they found them so much to their taste that they at once resolved to make it the capital of their new dominion, which they then determined to establish.

Having thus obtained possession of their new dominion, and made arrangements to secure it, they proceeded up the river to Paris, and soon laid siege to the city. This was in the year 896, when Alfred was in the height of his prosperity and power; and Paris and France were governed by Charles the Simple, a feeble descendant of the great Charlemagne. Without taking the city, but after ravaging the country around Paris and making much spoils, they returned in haste to Rouen, and soon proceeded to take Bayeux by force, and capture Eureux and several other towns. They soon made themselves masters of the province to which the name of Nustria had been given. This acquisition of Rollo

and his Norman companions was witnessed with great repugnance by the French and their simple king. But the Normans held on with vigor and boldness worthy of a better right and title; but after much negotiation and threatened war, the matter was accommodated by treaty in the year 912, sixteen years after the arrival of these invaders in the waters of the Seine. By that treaty Charles the Simple acknowledged the right of Rollo to his acquisition in the valley of the Seine, occupying a certain territory, with Flanders to the north of them, and Brittany on the south, and extending up the Seine about half way from the sea to Paris. The chief of these Norman adventurers was to become a tenant in fief and vassal of the French king, as count of his territory; to become a Christian, with a change of his name from Rollo or Rolf to Robert; and to have the daughter of the French king, Gisela, as his wife, and his former wife married under pagan ceremony, now treated as a nullity, to be dismissed. These stipulations were carried into effect; during the performance of the requisite ceremony, Rollo and his companions displayed a great deal of rude independence and indifference to the usual etiquette and ceremonies of the French court. Henceforth, however, this chief became known in history as Robert, duke of Normandy.

These northern adventurers, who now became the acknowledged masters of Normandy, with the landed territory divided amongst them as lords of manors, were generally warriors and single men, now took native Celtic women for wives, who were Cymric Celts. Though the government was entirely in the hands of these Norwegian men, except church and clergy, yet the native population greatly outnumbered them; and these liberal and enterprising men readily adopted the manners, customs and language of the people among whom they had thus settled. A rigorous system of feudal tenures was adopted, and the mass of the peasantry became feudal tenants; yet great and rapid progress was made in every kind of improvement in the course of civilization. They displayed a gen-

ius and taste for every thing requisite for progress and improvement; they became architects, and built large and spacious buildings. They paid attention to literature; and their clergy became learned and refined for that age. And in the midst of progress and improvement in every department they became noted for the progress they had made in jurisprudence. But what particularly distinguished the Norman in the rising generation was his enterprise and gallantry—and this he acquired from his Celtic mother—and his attention to military affairs, so that he was looked upon as the embodiment of the knightly warrior. These striking characteristics became developed by favorable circumstances; but principally by the union of good qualities of two races; the enterprise and endurance of the Norwegian, and the taste, quickness and the love of literature and refinement of the Celt. And in the union of the Norwegian with the Celtic people of Nustria, there was probably a double union of Celtic and Cymric blood. When the Cymry or Cimbri left the Cimbria Chersonesus, it is not improbable, and the idea is supported by authors and circumstances in history,¹ that some departed north to Norway, as well as others went south; and these they were who have given to the Norwegians so different a character from others who claim to be Teutonic: their quickness, their love of literature and enterprise. However this may be, the Normans, in fact, did make a progress in everything which constitutes the improvement of our race, far beyond and faster than any other people of Europe of that day, between A. D. 912 and 1066. In these hundred and fifty-four years their progress was wonderful; and for this reason many of the elite of other parts of Europe sought Rouen and the Normans, and aided them in that progress.

Rollo was succeeded in his dukedom by successors who were worthy of him. Of these, those whose names are connected with our history are Richard II, surnamed the Good, the grandson of Rollo; and Robert II, or Robert the Devil, the father of

¹ Prof. M. Arnold, in his essay on Celtic Literature, supports this idea.

William the Conqueror.

The first matter that connected and involved Britain with Normandy, was the marriage of Ethelred the Unready with Emma, the sister of Richard II. the Duke of Normandy, in A. D. 1002; and from that time to the accomplishment of the conquest by William, England and Normandy were always more or less involved. There had been some signs of hostilities between the two countries, which was followed by a treaty; and this pacification was followed by the marriage just mentioned. On Emma coming to England, a large retinue of courtly persons of the Normans accompanied her, who by their accomplishment and ambition obtained many honorable and lucrative places in the government, to the great annoyance and chagrin of the Saxon people. Between this time and the conquest being accomplished, the English people had many difficulties of this kind to encounter, while the country was being constantly overrun with Norman aspirants, as priests and civilians; and Ethelred, and his son Edward the Confessor, were constantly manifesting great attachment for Normandy and her people.

William the Conqueror was the illegitimate son of Robert II, Duke of Normandy. This Robert was a fierce man, and for his habitual violence had obtained the surname—the Devil. The mother of William was said to be the daughter of a tanner, and he was frequently annoyed with frequent allusions to leather; and being surnamed the Bastard. When only seven years of age, his father was seized with the desire to make a pilgrimage on foot to Jerusalem as penitence for his many sins; and when this was opposed by his barons, as being inadvisable for them to be left without a duke, Robert characteristically replied: “By my faith, I will not leave you without a lord. I have a little bastard, who will grow and be a gallant man, if it pleases God; and I am certain that he is my son. Receive him, then, as your lord; for I make him my heir, and give him from this time forth the whole duchy of Normandy.”² The

barons were pleased with the reply: pleased to do as requested: and forthwith swore fidelity to the child. Soon after that Duke Robert died on his pilgrimage; and a party rose against those who supported the title of the young duke, claiming that a bastard could not command those who were legitimate, and a battle was fought between them upon the question, in which the partisans of young William were successful. As the youth advanced in years he became a general favorite, and became dear to his people. He was apt and skillful in all his exercises, especially in what concerned military, which then gave hopes to his people of his future success.

When duke William³ arrived at proper age he took a fancy to visit England; and when he arrived there, he met so many Normans in official positions he did not seem to have left his own country. He was graciously received by Edward the Confessor, whose education and habits were Norman, and therefore their meeting very cordial. Circumstances were such, that, though he prudently kept all signs of his ambition to himself, he could not help to imagine a hope that he might be the successor to the aged king.

Godwin and his sons were now at the zenith of their power; and the kingdom divided up into earldoms between them. Of those sons Harold was the most admired and promising. Either business or fancy induced Harold to visit William in Normandy in the year 1065, contrary to the advice of his king, who said: “I know duke William and his crafty mind; he hates you, and will grant you nothing, unless he gains greatly by it.” Harold, with honest confidence, disregarded the prudent advice; and either storm or accident took his two vessels too far north, and he landed in a tempest at the mouth of the Somme, within the territory of Guy, count of Ponthian. In many places, in those days, con-

3 1 Pictorial England, B. ii. ch. i. p. 181: “William was the natural son of Robert duke of Normandy, the younger brother of Duke Richard III. and son of Richard II. who was brother to Queen Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor and the murdered Alfred, by Ethelred, and also of the preceding king, Hardicanute, by her second husband, Canute the Great.”

2 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iii, p. 134.

trary to humanity and justice and the rights of hospitality, it was customary to claim all property thus thrown upon their shore, and to demand ransom for all persons belonging to such vessels. Harold was taken and imprisoned by count Guy, in order to secure the ransom. Harold claimed that as he was the bearer of a dispatch from the king of England to the duke of Normandy, his imprisonment was unlawful, and sent a message to that effect to duke William, requesting him to obtain his release, that he might come to him. William did not hesitate to comply; and immediately demanded of the count that he should liberate the English official so illegally detained. But Guy was inexorable, and would not comply until the ransom or a large bounty was paid him. Harold proceeded to Rouen, and the bastard rejoiced that he then had in his power the son of the Englishman who was the greatest enemy to the Normans; and who might be his greatest opponent to his hopes to the English crown. The duke received the Saxon chief with great display of honor and apparent cordiality. He did everything in his power to entertain his guest and to show him every place of attraction within the duchy. This agreeable detention was done with a view to a more effectual accomplishment of the matter the duke had in view, which connects itself so interestingly with the visit and the history of the time. After a while the wily duke took an occasion to tell Harold of the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and king Edward, and the pleasant times he had spent with him in his youth. "We lived," he said, "like two brothers, under the same roof; and Edward promised me that if he ever became king of England he would make me his heir. Now, Harold, if you would aid me in realizing this promise, be sure that, if I obtain the kingdom, you shall have of me whatever you ask." Harold was taken by surprise, and incautiously made some faint promise, which he could hardly help, to comply with his wishes. Upon this the duke began to disclose plans of future operation, in which the unwilling Englishman was to act

an important part. "And since you consent to serve me," continued the artful duke, "you must give your sister in marriage to one of my barons, and yourself marry my daughter Adeliza; moreover you must give me some guaranty for your promise." Harold now began to feel the peril in which he had placed himself. But William steadily pursued his plans of entrapping his guest. On arrival at the castle of Bayeux, the duke held a court where everything was arranged for the accomplishment of his object. Here the duke, while on his throne in the midst of his court, calls upon Harold and says: "Harold, I require of you, before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promise you have made me, to aid me to obtain the kingdom of England after the death of king Edward, and other matters agreed upon on that event." Again most artfully surprised, Harold saw he could not with safety withdraw; and the most solemn arrangement had been taken to have him sworn over a tub full of the relics of the saints. The victim of this intrigue was constrained, and could not safely retreat from what was now prepared for him. He held up his hand and was sworn in due form, "if he lived and God aided him." All the assembly replied, "God aid him."⁴ Harold was now permitted to depart, and return to England.

In a few months after these untoward events, of which Harold was the unwilling victim, king Edward the Confessor died, in January, 1066. There was no rightful heir in the kingdom; and both Harold and William, the duke of Normandy, were near relatives by blood or marriage, and both claimed the succession by the dying bequest of the Confessor. Harold was a powerful lord, and present; and arrangements were soon made by which he was invested with the sovereignty of England. When William was informed of these events he assumed to be outraged; heaped upon Harold the name of traitor and perjurer, and prepared to contest the matter. A striking circumstance had already trans-

⁴ 1 Thierry, *Ibid.*, p. 149.

pired in his favor. Tostig, a brother of Harold, had been made earl of the extensive province of Northumbria, where his bad and tyrannical conduct caused him to be expelled by a rebellion of his people. This earl was mortally offended, because his powerful family did not defend him and secure his rule; and Harold was so convinced of his deserved punishment that he felt he could give him no aid. Tostig therefore formed a confederation with Harfager, king of Norway, for the aid of a fleet and army; and the duke of Normandy was also rendering him aid and comfort. Rapid movements were made by these arrangements to bring war into the north of England to restore the exiled earl. Tostig was a turbulent and bad man; and always affected a rivalry with his better and more worthy and popular brother Harold. He had already made a number of diversions against the government, did the country some injury, and caused much trouble and anxiety. He was now approaching Northumbria, and threatening his country with the hostilities of the powerful fleet and army of Norway. In the meantime the duke of Normandy was making great preparation to enforce his pretension; and Harold, in the full control of the English government, was making active preparations to meet the conflict.

William, the duke of Normandy, while in his park hunting, near Rouen, was startled with the news of the death of Edward, and that Harold had prevailed upon the prelates and nobles to present him with the crown. Both of these men, the one being the cousin of Edward, and the other his brother-in-law, claimed their pretension upon a supposed devise of the deceased monarch in favor of each, and against the other. Neither was heir to the crown; for that was admitted to be rightfully devolved upon Edgar Atheling, the son of Edward the Outlaw,⁵ as the descendant of Edmund the Ironside, who had been living all his life at a great distance as an exile in Austria. Notwithstanding Harold's success and popularity, there was amongst the poli-

ticians some division of opinion and partisan feeling as to who should be king. Some claimed that the English sovereignty was not subject to a devise or an election; and those who were more Saxon claimed that no one had a right to the throne who could not derive their divine right and lineage from Woden. But Harold was at least *de facto* king; and William the Norman was, with his usual vigor and resolution, preparing to contest, which was about to culminate in one of the most notable and revolutionary contests of Western Europe.

William proceeded to lay the foundation for asserting his claim, and for the commencement of the war. He forthwith sent a messenger to Harold to remind him of his oath, and demanded a performance of their agreement. Harold promptly answered: "It is true that I swore such an oath to duke William; but I swore it under compulsion. I promised that which did not belong to me, and which I could not perform; for royalty is not mine, and I cannot divest myself of it without the consent of the country; nor without the consent of the country can I marry a foreign wife."⁶ Other messages were sent, protesting against Harold's conduct more vehemently, and offering greater inducement to comply with the duke's wishes. But no accommodations could be attained, and William was left to pursue the best course he might.

Besides his negotiations with Tostig, greatly to the injury of England, he had represented to the Pope the unpardonable crime of Harold's perjury, and violation of his oath over the saintly relics. The ecclesiastics of the church were greatly moved by the representations, and especially with the consideration of the little influence of the church over England. The Pope was induced to pass sentence, that William, duke of Normandy, was permitted to enter England, to bring back that kingdom to the obedience of the Holy See, and to establish there forever the tax of Saint Peter's

⁵ Palgrave, *Ibid.*, ch. xv. p. 304; 1 Thierry, pp. 152-153; Henry of Huntington, *Anno*, 1057, p. 205.

⁶ Harold was already married to Alghitha, the sister of Edwin and Morker of Mercia, and the widow of Griffith, the late king of Wales. See ante; Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 314.

penance. A bull of excommunication against Harold and his adherents was delivered to William's messenger, with a consecrated banner, and a valuable ring containing one of the hairs of St. Peter. With this demonstration of the church and religion in his favor, he dismissed all doubt in resolutions, and determined upon the invasion. He now assembled a council of his friends and the nobility, and demanded their advice and assistance. "His two brothers by his mother's side, Eudes and Robert, one of them bishop of Bayeux, the other count of Mortain; William Fitz Osbern, seneschal of Normandy, or ducal lieutenant for civil administration, and some high barons, attended the conference. All were of the opinion that it was proper to make a descent upon England, and promised to serve him with body and goods, even to selling or pledging their inheritance."⁷ But when the people more at large were consulted, though some were as ready as his special friends, others hesitated and debated, while still others opposed the measure. They alleged that they had already more debts than they could pay. Some replied that the duke was their lord and had a right to their service; "if you fail him now, and he gains his end by God he will remember it; prove, then, that you love him, and act accordingly." Others replied, "he is our lord we know; but is it not enough that we pay him our dues? We owe him no aid beyond the sea; he has already oppressed us enough with his wars; let him fail in his new enterprise, and our country is undone." But notwithstanding, the duke had sufficient influence with his people to carry his request.

When the matter of the invasion of England had been determined upon, all the people of Normandy made great exertions for the preparation; and some of the nobility showed great devotion to the cause of the duke in providing at their own expense a large amount of shipping, men, provisions and arms. Of these Fitz Osbern was specially distinguished. The duke issued his proclamation, announcing

his intention, setting forth the heinousness of Harold's perjury, the favors of the Pope, and the excommunication of his opponent; and sending them to all the adjoining countries, inviting all brave warriors and gallant men to join him in recovering his rights, offering good pay and the pillage of England to those who would serve him "with lance, sword or cross-bow." All this excited and increased the popular ardor; every one did what he could: mothers sent their sons to enroll their names, as they thought, for the salvation of their souls. Multitudes came from all the adjoining countries. "They came from Maine and Anjou, from Poitou and Brittany, from France and Flanders, Aquitaine and Burgundy, from the Alps and the banks of the Rhine." Such was the madness, recklessness and want of intelligence on the part of the people; some running ahead from interested motives of gain at the expense of others; while others blindly followed without inquiry as to what right they had to bring this great calamity upon the people of England, or how they would like the same measures to be pursued upon themselves. During the summer these enthusiastic efforts, right or wrong, were properly organized by the duke into a great fleet, an immense army, and necessary provisions for the invasion of England, with the hopes to expel Harold and take upon himself the sovereignty, not only without an election, but against the express will of the people; an example which has been often repeated, and will be again if the people submit to it.

In the meantime, towards mid-summer, Harold Harfäger, the then present king of Norway, approached England, at the instigation of Tostig and in the interest of the duke of Normandy, with an immense fleet and army, which had called forth to his requisition one-half of the population of Norway fit to bear arms, who were now borne over the ocean in five hundred vessels of the largest class. These arrived in the Tyne, and were joined by Tostig, the traitor to his country and the avowed enemy to his brother. Such examples had been witnessed in unhappy Britain before,

⁷ Thierry, *Ibid.*, p. 159.

but none worse. The combined and allied force entered the Humber and landed their forces a short distance below the city of York. Here the Norwegian monarch unfurled his standard, (August, 1066) and Tostig's friends and retainers rallied in great numbers and enthusiastically joined the Norwegians, adding strength and confidence to his army. Edwin and Morcar, in command at York, issued forth to meet the enemy with all the force they could muster; but after a desperate conflict (Sept. 20th) they were put to flight, and in such confusion that more men were drowned in their attempt to cross the river than were slain on the field of battle. Many of the men of the neighborhood joined the Norwegians, and others fled; so that Harfager had York at his command, and the inhabitants paid homage to the victor, who held his courts and administered justice agreeable to usual forms, as sovereign of the country. This disclosed the intention of Tostig and Harfager to be to attain the government of all England, and not merely that of Northumbria, or the Danish portion of it.

When Harold heard of the landing of Harfager and Tostig, he hastened thither with all the force at his command, with the greatest expedition, and arrived at the seat of war four or five days after the battle. Harold endeavored first to detach Tostig from his ally by offering him the earldom of Northumbria. When Tostig asked the messenger what land would Harold give to his ally, Harfager, he was answered: "Seven feet of land for a grave." To this he replied in a spirit deserving a better cause, and said: "Ride back to your master, king Harold, and desire him to gird himself for the fight: for never shall it be said in Norway that earl Tostig abandoned Harfager and went over to his foes."

Harfager had encamped at Stamford Bridge, long afterwards known as the Bridge of Battle. The Norwegians were firmly arrayed target close to target, and formed what was called a "fortress of shields," bristling with spears, which could not be broken by the English, who were compelled to retreat. This induced the

Norwegians to open their ranks and begin a pursuit. The English instantly turned around and attacked them again, which was attended with success. Harfager now fought with frantic desperation, and struck deadly blows all around him, and no shield could resist his strokes; but an arrow brought him to the ground, and a pause ensued. Tostig now took the command, and rallied for another effort; but Harold sent a herald to offer peace to him and the Norwegians yet alive. But they gave an unanimous answer that they would not take quarter. The battle then raged again, and in this conflict Tostig fell. The fatal banner was now seized by a warrior named Eystynn Orri, and a third conflict began. The Norwegians fought with desperation, and in this conflict many of the English fell; but they ultimately maintained their ground. Late in the evening the battle was terminated by the death of almost every Norwegian.

The next morning after this desperate battle a messenger from Sussex came to Harold and announced to him the landing of his mortal foe, the duke of Normandy, with his whole army. Harold immediately marched south with what men he had; made a short stay at London to gather what forces he could, arrange affairs, and prepare for an immediate attack upon the invaders of the country. But he found unexpected hostilities at home. Politicians appeared to scent coming difficulties, and declined, when they could, to commit themselves. No ardor was infused into the true cause of the country; and the generality of the people seemed ready to take either master, as victory might determine by chance or good management. None thought or acted as though it was a question at stake in which the people themselves were deeply interested, which should be decided by themselves for themselves. No public meeting of the people was held or thought of, as we would now have done in the United States, to consult and determine what was to be done for the best interest of themselves and the country. Things must have appeared discouraging, if not desperate, to Harold; for he had lost

many of his best men in the recent battle, and re-enforcements came in slowly and comparatively few in number. Then some of those from whom he had a right to expect aid and comfort gave him a cold shoulder. Edwin and Morcar, his two powerful brothers-in-law, stood aloof; and Agitha, his wife, quitted him and abandoned him to his fate.⁸ His mother, Githa, was weeping bitterly over the death of her son Tostig; and many friends earnestly dissuading him from giving immediate battle to William; but of these the most earnest was his brother Gurth, earl of Suffolk, who sustained a reputation for many virtues and merit. He pointed out to Harold many dangers; that his army was fatigued and exhausted—the Normans fresh and vigorous. That his oath might rest heavy upon his soul while in the field of battle, and offered to relieve him of the danger and take the command for him. But Harold was determined by a strong self-willed resolution, declined the offer, and disregarded all remonstrances—being led forward by strong hopes or desperation, apparently placing much confidence in the army he was able to raise,⁹ which he had some reason to believe was superior, at least in numbers, to that under his opponent, the duke; and withal was rather too much elated with his recent victory to listen to the most prudent advice.

The duke of Normandy, having completed his preparations and arrangements, had passed over the sea with a large armament, and successfully landed on the shore of the bay of Penensey, in Sussex, (Sept. 28th, 1066) without any opposition, as Harold had gone north towards York to meet Tostig and the Norwegians. The amount of William's armament and forces are uncertain. It has been said that he crossed the waves with a very large fleet variously

estimated from six hundred to three thousand vessels, and troops from twenty-five to sixty thousand. But the larger estimates have been frequently questioned, and impugned by judicious calculation.¹⁰ However the precise number may be, William's army was large, well appointed, spirited and hopeful, as invaders generally are, at least until they meet with some reverses. From the day of the landing to the day of the battle (October 14th) the Normans were constantly in the expectation of an attack, and were wondering at its delay; but in those days it was difficult to obtain rapid information of the movements of an enemy, as news did not fly with our present rapidity. They proceeded to secure and fortify a proper encampment in the vicinity, near Hastings. This was kept well guarded with outposts of cavalry to a considerable distance. In thus securing their position and reconnoitering about fifteen days were spent in anxious expectation of seeing their opponents.

At length Harold and his army came in sight, and William, brave and determined as he was, could not but have been anxious for accommodations, and desirous to acquire a kingdom and people without a battle if possible; but determined upon a conquest if that accommodation was not had. He sent a message to Harold that if he would comply with his oath he should have all the land north of the Humber, and would give his brother Gurth all the land that Godwin held; and if these terms were refused, he charged his messenger to proclaim before all the people that he was a perjurer. The day was spent in fruitless negotiations. The battle seemed to be inevitable. Some of the Saxon chiefs advised Harold, a policy very apparent, to avoid a battle, to return towards London, and ravage the country in front of the enemy; and thus starve the foreigners out. Harold received this advice, which under many circumstances would be the very best policy, indignantly as a charge upon his fidelity and bravery, and replied: "I ravage

⁸ Palgrave, as above. All this is very surprising when we know the Saxons antipathy against the Normans. Thierry does not notice so much coldness on the part of the Saxons towards Harold: though both of these authors have well investigated the subject. See also Vaughan's *Revolutions*, p. 273. Turner in his history does not state the number of the army, but intimates their fleet to be large; Vol. ii. p. 60. ⁹ Pictorial History, 109-205. ¹⁰ Hume's History of England, p. 140-151.

¹¹ c. i. Thierry, p. 172; Palgrave, *ut supra*, p. 310.

¹² See Macintosh's History of England, p. 97; Sismondi Hist. des Français, iv. 353; and Prof. Fiske's Essay.

the country which has been confided to my care? By my faith, that were indeed treason, and I prefer taking the chances of battle with the few men I have, my courage, and my good cause." Perhaps, also, he too much feared delay, and the consequence of it in his rear, to follow so good advice, where the vital interest of the country and people were in peril.

On both sides they were now preparing for a battle, which Harold did not expect to bring on until after the coming day, and on that night to attack his enemies by surprise. Of this the vigilant William became aware, and well conceiving that any delay would be advantageous to his opponent, determined that the battle should be brought on the next day, and thereby defeat his opponent's intended night attack. He ordered arrangements to be made accordingly. It is said that on the night previous to the battle, that the Normans spent their time much more judiciously than the Saxons. The first in sober and prayerful consideration of their situation and duties, while the Saxons were engaged in noisy revelry and drinking.

The morning light of the memorable day of the battle had arrived, and the Norman camp was in motion. William in full armor, mounted on a fine charger, addressed his officers, to satisfy them of the justice of his cause, and to excite their cupidity. Raising his voice, he thus addressed them: "Fight your best, and put every one to death; for if we conquer, we shall all be rich. What I gain, you gain; if I conquer, you conquer; if I take the land, you shall share it. Know, however, that I have not come here merely to take that which is my due, but to revenge our whole nation for the felon acts, perjuries, and treason of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, in the night of Saint Brice. They desolated the companions of my relation, Alfred, and put him to death. On, then, in God's name, and chastise them for all their misdeeds."¹¹

William arranged his army in three divisions; and the third he commanded in

person, and where his own banner was placed. How the Saxons were arrayed we have little or no information; but we may be assured, that as they were now natives of British soil, and descendants of Caractacus as well as of Alfred and Edgar, and had been animated by the recital of the glorious deeds of Arthur, they were not wanting either in courage or duty on the field of Hastings. Harold had selected for his position a range of rising ground; and his front somewhat protected by a palisade. They had, unperceived by the enemy, dug pits some distance in front, which were slightly covered over, so as not to be able to bear up either a body of horse or men. Between the palisades and the hidden pits Harold's army was drawn up in form of a wedge, and protected by a wall of their shields and the palisades. When the Normans were formed ready to advance, a Norman, named Taillefer, spurred his horse in front of the array, and as a bard, began the song, famous throughout Gaul, of Charlemagne and Roland. As he sang he played with his sword, throwing it high in the air, and catching it as it fell in his right hand; the Normans repeating the burthen and shouting.

The Normans at length charged upon the Saxons, who were so well and strongly formed, that they were unable to make any impressions, and the Saxons struck so heavy blows with their battle-axe, as to break a lance, or cut through a shield or a coat of mail. Unable to make a penetration upon the English position, by a direct attack in front, the duke ordered the archers to advance again and shoot high in the air so as to fall on their enemies behind their shields and palisades; by which means many of the English were wounded in the face. Again an attack of infantry and cavalry was made with great shouts. But again they were driven back, and this time the Norman men and horses fell upon one another into the pits, and thus a great number perished. A cry was once raised in the midst of this terror that the duke was killed; which was not quieted until the duke was able to raise his vizor and show his face, when he was able to stop the re-

¹¹ Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iii. p. 175.

treat and renew the assault. Now the duke ordered an attack of a thousand horse to be made, and then an immediate retreat. This ruse succeeded in bringing the English incautiously from their position, and were at once fiercely attacked by the main force of their enemy. A terrible *mêlée* ensued, in which the duke was wounded and unhorsed; and Harold killed by an arrow which pierced his brain, through one of his eyes. The Normans broke through the English lines, and captured their standard. After nine hours of hard battle, at the close of the day, and after the two brothers of Harold, Gurth and Leofwic, were slain, the victory of the invaders was complete.

It was nearly dark when the success of the Normans procured for themselves the victory in a battle fought on both sides with desperation—a battle which has created a revolution in the history and aspect of England. When the English were compelled to flee, the night and the woods in the vicinity afforded them protection from the pursuit of the Norman cavalry that would otherwise have been fatal to many. But as it was many a hard contest was had between those who were compelled to flee and their pursuers. We have no reliable account of the number of troops engaged, in this celebrated and well contested battle, on either side; nor the number slain. It has been stated in a loose manner, that William had sixty thousand, and that Harold commanded one hundred thousand men. But it may be that neither had half of their respective numbers. It is quite probable that Harold had numerically the most men; but then it should be remembered that Harold had lost many of his best veteran troops at the recent battle at Stamford Bridge, and many of his men were raw but brave volunteers just from their civil vocations, badly armed and undisciplined to war. On the other hand William's men were the daring and ambitious men—the elite collected from all the countries around Normandy. There were in their ranks not only Normans, but brave and daring men from Brittany, from Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and various other parts of France, and from Flanders. They

were probably the best armed and disciplined body of troops that ever appeared in that age in Western Europe. In point of equipment they had greatly the advantage; but they found their equals in their opponents in point of courage and bravery. The result was what ought to have been expected under the circumstances. Harold was more patriotic and courageous than wise and prudent in rejecting the judicious advice to temporize and harass William's means of procuring provisions, until he was able to meet him upon equal terms.¹² But it was a bloody battle on both sides. The Normans acknowledge the loss of a fourth of their men, and the loss was probably fully as great or greater on the part of the English. It is claimed by the friends of Harold that in the course of the night they found and identified his dead body amongst the slain, which they had properly buried; but there is another romantic story told upon the subject, that he survived the battle, but in despair retired to a monastery, *incognito*, in a distant part of the country, where he lived unknown many years.¹³

§2.—*William the Conqueror, from his Coronation to his Death. A. D. 1066—1087.*

After the battle of Hastings, William spent some weeks before he proceeded to London to enjoy the fruition of his victory. For a while he made Canterbury his headquarters; took Dover, a very strong fortification, without resistance; and now it appears very strange, instead of proceeding to convince the people that they had good luck in the exchange of rulers, he proceeded to ravage the counties near him south of the Thames, as though he wished to convince the people they had now a master who was hard to deal with, and that it was their interest to make submission as soon as possible. The English people were apparently in a moody condition, as though they were at a loss what to do. After a while William proceeded with his army towards London, without any further serious

¹² See Charles V., celebrated entrance into France, where he was utterly defeated by these means. Robinson's Charles V.

¹³ See Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. xv., p. 329.

opposition: but halting a few miles out of town, sent forward a detachment of soldiers to construct a fortress for his residence in the heart of the city. Some of his followers became impatient at this delay in assuming the crown and the fruit of their conquest. He hypocritically replied: "That if it were God's will that he should become king, the time to assume the title had not yet arrived—too many counties and too many men still remained to be subjected; besides, he had not come to England for his own interest alone, but for that of the whole Norman nation." At length it was arranged that the coronation should take place on the following Christmas, and for that purpose the Abby Church of Westminster was decorated, as when the lawful sovereigns of England were received by the willing and loyal acclamation of their subjects. William well knew that such a reception was not to be his; he therefore had all the avenues from the camp to the church and around it guarded by strong lines of his men and cavalry. William during the ceremony was surrounded by two hundred and sixty Norman chiefs; and when Eldred, the archbishop of York, put the question to those present: "Will ye have William, Duke of Normandy, for your king?" the shout of the Normans was so loud,¹ that the soldiery on the outside suspected it to be some act of treason, that some rushed there with drawn swords, while others set fire to some of the houses with a view to plunder. Upon seeing this those in the church rushed out, and the ceremony was concluded by a few trembling ecclesiastics; while the new king was, equally alarmed, reciting his pledge that he would govern the English people according to their own laws, and in all things as justly and humanely as the best of their kings had governed them.

For a short time William only claimed that he came to the sovereignty as heir of Edward the Confessor, and did not set up his title as conqueror. But it was not long before he and his friends set up that title; and ever since he has been known in history by the title of William the Conqueror. They were not slow in letting the English people know by what title they did claim. At first even William thought it was only a question whether he or Harold should be king, and that being settled by the battle of Hastings, he thought his future course in obtaining possession of the government would be easy and as a matter of course. It must be that many of the English nobility thought in the same way; for in no other way could the conduct of Edwin and Mocar, the earls of Mercia, in declining to aid Harold efficiently, be accounted for. It is probable that those scions of Woden did not deem that Harold came in by divine right, to induce them to interfere in his behalf. It is probable, also, that many of the Saxon nobility thought in the same way. But whatever might have been the cause which operated upon them, they soon by bitter experience had cause to repent of their unpatriotic decision. In all these questions and movements, the rights and liberties of the people—their right to have a stable and just government, in which their property, labors and earnings should be cared for and protected, were entirely overlooked as though all rightfully belonged to him whom chance or impudence placed in the government. The Saxon nobility considered themselves by habit and action a caste,—proud, haughty and supercilious, withal ignorant, illiterate and holding the great mass of the people in a very low position,² and consequently held them in great contempt. The Normans by their intermixture with the Celtic people had become greatly distinguished for quickness and taste, were taking pleasure in literature and objects of science; and although they adopted the feudal tenure, by which the landed property of the country was placed in the hands of the nobility, as it was with

¹ Vaughan's *Revolutions*, B. iii, ch. ii, p. 286. See ² Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, B. iv, p. 180, where it is stated that the question was first put by Geoffroy, bishop of Contance, in the French language, and then archbishop of York put the question in the English language, when the response was so vehement. This would intimate that this response was of the English. But if true, we can readily conceive that the Normans could gather there as many weak Englishmen to make such response as to get the archbishop of York to perform the ceremony.

² See ante, B. iii, ch. —.

the Saxons, yet they treated the mass of the people more kindly and on an equality. The Normans looked upon the Saxons as a people more slow and stolid, and less given to adopt improvements, and subjected them to much contempt. It is hard to determine how it was that one battle, and the operation of four or five years, an entire revolution and change of government—a conquest, was brought about; when with the Britons it cost the Romans many battles and forty years of war; and the Saxons innumerable battles and four or five hundred years of war to accomplish the same conquest. It can only be accounted for upon the indifference of the Saxon people towards their nobility, who held themselves as a divine caste, born to rule, and who held so exclusive a government over them, and especially as to real property. It must be that the Saxon people looked upon it as a mere question of a change of masters, in which they had no decided interest, and not that patriotism love of country and freedom, which distinguished the Britons or the people of England of the present day. But the English of that day were soon taught by sad experience that the Normans were determined to make the most of their conquest; and that they were really the masters, in possession of the government and people; and controlled the land and property for their own best interest. The Normans soon found some desultory and unorganized hostilities; and the first manifested itself in the vicinity of Exeter, where there was the strongest mixture of the Ancient Britons, and where the first confiscation of property took place.³

Soon envy and hatred increased between the two people. But the Saxon nobility were losing by the change of government more than the people themselves. With them it was only a change of masters. Still in one respect the Norman nobility were not so offensive as the Saxon, for they did not so offensively claim that they ruled by di-

vine right as the descendants of Woden; and therefore they might politically hope for more from them on the score of common humanity. The Saxon nobility soon lost their right and title to the landed property, for the manors were ultimately transferred from Saxon lords to Norman lords; the people generally retained their possessions upon similar terms, and only changed their landlords. The Saxon common people could not have been, for this reason, so attached to their country as the same class of people with the Britons; for with the latter the absolute ownership of the land was with the people, and its mode of descent was that of the gavel-kind;—the landed estate, therefore, was not the manor, but the farm of the family, very much as it is now practically in England, but with a very unequal division among the families; but as in fact it is in the United States with all the people. The landed property of England, before the conquest, was held in large estates (manors) by the Saxon nobility, and therefore the transfer from a Saxon lord to a Norman made but little or no difference with the tenant, as it would have done if he had held the fee. They might therefore be very indifferent as to the change which was going on; for with him it was only a change of landlord, and sometimes there was a gain in the change of masters.

William was a good executive sovereign, and well enforced the administration of justice; yet his followers soon became clamorous for all the honorable and lucrative positions in the government, both civil and ecclesiastic, and for the confiscation of the property of those who had opposed them, and the division of such property among themselves. Much of this was immediately done, and every occasion was taken advantage of to extend it, from time to time, and from bad to worse, until the government and most all the real property of England was in the hands of the Normans. The two most powerful earls, Edwin and Morcar, who were the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, and the head of the Saxon nobility, who had played so cold and indifferent a part towards Harold, a brother-in-law, now became alarmed, and

³ 1 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, B. iv, pp. 204—205; Vaughan's *Revolutions in English History*, pp. 281—285; Macaulay's *England*, pp. 8 and 9; Henry of Huntingdon, 213.

appealed to their relatives in Wales, the family of the late king Griffith. This was discovered, and made the pretext of disposing of their power and estates for the benefit of the special favorites of the king. The Catholic church had given William much aid with but little cost, by sending him a banner, the Pope's bull, and excommunication of Harold upon the assumption of his perjury. This brought the majority of the priesthood, both in France and England, in his favor; and this the new king was not disposed to forget. Wherever an excuse could be made for it, the king removed the native clergy, and gave the place to a Norman. A host of Norman clergy attended him in the expedition, among whom was his brother, Odo, archbishop of Bayeux; all of whom became provided for with rich places. Neither warrior nor clergyman was neglected who had been serviceable, nor was the church nor Pope forgotten; but all pay came at the expense of the unfortunate Saxons.

Within three months after the battle of Hastings, the king upon some pretext determined to return upon a visit to Normandy; and he did this with great display of what he had acquired by his conquest. He placed the administration of the government in the care of Odo and Fitz Osbern, as a regency while absent; and he took with him a large number of the most distinguished and influential of the English nobility, for the double purpose of gracing his retinue and exhibiting his success; and also holding them as hostages in his power for the security of his government in England during his absence. This visit was made the subject of great exhibition and rejoicing in Normandy; but the uneasy affairs in England soon called him there; for his representatives were found to be unable to manage affairs with the same vigor and success as he himself. When he had returned to England he found great difficulties and dissatisfaction in various parts of the country, without any concerted and well formed action for the relief and deliverance of the country. Every effort was now made to bring the country to a quiet subjection, and to complete the conquest.

The property of those who opposed him, and were active in regard to the action at Hastings, had already been confiscated, and divided among the Normans, and there were in his retinue abundance of foreign aspirants crying for more, and every new manifestation of discontent was made the occasion for urging further confiscation. William appointed a commission to ascertain and report what opposition had been made to him, and who the persons were who were continuing such opposition. Upon this inquiry and report, proceedings were had, and confiscation made, until in the course of a few years almost the whole of the real property of the kingdom had become transferred from a Saxon nobility to a new and Norman nobility,⁴ from whom many of the present English nobility derive and hold their right and title.

The reader of British history is astonished to find this revolution in English affairs to have been accomplished by conquest, with only one great and well organized battle, in defense of the principle, that every people have a right to govern themselves; and that native patriotism which arouses a people in favor of a native organization in opposition to a foreign one which comes in to rule over them and oppress them. Almost immediately after the battle of Hastings, public matters began so to develop themselves, so that there could be no doubt as to the position to be assumed by the conquerors at Hastings. Indeed the

⁴ See Vaughan's *Revolution in History*, B. iii, ch. ii, p. 282. King William took the lion's share of both real and personal property. It is easier to follow the real property, which had been held by the Saxon nobility in large estates, and converted by the common people's serfs. These large estates were called by the Normans manors; and could be easily designated and transferred from the Saxon to the Norman. Mr. Vaughan states the appropriation of the real property among the conquerors thus: "The Crown had more than 1400 manors, besides other property not fully described. The earl of Mortaine, the Conqueror's half brother, became possessed of nearly 800 manors, spread over nineteen counties. The earl of Bretagne, who commanded the rear in the battle of Hastings, had 442. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, brother to William, had 439, which gave him authority in seventeen counties. The bishop of Constance, who, in common with Odo, was also a soldier, had 280. Roger de Bresli had 171 in Nottinghamshire. Ilbert de Laci 104, chiefly in Yorkshire. William Perceval, the Conqueror's natural son, had 102. Robert de Sanford, 150. Roger de Laci, 116. Hugh de Montfort, more than 100. William de Warren had territory allotted him in Sussex and eleven other English counties." See, also, Hume's *English Hist.*, p. 105; also 150, appendix ii.

intercourse between the English and Normans had been such for many years, that they had no reasonable grounds to expect any different result from that which did happen. However that may be, it was seldom, if ever, any people endured so intolerable a government as the people of England did during the first half of the Conqueror's reign. Not only was the landed property taken from the original proprietors, and bestowed upon a new foreign aristocracy, but the Norman adventurers took without compunction or control whatever they chose. It is repulsive to humanity to contemplate the oppression and injustice perpetrated by the invading conquerors. Not only was the sword doing its work in accomplishing its object, but the churchman was as eager as the warrior for spoils, and to enrich himself and the church. In a few years every native archbishop and bishop were removed and their places taken by foreign clergy.

Those to whom William had promised land, received it of the dispossessed English; the barons and knights had vast domains, castles, villages, and even whole cities; the simple vassal had smaller portions. Some received their pay in money, others had stipulated that they should have a Saxon wife, and William, says the Norman chronicle, gave them in marriage noble dames, great heiresses, whose husbands had fallen in the battle. One only among the knights who had accompanied the Conqueror, claimed neither lands, gold, nor wife, and would accept none of these spoils of the conquered. His name was Guilbert Fitz Richard; he said that he had accompanied his lord to England because such was his duty, but stolen goods had no attraction for him, and that he would return to Normandy and enjoy his own heritage, a moderate but legitimate heritage, and, contented with his own lot, would rob no one.⁵

By the year 1070, William had reduced the whole of England to subjection; from the Tweed to the South, and from the German Ocean to the Severn, his army overran and controlled everything. The last serious opposition was made by the Danish people, who constituted a large portion of the people of Yorkshire and the country to the north, formerly known as Northumbria. It is singular not only, that only one great battle was fought by the English for their independence, but that the leading Englishmen made their most effectual appeals to the Danes of Yorkshire, to the Cambrians in the neighborhood of the Dee, and the people in the vicinity of Exeter, where the descendants of the Ancient Britons did mostly prevail. All these were successfully put down by the Conqueror, without any serious rising in the central portion of England itself. When we notice this, and also the fact that at the commencement of the conquest the two greatest men of England, in wealth, in power, and in political influence and experience, Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, kept aloof and turned a cold shoulder towards Harold and his cause until it was lost; and the people themselves never manifested a serious determination to resist the conquest. May not all this be ascribed as resulting from the organization of the Saxon government? Edwin and Morcar belonged to the old aristocracy, the descendants of Woden, a caste who excluded every other family from a participation in the high and honorable offices of the government. Harold, as we have seen, was of a plebeian origin; and though in the days of his power he was able to procure their sister for his wife, yet now in the contest with William they were able to persuade her to abandon him. They probably at first preferred William from a hope that he would best subserve the old aristocracy; and may have conceived that it would result only in a change of sovereigns, without otherwise interfering with the government. But on the other hand the great mass of the people had been kept by the aristocracy at that distance from the real government, and all the lands in the hands

⁵ Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iv. p. 191. This noble man, Guilbert, is far more deserving to be remembered and honored than the Conqueror. It seems that in those days almost every one thought he had a right to take what he could; even the clergy practiced upon the same rule. It seemed that they had forgotten the golden rule of their profession, and left it to be remembered and practiced by Guilbert.

of that aristocracy,—they cared but little as to the result; at most it was but a change of masters; and hoped that their new masters would not be so exclusive a caste. This is the only manner in which we can satisfactorily account for the English people submitting, with so little resistance, to such a decided conquest. All at first hoped for better things,—it was the Saxon nobility, those who claimed their right to power as descendents from Woden, who sustained the great loss and injury; the great mass of the people lost but little, and perhaps gained much in the end by the revolution.

As already stated, the Saxon population were divided into three classes: first the nobles, who were comparatively few, the descendants of Woden, and the holders of all the land. These were called thanes,⁶ and, as aldermen, ruled the land, and held all the great offices. Secondly, the freemen, who were less than one-half of the people; exercised some police regulations among themselves; were generally, for their own safety, the retainers or clients of some lord; and their greatest freedom was a right to choose which of two or more lords to serve. And thirdly, the slaves, who included the villain, the serfs as well as the menial slave; and were the largest portion of the people. These were often sold and transferred with the land to which they were attached. There can be no doubt that the Normans in like manner claimed them with the manor which had been assigned to them. The proud position now occupied by every intelligent Englishman, as commoner of England, is a position attained long after the conquest; which it probably aided rather than retarded.

The indifference of the Saxon people to the consequences of the conquest, at its commencement, was the logical result of their form of government. The aristocracy, who were almost the only class interested in the question, could not tolerate the idea that a person not a descendant of Wo-

den should ascend a throne which for the past 600 years had known no other; and especially so as to Harold, who was but one generation removed from the peasant and the herdsman. That he was then the most talented of Englishmen; the one who, by his education and experience, best qualified to occupy the position, was no reply to them—he was a *parvenu*. With them, therefore, as a matter of feeling, the question was a matter of indifference whether Harold or William should be king; it was only a change of sovereigns, and with the latter there was some claim of a remote descent.

With common people it was a question of a great deal more indifference. They were excluded from any participation in the government and politics; and they had no landed property. All this belonged to an hereditary aristocracy; and if the landed estates should be transferred to Norman lords, they might be able to make fully as good terms, or better, with the new lords as with the old. With them there was no ownership in the land—no yeomanry, with small holding of their own, as a guaranty for their patriotism and devotion to the independence and freedom of their country. In these respects there is no safety for a country when its government and landed estates are in the hands of an aristocracy. But since that time the commons and the yeomanry of England have grown up and made Britain what she is proud to be, the foremost people in the world. When William landed at Pervency there were no commons or yeomanry, as these only existed in the times of the Tudors and Cromwell.

The effect that may be produced by an aristocracy upon the spirit and patriotism of a people may be well illustrated by the condition of things in the Southern States previous to the great rebellion. There one half of the people were slaves (Africans); and the landed property was held in large estates, in the hands of a few of the leading and most promising of the white people. They represented the wealth and intelligence of the country. Between these and the slaves there was a large class of white freemen, who in every generation were be-

⁶ In confirmation of the close oligarchy or caste which existed in the Saxon government, Hume (1 English History, appendix i, p. 161) says: "We know of no title which raised any one to the rank of a thane, except noble birth and the possession of land."

coming poorer and more abject; despised by both the slave and his master, as the *poor white man*; and the slave denominated them, as a matter of contempt, "*sandhill cracker*." The slave-holder was the aristocrat of the country, and the governing race in the state. He was the senator and representative in congress; member of the legislature or governor of the state; and holding all important stations and official appointments. There was no law fixing or securing all this, but it was so arranged as securely as though it was in the constitution, by merely a social understanding among themselves. Among themselves the slave-holder was a genuine patriot, and always in favor of independence and freedom; and frequently the most devoted democrat. But this was always for home consumption—the poor white man and the slave were never benefited by such display of patriotism. Between the slave-holder and the slave—the upper and nether millstone, the poor white man was ground to powder. He was generally distinguished as the ignorant, uneducated man, without industry or ambition; for there was no object upon which to apply them. By social arrangements they were kept within the bounds. Now one may well imagine that the freeman in Saxon times, being between the nobility, who were a family caste, and the slave, was the "poor white man" of his time; and if so, it may have been a happy event that the Saxon nobility was exterminated by a Danish and Norman rule.

After William had fiercely suppressed the opposition that his conquest had met with from the people in the vicinity of Exeter, in 1068, the next serious opposition was from the people of Yorkshire and the north. The Normans did not attempt the conquest north of the Humber for about three years after the battle of Hastings. In the year 1069 they encountered considerable opposition in taking possession of York, and securing it to their possession, by a castle and intrenchments within the city. Before the next year, and while the king was on a visit to his home in Normandy, the people of Yorkshire, by a patriotic effort, succeeded in recovering possession of York after

a severe struggle, and in their enthusiasm not only expelled everything Norman, but foolishly demolished the Norman castle and its ramparts, which they soon found cause to wish they had preserved.

When William was informed of his reverses in Yorkshire and the fierce opposition of the people to him there, he swore vengeance against them and hastened back to England in order to perpetrate it. He first cautiously proceeded to buy off every aid and alliance upon which the people of York had placed any reliance, and then proceeded with a powerful army against them, with a fierce determination of effecting a conclusive conquest; and in that he was fully successful. York was retaken, and all north of it he brought to the most cruel and abject subjection. The war and revolution had produced in the north of England a severe famine, and to this calamity William was adding that of the sword and fire, in exterminating man and beast, and destroying every habitation in a large portion of the country to the north of York; and in the process of converting it into a park for wild animals, upwards of one hundred thousand people were destroyed.

Upon this another apportionment of confiscated territory was made amongst the followers of the conqueror; as to William de Percy was donated over eighty manors, the origin of the great estate of the family under the name of the duke of Northumberland; and to others were granted like favors. This being accomplished to the north, the king next turned his attention to the west. That portion of the island west of the Cumberland hills, north of the Mersey and south of the Solway Firth, which had been sometimes known as a part of the kingdom of Strath-Clyde, and sometimes as Cumbria, was given over to some of the Norman captains to bring over to their rule. This was done in the usual style. This country had been known as the home of the Cymry of Cumbria; and during the sixth and seventh centuries had been distinguished for its Christian and literary attainments. It is celebrated as the home of Aneurin, the author of the

great epic poem of Gododin, and of the historian, Nennius. After that it had been disturbed by the Saxons and plundered by the Danes. Many of its principal citizens had left and taken refuge in either Wales, Ireland or Armorica; but the majority of the people were still Cymry, mixed with Saxons and Danes. The country was now taken by the Conqueror's officers; and the chief of them divided the possessions among their retainers. "The land of marsh and moor, called Westmoreland, was also brought under the power of a foreigner, who divided among their soldiers the rich domains and beautiful women of the country. The conqueror gave the three daughters of Simon Thom, proprietor of two manors, one to Onfroy, his squire, another to Raoul Tortesmain, and the third to one Guillaume de Saint Paul."⁷ In those days of terror and injustice, wherever the soldiery of the Romans, Saxons, Danes or Normans went, the unfortunate female beauties of the country were made either their wives or mistresses; and the great body of the people their serfs.

After this reduction of the north of England the Conqueror immediately (A. D. 1070) marched with his army to the border of Wales. The first place he attained was the city of Chester, the Cærligion of the Britons and Devana of the Romans. It was nearly four hundred years after Hengist's time before this city was taken from the Cymry by the Saxons, A. D. 828. It was probably here that the Conqueror saw the greatest remains of the Roman times. Chester was on the right bank of the Dee; and that river was the line between England and Wales; and up to that line the Conqueror was not much delayed. But soon the Normans manifested a disposition to cross that line, and Offa's dyke presented but little opposition to their entry upon Cambrian territory. The Normans crossed the line and the Severn west of Shrewsbury, and upon Welsh territory, sixteen miles from the last named city, built the first fortress in violation of the rights of the Cymry. This was the commencement

of the subjugation of Wales by the Normans, and which these conquerors of England diligently pursued for about two hundred years before its accomplishment at the death of prince Llewellyn, in 1282; and after the same object had been previously prosecuted over five hundred years by the Saxons; so that it required the continued exertion of these two nationalities over seven hundred years of unjust and cruel war, from the invasion of Wessex upon the Severn to the death of Llewellyn, to subjugate the Cymry, these descendants of the Ancient Britons. This fortress was called by the Cymry *Tre Faddwin*, the castle of Baldwin, but the name retained by the Normans was *Montgomery*, in honor of Rodger de Montgomery, earl of Shropshire, as related by the Conqueror.⁸

After A. D. 1070 the conquest seems to have been complete over the whole of England, and the form of its rule and government established. It was an arbitrary monarchy, uncontrolled by any fixed parliament or house of lords. Everything depended upon the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. He was once or twice induced in order to quiet insurrection, to promise that the laws of Edward the Confessor should be observed and enforced; but that did but little better it, while those laws were only enforced by Normans according to their own notions and prejudice. There were the great lords he had created; but they were his sworn vassals, and creatures of his own creation. They formed no great established council, controlling as a necessary part of the government. They had, undoubtedly, their influence, but William summoned them and consulted with them as he thought best. Courts were established, records kept, and the ordinary administration of justice improved; for in learning and the science of the day the Normans were far ahead of the Saxons; but then the whole was under the control and influence of one presiding head.

The government of England became far more arbitrary and despotic than that of Normandy. At home William was a duke,

7 † Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iv, p. 229.

8 † Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iv, p. 232.

in England a monarch. After a while this became distasteful to some of the Normans themselves. About the year 1074 the special friend and right arm of William, Fitz Osbern, died a violent death while on the continent. His son Robert assumed his rights and dignity in England as earl of Hereford, and control of the vast estate in England. "He took upon himself the charge of providing for and portioning his young sister, Emma, and negotiated a marriage for her with Raulf de Gael, a Breton seignior, who had become earl of Norfolk. For some reason or other this alliance was displeasing to the king, who sent an express order from Normandy not to conclude it; but the parties paid no heed to this prohibition, and on the day fixed for the celebration the marriage took place at Norwich, which proved fatal to all who were present at it."⁹ Bishops and Norman barons were there, Saxons, friends of the Normans, and several Welshmen, invited by the earl of Hereford, prominently figured at the affair. The sumptuous repast and generous wine rendered them imprudent, loquacious and ambitious; great complaint was made of the arbitrary conduct of the Conqueror, and his ingratitude to those to whom he was the most indebted for his crown, especially to Hereford, the son of that Fitz Osbern to whom was mostly due his great success. He was accused of having forgotten his origin, and frequently called the bastard. A conspiracy was then formed, and a rebellion raised by collecting troops both east and west, in Norfolk and on the Severn, where many of the Welsh on the border were induced to join them, either for pay or out of hatred for the conquerors, who menaced their independence. But all this demonstration was effectually put down by William's government before he had returned from Normandy, which was followed by the usual cruel punishment of the rebels who fell into their hands, some by death, others by mutilation in having a limb, either an arm or a leg, cut off. This was the most serious attempt made at rebellion during Wil-

liam's sovereignty, which lasted about ten years longer. All the amelioration and improvement in form and constitution of the English government are those matters which have taken place long after the reign of the Conqueror;—there are none of them which go back for their origin to the time of the Conqueror, or that of the Saxons. They are the growth of British soil since those times.

It has already been noticed that when the Saxons as a conquering army took possession of various portions of the island, which has since become England, a great mass of the British population must have remained and become assimilated with the Saxon conquerors, as was the case in every such conquest, and especially with the Normans. The Saxon lords were disposed of, but the conquerors took wives from the choice of the widows and daughters of the land. As was the case with the Saxons, this intermixture of races made them English, instead of German, greatly Celtic instead of pure Teutonic. But this change of race characteristics was greatly augmented by the Norman conquest. The Normans were more Celtic than Teuton, and this was especially the case with William, in consequence of frequent alliance by marriage between his house and that of Brittany. But of the followers of the Conqueror the Celtic character greatly prevailed; for besides those who were from Normandy, the next greatest portion of them were from Brittany, from whence came Alain and Brian, two of the sons of the duke of Brittany, Raulf de Gael, and other powerful lords of that country, with their numerous followers. From other portions of Gaul did they flock to the standard of the Norman; as from Maine, Anjou, Poitou and Aquitaine, the Cymric and Celtic portion of France. So important was the service of these to William that he rewarded Raulf, as we have seen, by making him earl of Norfolk. It was not only the immediate followers of the Normans who aided in making this change of race; but "when the conquest grew flourishing," says Thierry, "not merely young soldiers and old captains, but whole families, men, wo-

⁹ 1 Thierry's Norman Conquest. B. iv, p. 278. Matth. Paris 1, 9.

men and children, emigrated from almost every corner of Gaul to seek their fortune in England; this country had become for foreigners, as it were, a land newly discovered, which had to be colonized, and which belonged to every comer. 'Noel and Celestria, his wife,' says an ancient deed, 'came in the army of William the Bastard, and received in gift from the same bastard the manor of Elinghall with all its dependencies.' According to an old rhymist, the first lord of Coningsby, named William, came from Brittany, with his wife Tiffany, his servant Maulas, and his dog Hardigras. Sworn brotherhood-in-arms, societies of gain and loss, for life and death, were formed between those who together ran the risks of the invasion.¹⁰ Thus was the English people impregnated with an additional portion of Celtic blood, which has been constantly increasing, and that too in the higher class as well as in the lower. This will hereafter be further noticed, with other evidence of the truth of this fact.

Between the Normans and the Saxons there existed, for many generations, the most hostile national antipathies,¹¹ and the former exercised over the latter the most rigid surveillance and domination. Not only were most of the landed estates forcibly transferred from the Saxon proprietor to the Norman, but in some instances the former, for the greater personal safety, resigned their estate and voluntarily became serfs. The Cymry did not take an active interest in the matter of the conquest; for there was a greater sympathy and affinity of race between them and the Normans than the Saxons. With the Normans they had greater friendship and association; and immediately upon the conquest of England numerous marriages and family alliances

took place between these two friendly races, to which many families of the English nobility refer their origin. But all this did not prevent the ambitious and unjust from seeking opportunities of conquest and extension of territory. That was a matter, in those days, that no obligation or affinity had any restraint.

After the first eight years, spent in fixing the government in its accustomed requirements and routine of business, William did not meet with much opposition to his reign, which lasted thirteen years longer, when upon his death he was succeeded in the government by his son William Rufus. During the reign of the Conqueror, notwithstanding, it was a rule of severe oppression and injustice towards the Saxon people, it was a period of great improvement in England as a country. The Normans at once produced a change for the better in everything which constitutes evidence of progress in civilization. Architecture at once began to make a progress, unknown in England since the commencement of the Saxon period. Large castles, churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and as a consequence private residences began to appear throughout the country in better style of architecture and taste. They introduced a far greater degree of literature, arts and science into the country, and applied it both in the affairs of the government and that of the private citizen. Writing and records became common, which before had been greatly neglected, even in the transfer of real estate. A great number of learned men and professors were called to the country and patronized. The law became a learned profession; and courts of justice were placed upon a more systematic and regular basis. A regular census was taken of the people and property of the country, registered in a book, the doomsday book, which enables the government with greater certainty to adjust its taxes and requisitions upon the people. Abating its injustice and oppression, the Norman conquest was the commencement of a progressive improvement, and was not like the Saxon and Danish invasion, an indiscriminate robbery and plun-

10 1 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. IV. p. 233, who cites numerous other instances of like names and circumstances.

11 See 2 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. VIII. p. 40. "Saxon women, seized upon and married by force after the battle of Hastings, or after the defeats of York, had, amid their despair, borne sons to their foremasters; * * * * as soon as the conquest seemed complete, no Englishman was held noble enough for a Norman woman to honor him with her hand. * * * * The mixture of races was in England, at this time, more favorable to the oppressor than to the oppressed, for the former lost his foreign character, the inclination to resist diminished in the hearts of the latter."

der, and the wanton application of the sword and fire to the destruction of the country. It was the last time, now in the lapse of eight hundred years that the landed property of Britain has been by force and violence transferred from those who possessed and cultivated it to those who had no right or claim upon it; and it is to be hoped it will remain the last.

§3.—*The course of events in English history from the death of William the Conqueror to that of Henry III. (1087—1272).*

William the Conqueror died in the year 1087, after a reign over England of twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his second son William, surnamed Rufus in allusion to his red hair, which assumption is supposed to have been in accordance with his father's wishes, but in entire disregard of the right of primogeniture, or of any constitutional principle to support it. The government went on in its administration precisely as the Conqueror had left it, without any change in its constitution or principles. And so it continued as established and practiced by the Conqueror, with very little modification, until after the accession of Edward I., A. D. 1272, except such as was produced by the charters granted by John and Henry III., which were concessions wrenched by the barons, rather than any constitutional principles procured by any rising of the people themselves. In the Saxon government and that established by the Conqueror, there was no place or position in which the people could act to control or effect the government for their benefit; for that was entirely in the hands of the king and his hereditary nobility, and during the Saxon dynasty these were confined to the descendants of Woden. Thus this government continued thirteen years under the administration of William Rufus, without any notable change, when in the year 1100 he met his death by a random shot from the bow of Tyrrel while engaged in hunting in a park. Immediately the government was taken possession of by his younger brother, Henry I., in opposition to the right of his oldest brother, Robert, Duke of Nor-

mandy, who was then absent in Italy. His reign he successfully held for thirty-five years, without any material deviation from the usual course of administration of his father and brother, until his death in 1135. Henry was a person greatly distinguished for his personal appearance, and possessed many accomplishments, both natural and acquired, and sustained a vigorous government. Previous to his death he had done all in his power to secure the succession to his daughter, Matilda, known as the empress dowager of Germany, and then the wife of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and residing in Normandy. But his intention was thwarted by his nephew, Stephen, the son of his sister, Adelia, and daughter of William the Conqueror. Immediately upon the death of Henry, Stephen, with much energy, proceeded to usurp the government and secure it against the rights of Matilda. This prince, though ungrateful, unscrupulous, and hypocritical, possessed many qualities which fitted him for his position; but his lack of legitimate right and his obvious usurpation brought on him and his country a distracted and disturbed reign of nineteen years, which near its close was brought to a final adjustment between the contending parties by a treaty, by which Stephen was to hold the government during his life, and that he should be succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda, as heir to the crown. Soon after this the king died in 1154, and was succeeded accordingly by Henry II. This prince was one of the most able of the Norman dynasty, and ruled England forty-five years with distinguished ability. The principal events which distinguish the reign of this monarch are, his war and difficulties on the continent in sustaining his right to territories he inherited there, as Normandy, Maine, Poitou, and others, which were only a misfortune and a clog to the welfare and interest of the English people. The next was the adoption of the charter of Claridon by the king and his barons for the purpose of restraining the abuses of the Catholic church. It was important as a matter between the people and the usurpation of the church and clergy; but it hardly touched upon any

civil or political rights of the people. This brought on his difficulty with Thomas A. Becket, the great and powerful archbishop of Canterbury, who was the champion of the church in opposition to the restraints of the charter of Claridon. This distinguished man was a plebeian by birth, and had been raised, by the favor of Henry, first to be the chancellor of the kingdom and then made archbishop. But no gratitude due to his sovereign, nor patriotism or political consideration due to his country and people could alienate him from contending for what he considered the rights and interest of the church. This brought on great difficulties and disturbances in the country and with the king; and the assassination of Becket, which only increased the difficulties of the king. This plebeian, on account of his native powers and abilities, may well be classed with Godwin and Wolsey. The next measure of Henry was the commencement of the conquest of Ireland, which England has never abandoned. The last was a war with Scotland, instigated at the instance of the Saxons, at the instance of the old earls, Edwin and Morecar, in which they were unsuccessful, and resulted in favor of Henry. This long and able reign was brought to a close by the death of Henry II. in the year 1189. The last named king was succeeded by his son, Richard I. This king was not distinguished for any good he produced for his country, but for his gallantry in war and engaging in the crusades of that day, and greatly distinguishing himself in the war at Jerusalem and in the Holy Land. On his way home, in passing through Germany, he was captured and detained for a long time in prison by the emperor, Henry VI., until the people of England raised an enormous sum of money to be paid for his ransom. Soon after his return home in England he proceeded to Normandy to reclaim that and other property on the continent. While engaged in this object he received a wound while taking a place by an assault, of which he soon died, in 1199. By his great gallantry, daring and bravery he had acquired the appellation of the Lion Hearted—*Cœur de Lion*.

Upon the death of Richard, the govern-

ment was assumed by his brother, John, in derogation of the rights of Arthur, the infant son of Richard. It is strange with what inconsistency and want of any constitutional principles that the sovereignty of England was transferred from one person to another during these times. Of the men who succeeded the Conqueror, John was the inferior. He soon had war on the continent in defence of territorial rights there, which were not well managed, and were unsuccessful. His reign lasted seventeen years, during which his reign became more and more unpopular and odious. "His character," says Hume, "is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself and destructive to his people." He had no skill to control or pacify his barons, upon whom depended all movements against him, and no other class of his people could call his government in question. His tyranny and oppression were more keenly felt by his barons, and they, towards the close of his reign, were determined to bring him to an account and curb his despotism. The person most active in accomplishing this was cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and who had been made archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope, without the consent of the king or people; but his views of reformation in political affairs were so acceptable and plausible that he soon acquired an union of the barons in his views. The king was excommunicated; and to the barons' petition for redress and grants of freedom, he returned a decided denial. The barons immediately levied war, which soon brought him to a conference at Runnemed, where the Great Charter was agreed upon; which secured important liberties and privileges to every order of men in England, and has ever since been looked upon by every Briton as the palladium of their liberties. But contrary to received opinion, it is not in any sense the production of Saxon or Anglo-Saxon genius. It is not probable that a single Saxon had anything to do with its production. It was wholly the work of Langton and the Norman barons. The Norman barons had been so long oppressed

by despotism that they began to have some feelings for human rights. Adversity and oppression is a good regulator to produce this sympathy. It was for this reason that the Norman barons in securing the Great Charter had it worded so that in terms, in its general words, in securing their own rights and liberties, was so worded that it embraced the rights and liberties of every class; though none of the people under the class of barons or nobility had any part in its production. It was the beginning of those strifes for chartered and constitutional rights, the growth of British soil, with which the Saxons previous to the conquest had nothing to do; and whose principles of government added nothing to its production.

In the year 1216 this prince died, probably regretted by no one, and was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son Henry III—a prince who in the reign of fifty-six years, one of the longest known in English history, was principally distinguished for his caprice and weakness, and his incapacity to maintain a good government, though as a man he possessed some merits and was distinguished for his piety and devotion. He came to the crown at the immature age of eight years; but was fortunate in falling into the hands of the earl of Pembroke, the marshal of the realm, who was appointed protector; who was a man of great abilities, of integrity to the government, and of patriotism to his country. In the few remaining years of his life, he placed the administration in a prosperous and satisfactory condition, which the government of Henry was never afterwards able to maintain. The reign was frequently distracted by turbulence of the nobility and civil war; the country greatly afflicted with lawlessness, robbery and plunder; and the barons divided into partisan contest against the government. At the same time the people were misguided by the most corrupt and abusive practices of the church of Rome. Towards the close of this reign, in the midst of a civil war, a parliament was called, by the earl of Leicester, which regularly consisted of the barons and great dignitaries of the church, but to which was now sum-

moned or invited two knights from each shire and deputies from the boroughs. This is often referred to by English writers as the commencement of the commons.¹ It is uncertain what rights or authority these new members exercised there, if any, but certain it is there was no house of commons. To refer the origin of that great institution, the British house of commons, to that event as its origin, is like referring the origin of the constitution of the United States to the May Flower. In the year 1272 Henry III died and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Edward I, a prince then in the prime of life,—able and accomplished, and worthy of the position he assumed.

§4.—*Governmental Matters of the Cymry.*
(A. D. 1066—1272.)

Three years before the battle of Hastings and the conquest the distinguished sovereign of Wales, Gruffydd, or Griffith ap Llewellyn, died; and that event would have secured the conquest of Wales to Harold, if it had been at all possible; but against these brave and patriotic people it proved otherwise. Griffith during his sovereignty and very long reign had been much connected with England, both in war and peace. His wife was the sister of the great earls Edwin and Morcar, and this princess soon after she became a widow was married to Harold, and of course at the time of the battle of Hastings was queen of England. The Cymry took but little interest in the question of the conquest by William. They knew that the event would not bring more hostile neighbors, while the Normans courted them as kindred in race and sympathy, and bore towards them none of that personal hostility which they manifested towards the Saxons. But after some years they coveted the possession of Wales as the Saxon had done, which brought on re-

¹ Hume's English History, ch. xii, p. 53, who says: "Deputies from the boroughs, an order of men which, in former ages, had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils." This probably was the first time a class of men, beneath the barons, during the Saxon or Norman rule, ever held any part in connection with the royal government. But it was long after this, before there was anything like a house of commons or the people having any control on the government.

peated wars for many years in its accomplishment. In those ancient times people were accustomed to look upon the sovereignty as a personal right, which descended by inheritance in the same manner as the landed estate. The Cymry held their land in fee simple and in gavel-kind, and were greatly hostile to the feudal system, and therefore did not submit to the principle of primogeniture in the admission of the sovereign, unless the elder son was equally worthy in physical and intellectual abilities. When there was any question between them, in these respects, for the eldest had only a *prima facie* right, an election was had by the people. In such contest for the right to the sovereignty it was customary with the Saxons, and the Normans after them, to coalesce with the defeated candidate and bring on a war; and by these means an internal war was frequently produced. But otherwise the reign of their princes were long and peaceful. Though they were sometimes afflicted with internal and civil war, as unfortunately it has been the case in all nations, but the great sources of their wars were the interference with their right and independence by foreign powers, as the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. Soon after the conquest the Normans absorbed within England that portion of Cumbria or Strath-Clyde south of the Solway Firth, which until then had been Cymric territory; and by that means the Cymry of Wales and those of Scotland became separated, and more distinct.

It was undoubtedly unfortunate for the Welsh, though favorable to individual independence and freedom, that their country was divided into different principalities, and each considered a tribe, and their sovereign as a chief, subordinate to the government of the whole. Whenever one was elected pendragon, or *brenhin Cymru Oll*, such election sometimes brought on a contention and civil war. But it is probable that such contention and civil war was not more frequent with them than with other people with such elective form of government; and therefore should be more attributable to their constitutional form of government, than to any difference of ethnical or nation-

al character. During this period there were several instances of such dissension, which in history were of no particular interest; but in the meantime there were long reigns of princes, who enjoyed at least the usual length of peace, when not interrupted by foreign invasion.

At the conquest North Wales and Powys were under the sovereignty of Bleddin, who was aided to the possession of his throne by Harold, in opposition to the rights of the heirs of Griffith; and this stroke of policy was resorted to by Harold, when he found himself unable to conquer Wales, when aided by all the power of Edward the Confessor. Notwithstanding that Bleddin was thus assisted to his throne against the rightful heirs, he is highly commended as an able and wise sovereign; a man of peaceful inclination and amiable manners; and anxious for the good of his people. About the same time Rhys ab Tewdwr, ab Einion, ab Howel Dda was elected king of South Wales. This chieftain was also a man of much ability and vigor, and was killed in battle at the age of ninety in the war against the Norman, Fitzhamon, who was then seeking a settlement in that country. These two Cambrian chieftains were favored with long and advantageous reigns, though surrounded with many aspirants and conflicts, some by adverse claimants and some by rebels, encouraged and aided by the Normans of England, who were continually pressing them with these difficulties with a view to a conquest. Two instances of the manner in which the Normans sought to obtain possession of Wales, and to compel them to submit to their rule, and enforce upon the Cymry their system of feudal tenures, so objectionable to them, call for a more particular notice.

After the Conqueror in the year 1070 first came to Chester, and took possession of it, as already stated, he put that place and the country in its vicinity into the possession and care of a Norman baron, Hugh d'Avranches, who was surnamed Lupus (the Wolf) for his savage and ravenous disposition; and was created earl of Chester. He was a nephew of the Conqueror, as a son of his sister. This earl had granted

the possession of Gwynedd (a part of North Wales) to a countryman, Robert d'Avranches, distinguished for his rapacious farming, at the annual rental of £40. Gruffydd ab Cynan, who was then king of Gwynedd, had been treacherously taken prisoner, by a competitor under pretense of holding a treaty, and delivered over to earl Lupus, who imprisoned him in chains at Chester Castle. While the king of Gwynedd was thus illegally retained in prison, earl Chester summoned a number of the Norman barons of Mercia and their vassals, and with them made war upon the devoted territory (in 1080); and proceeded to secure his hold, by the erection of a number of strong castles in advantageous positions, as at Bangor, Caernarvon, Abarlleinwg in Mona, and other places; threatening subjugation to the unfortunate and disheartened people. The next year, while such was the state of affairs in North and South Wales, the Conqueror in person led a powerful army into South Wales, procured the liberation of many prisoners, both Normans and Saxons, obtained the homage of king Rhys ab Tewdwr, and subordinate sovereigns; and then, with much military pomp proceeded to Mynyw, and there made rich presents and paid his devotion at the shrine of St. David, which had already acquired celebrity, even among foreigners.

About the year 1089 Rhys ab Tewdwr expelled Einion, on account of some rebellion in which he had been engaged, who took refuge with Jestyn ap Gwrgant, lord of Glamorgan, who engaged him on the promise of his daughter Nesta's hand, to obtain the alliance of the Normans against Rhys. In pursuance of this agreement Robert Fitzhamon and twelve knights and their retainers were introduced into South Wales. Rhys was defeated and slain in battle as already stated. This Rhys ab Tewdwr was the descendant of Rhodri Mowr, and the last regular prince of South Wales, which now became too much under the control of the Normans, and the independence of Wales confided to the north.

Jestyn now refused the promised reward, haughtily returning for answer that he in-

tended his daughter for another man. Einion, indignant, persuaded Fitzhamon that Glamorgan could be easily taken from Jestyn. The beautiful and fertile fields of Glamorgan tempted him to undertake the enterprise so suggested. The neighboring princes and people holding Jestyn in detestation as being the cause of Rhys' death, kept aloof and did not care to prevent the defeat of so treacherous and dishonest a man. Fitzhamon and his Normans succeeded in wresting this fair land from Jestyn, and partitioned it among themselves. It is supposed to be the first land of Cambria that was subjected to feudal tenures; and to its unjust and arbitrary rules.

Upon this example many of the Norman barons became anxious to repeat the enterprise of Fitzhamon; and procured from William Rufus liberty to do so; which was much easier to obtain than to accomplish its object; and which was not accomplished to any considerable extent, for at least two hundred years longer, but defended by the noble energy and best blood of her people. From this time, until the final extinction of the independence of Wales by Edward I. repeated attempts were made every few years, by the efforts of individual lords, as well by every king of England, supported by her whole resources; but repelled by the freedom-loving people with a bravery and devotion unexampled in the history of the world. That story is yet to be told.

It is impossible within the limits assigned to this abstract to do justice to the interesting history of the Cymry within the period from the death of Rhys ab Tewdwr to the invasion of the country by Edward I. It was a continual strife on the part of some of the greatest monarchs of England of the Norman dynasty, to conquer and absorb Wales within their dominion, and a patriotic devotion on the part of the Cymry to maintain their independence and freedom. During that time the country enjoyed the long reign of a number of able and distinguished princes: as Gruffydd ab Cynan, Owen Gwynedd, Rhys ab Gruffydd (Lord Rhys), Llewellyn ab Iorwerth, and Llewellyn ab Gruffydd, who were all talented men and distinguished princes. Never was

a country, for so long a period, sustained with more ability and patriotism against the overwhelming power of the Norman kings of England to conquer and oppress their country, than that which so eminently distinguished these princes, especially in the repeated attempts of that very astute and able monarch, Henry II. It is also surprising to see, while this war of conquest was progressing, the absence of that personal prejudice and hostilities which usually characterizes the conflict of two people. Not only was their intercourse frequently marked by friendly associations, but also by frequent romantic marriages. Fitzhamon, after the conquest of the territory of Jestyn, took his daughter, Nesta, in marriage. Henry I, the son of the Conqueror, while prince, took another Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ab Tudor, in a pretended marriage at least; and from it came, as their son, that very distinguished man and statesman, the earl of Gloucester, who was married to Sibil, the only daughter of Fitzhamon and Nesta. Such alliances between the great Norman houses and those of Cambria became frequent; and many of them are the origin of the most distinguished houses of the English nobility, and intimately connected with their sovereigns. But notwithstanding the merits of her people, Cambria was bound to yield eventually to this continual invasion of the men of the continent, as Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as the continual dropping of water will wear an adamant.

The story of Cambrian independence, from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Edward I, when it was extinguished under Llewellyn ab Gruffydd, is complicated and difficult, and not to be fully told within the space allowed this work. That period covered more than two hundred years, during which every effort was made by the powerful Anglo-Norman monarchy to subject Wales and her people to their unconditional control. During that time the Cymry were harassed and annoyed by every conceivable difficulties. For six hundred years they had been invaded, harassed and reduced by the continual wars of the Saxons, and now they

were to meet the powers of Normandy added to the accumulated wealth and power of the Saxons. They were not only compelled to meet the war of the Normans, but also that of the Danes and other marauders, who in those times continued their depredations, as well as frequent intestine civil war of the adverse claims of chieftains, fostered and supported by their hostile neighbors. William the Conqueror twice invaded Wales with all his powers; first in 1070, after his successful reduction of the north of England, when he invaded North Wales by the way of Chester, and proceeded as far as the straits of Menai; but without holding anything permanently beyond the Dee. Again in 1081 he invested South Wales by way of Glamorgan, with a large army, and proceeded west as far as St. Davids, with about the same success. On these two routes William and his successors erected numerous vast castles of unexampled size and strength, with a view of eventually holding these brave people in their subjection. William Rufus twice carried on such war with no better success. In 1114 Henry I became enraged at the obstinacy of the people of North Wales and Powys in resisting his demands, he avowed the determination to exterminate them, and for that purpose raised one of the largest armies of the times, said to contain 120,000 men. This vast army, after marching into Wales, gradually melted away before their opponents, and the people of Snowdon were still left to enjoy their independence.

In the long reign of Henry III three different attempts were made to produce the conquest of Wales; and it is said that eighteen of such invasions transpired between A. D. 1070 and 1420, in which were lost over a million of men and incalculable amount of property and human suffering. But there is a factitious interest in the last conflict of Henry III with the Welsh, in consequence of its connection with the earl of Leicester, and both prince Edward and prince Llewellyn being engaged in it; as well as it being the last before the final conquest of Edward I.

After the battle of Lewes, when king

Henry and his son, prince Edward, fell into the hands and custody of the earl of Leicester, both parties drew to the borders of Wales, probably to gather partisan support from the people of that country. While there in 1265 prince Edward made his escape, and rallied the strength of the royal party in the valley of the Severn and Avon, where soon occurred the battle of Evesham, in which that talented and able man, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, lost his life, and his party all hopes of further resistance to arbitrary power, and of popular reform. In that battle a large amount of Welsh troops, engaged on the side of Leicester, lost their lives; and prince Llewellyn, their commander, notwithstanding its unfortunate issue, became for life attached to the memory of Leicester, and the fortune of his house. That battle for some years settled the power of the government in royal hands; and by subserviency to it, peace was restored for a few years both to England and Wales. During that time prince Edward embraced the opportunity for a crusade to the Holy Land. In the meantime, two or three years before the prince's return, his father, Henry III. died, A. D. 1272, in the midst of that calm from war and political strife; but as it respects Wales it was only that calm which precedes a greater and more deadly storm.

The most interesting subject connected with the history of the Cymry is their attachment and devotion to literature, and the manner in which they supported and defended it against the revulsion produced by the dark ages of Europe, when literature and learning were almost extinguished: when the Ancient Britons—the Cymry, occupying a mere border of Western Britain, resolutely defended and protected it while the Saxons and Danes were making their greatest exertion by war, conquest and plunder to exterminate them. But that they did sustain it is proved by their productions in literature in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and fully sustained by the noble vindication of Sharon Turner. But this is specially supported by that wonderful revival of literature in the twelfth,

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as fully sustained by their numerous scholars; and especially proved and vindicated by Mr. Thomas Stephens and Prof. M. Arnold. This, however, is more properly the subject of another chapter,—the condition of the people.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD I. TO
THE END OF THE PERIOD. A. D. 1272—
1485.

§1—*The Reign of Edward I. and Conquest of Wales.*

The reign of Edward forms a striking period, and produces a new era in the history of England. Of the many things that are so admirable and desirable in the English constitution and government, there is scarcely any whose origin is earlier than that period. In the words of Macaulay, "Here commences the history of the English nation." It was after that the commons first made their appearance as a power in the government; and the house of commons became a separate branch and an institution of the government itself. Under the Saxons, the people were nothing—so far as the government was concerned, all was in the hands of the king and his hereditary nobility. Under the Conqueror and his earliest successors it was no better. It was by a suggestion of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a foreigner—a Frenchman by birth and education, towards the close of the reign of Henry III., and just before the commencement of our present period, that any member of the borough or common people were first summoned to parliament—a measure strange to Anglo-Saxons—and even then it was uncertain what their function in parliament was, whether merely to represent the condition of the country to parliament, but no constituent part of it. But what was so important, then commenced that admirable system of courts and administration of law, which has since become the admiration of the whole world.

And in connection with this idea, we

may recall to our memory that it was Edward who first by treaty severed England's connection with Normandy; a measure so wise and advantageous to the interest of Englishmen. Nor should it be forgotten that it was after Edward's time that English literature first made its appearance with Gower and Chaucer. It was then that the English people had passed the night of the *dark ages*, produced by the barbarian conquest of civilized Europe by the north; and introduced to the morning of a more auspicious day.

About two years had transpired after the death of his father before Edward I returned to England from the crusade and took possession of the government. He immediately applied himself, with great vigor, to a thorough administration of the government; and especially that of justice. He was a man of extraordinary abilities by nature and acquirements; and conferred upon his country a rule excelled by none of the monarchs of the Norman or Plantagenet line. After his administration was duly settled, the first object that attracted his attention was his relation with Wales. Llewellyn ab Gruffydd was then prince of Wales, who was about the same age as Edward—well acquainted with each other; and had been frequently engaged as opponents in arms and friends in peace. Llewellyn had been elected prince in 1246; and between that time and his coalition with the earl of Leicester in the late rising of a large portion of the English nobility against the arbitrary measures of their king Henry, prince Llewellyn had been successfully engaged in repelling two powerful invasions made by Henry III upon his country, which were wonderfully defeated by this able prince and his gallant people. In some of these transactions Edward actively participated; and these, as well as those in which Llewellyn had been engaged with the earl of Leicester, Edward did not now, in 1275, probably, either forget or forgive.

Llewellyn must have been well aware that his country was an object always coveted by the government of England, and that he himself, as the most powerful and potent vassal of the crown, was an object

of jealousy and distrust. He was therefore desirous of maintaining his association with the English nobility; and his kind and friendly intercourse and coalition with the great, but unfortunate, Leicester induced him, in grateful remembrance, to solicit the hand of his daughter, Eleanor de Montfort, then residing with her widowed mother, the sister of king Henry III and the aunt of Edward, at a convent in France. The king of France, Philip III, was her feudal guardian; to him and to the countess' mother was Llewellyn's emissary sent, with a request that the agreement between him and Eleanor should be no longer delayed. The arrangement was consummated with an understanding that the marriage should take place, first by proxy in France, and then personally in Wales. This was all so arranged.

In the meantime Edward had repeatedly demanded that Llewellyn should come to England and personally do homage to him as his feudal vassal. From time to time the prince excused himself for not complying with the summons, on the score that it would be personally unsafe to him, without some guaranty from Edward for his personal safety. This the latter declined to give. This altercation produced still greater hostilities, which seriously threatened war. Edward had his emissaries in France, who disclosed to him the intended marriage, and the time when Eleanor would embark for Wales. He immediately made an arrangement to intercept her, and take her as a prisoner. When the prince was informed that his intended bride was a prisoner in the hands of the king of England at London, his indignation, as might be supposed, hardly knew any bounds. He now demanded hostages for his personal safety in appearing before the king; and that his consort should previously be set at liberty. Perhaps Hume speaks the truth when he says: "The king, having now brought the state to a full settlement, was not displeased with this occasion of exercising his authority, and subduing entirely the principality of Wales. He refused all Llewellyn's demands."¹

¹ Hume's Hist. Eng., ch. xlii. p. 70.

Edward, now more fierce, summoned the prince to appear before him to take his oath and do him homage as his vassal; and immediately proceeded to levy an army and resources for a contest. He resorted to every species of annoyance, in order to insure the success of the conflict. He procured, by the authority of the Pope,² the excommunication of Llewellyn from the church, for his neglect to perform his feudal duties. In June, 1277, the king crossed the Dee into Wales with a powerful army, backed and supported with all the resources of England; and proceeded with caution along the northern coast of the country to the Menai straits. At every port his fleet was in readiness to aid his progress. He brought to his aid, also, an old resort of the enemies of the Cymry, which often preyed upon them, as history shows it has done upon other people; and that was to encourage and foster any dissensions found among them. At that time three of Llewellyn's brothers, David, Owen and Rhodri, were complaining that Llewellyn withheld from them their rights in the administration, and their property in the country. This dissension Edward encouraged with the promise of redress and great reward for their aid in his expedition; and David was now able to render him great services by his knowledge of the country and experience in such affairs. All the powers and machination of Edward were now brought close around Llewellyn, and the disparity between their relative forces left to the prince no recourse but to retreat to the difficulties of the mountains of Snowdon, his native fortresses. Here the king cautiously refrained from an immediate attack, but let the sterility and rudeness of the mountains do his work. There was soon nothing left for the prince to do, except to come to the best terms he could procure. He began to feel the hardships of his surroundings, and he and his people saw nothing but inevitable famine before them. All this induced a settlement of the conflict, by the treaty of Aberconway, which, under the circumstances, was highly favorable to the prince, and would in-

duce one to believe that the sagacity of Edward saw that there might yet be reverses in case he drove his brave adversaries to extremes. By the treaty the prince was to pay Edward fifty thousand pounds as a reparation of damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all the barons of Wales, except four near Snowdon, to swear fealty to the same crown; and he was reinstated in his principality—all matters in controversy compromised, and his brothers satisfactorily provided for.

Edward, upon the performance of the other parts of the treaty, remitted to the prince the payment of the stipulated fifty thousand pounds, which probably the country was very illy able to pay. Soon after this (December, 1277) the king publicly announced that he had taken the prince of Wales under his protection, until the ensuing February, who was committed, with his retinue, to the guardian escort of a large number of the nobility and high officers of the crown. During this time Llewellyn and Eleanor, the fair daughter of the great earl of Leicester, were married at Worcester,³ in the presence of the kings of England and Scotland, and that of a large company of the nobility. At length this long intended and happy match, in which the kings of England and France took so deep a part and interest, was consummated; and the parties to it retired to Aber, the prince's residence in Wales, with the hopes, but delusive, that the peace, now happily attained, would be of long duration.

Wales was now surrounded by the greedy Anglo-Norman barons, who were called lords of the marches, or guardians of the lines between the two countries, who hungered to overstep their lines and make new territories their feudal manors. Encroachments were made and injuries committed; and possibly acts of retaliation were committed. In June and July following, the prince complained to the king, in numerous letters, of various wrongs done to him

² Florence of Worcester, *Chron. A. D.* 1278, p. 358. Authors differ as to where the marriage took place, some say at Worcester, others at London, and others at Windsor; and they do not agree as to the precise day when it took place.

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, T. 1, p. 86.

and his people by officers of the crown. The king in reply wrote temperately and kindly to the prince, appointed commissioners to make inquiry and report, and he himself, in August, visited the marches, when Llewellyn met him as a friend, and peace remained apparently confirmed.

In July, 1280, the amiable princess wrote a letter to the king, begging him not to credit any reports of disaffection either on her part or that of her husband; and assured him of their kind recollection of the honors he had done them at Worcester. Still later in the year the princess sent another letter, earnestly interceding the king to release her brother, Aylmer, who had been taken prisoner with her while on their way from France, and ever since retained in captivity. While these matters were thus pending, the bonds of peace between England and Wales were broken by the death of this amiable woman, June 19th. 1284.⁴

The approaches to the coming conflict are well stated by Mr. Hume:⁵ "Complaints of iniquities soon arose on the side of the vanquished; the English, insolent on their easy and bloodless victory, oppressed the inhabitants of the district which was yielded to them; the lords of the marches committed with impunity all kinds of violence on their Welsh neighbors; new and more severe terms were imposed on Llewellyn himself. * * * * There were other personal insults which raised the indignation of the Welsh, and made them determined rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be so much superior, than to bear oppression from the haughty victors. Prince David, seized with the national spirit, made peace with his brother, and promised to concur in the defense of public liberty. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist."

To the overwhelming force of this army Edward again resorted to every other means to aid it, in making sure of his conquest. Again the excommunication of the Pope was issued against the prince and his people. In the midst of these proceedings, and unlike so many examples of that age of so many war and fighting bishops, the archbishop of Canterbury honestly exerted himself, with great diligence, to compromise matters and preserve peace. But between Edward's determination to conquer and the prince's resolution to preserve the independence and freedom of his people, and not to sacrifice either his or their dignity, the good archbishop was powerless. Many offers were made to induce the prince to yield; such as large estates in England with ample provisions for him and his brother David, and their families and people, upon consideration that the prince should surrender and give up Snowdon, and that David should depart on a crusade and not return to England without the king's consent. The patriotic prince seemed to have no secret or interest of his own independent of his people; and to the council, composed of their leading and wise men, were these terms submitted. The unanimity and spirited manner in which these propositions were rejected, both by the prince and his people, would do honor to Grecians in their better days. The result of war was now inevitable.

A number of battles were now fought in various places upon the borders of the contested territory, fierce and bloody, but incisive; but sufficient to satisfy Edward that the contest he had entered upon would require extraordinary exertion, and induce him to call on England for extraordinary recruit of his army and provisions. While affairs rested in this situation, Llewellyn was called to the valley of the Wye. While there, near Pont Orewyn, he received an invitation from some man of note and power, under pretense of friendship, but of real treachery, to meet him at a lonely place in the valley, as he was dissatisfied with his connection with Edward. Having placed a strong detachment at the bridge, of whom he said, when it was intimated they might

⁴ Florence of Wor. Ibid. Miss Williams' Hist. Wales, ch. xxii, p. 404.

⁵ 2 Home Hist. Eng., ch. xiii, p. 77.

be fiercely attacked: "There's no fear of them; there are men there who will hold their position against all the armies of England." Taking with him but one attendant, he descended on horseback, but without armor, to the appointed dell, since called Cwm Llewellyn. While here the bridge was attacked by Edmund de Mortimer and John Gifford at the head of their forces. These were repulsed; but a party of Gifford's men crossed the river at a ford below and came upon Llewellyn unaware, who was attacked by some straggling and unknown persons, who mortally wounded him. The prince fell from his horse, and the men who attacked and wounded him, not knowing who he was, left him there to die. A friar of a neighboring monastery, either with or without design, happened to be at hand, and came to the prince while dying and administered to him the consolation of religion. The detachment at the bridge being now attacked on both sides were defeated, and a party of the enemy returning to where the prince was slain, discovered who he was, cut off his head, which, with the papers found on his person, was sent to Edward at Conway. This was received by the king with great rejoicing and triumph. The head of this patriot and hero was sent to London, and with becoming barbarity of the times placed on a pike and elevated to the top of a turret of the Tower. Thus perished, December 22d, 1282, in the forty-eighth year of his age, one of the most noted and long to be remembered personages of history; and, as said by the learned Selden, "as great and worthy a prince as ever the third part of this island was ruled by."

An assembly of the leading men of the Cymry, upon hearing of the death of their lamented Llewellyn, received David as his successor, who, as prince, entered upon the administration; but was able to hold it only for a few months. He was never able to command the confidence and respect which had been accorded to Llewellyn; nor could the people forget that he once acted the traitor, and entered the service of Edward against his own country and people. The difficulties which had sur-

rounded Llewellyn on every side now beset his brother David. He was soon besieged in Dolbadarn castle, into which he had retreated as his greatest safety. The fall of the castle became apparently inevitable, and was surrendered to the earl of Pembroke in the following April; and in the meantime David and his family had made their escape, and were vigilantly pursued from hill to hill, forest to forest, enduring great hardship and suffering. In June David, with his family, consisting of his wife, seven daughters and two sons, were betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and given up to Edward. And now Wales ceased to exist as an independent country; and the Cymry, after a glorious and interesting resistance, for so many centuries, to the wrongs and injustice of Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman oppression, were compelled, by the inexorable course of Providence, to yield up their independent nationality.

Now commenced that course of proceedings, under Edward I, which annexed and made Wales and her people a part of England. In effect it was only the returning of a part to its own, for it is probable that at that very time there were more kindred blood of the Ancient Britons in England than in Wales.

In September, 1283, prince David was brought to trial before a parliament summoned by Edward at Shrewsbury, where he was condemned and executed as a traitor. In the usual barbarous style of the times, he was hung, drawn, beheaded and quartered, his dismembered parts sent for exhibition to four different cities of England, and his head sent to London and exultingly placed in the elevated position, along side of that of his brother Llewellyn.

Upon these untoward events many of the Cymric chiefs, in despair, surrendered to Edward and his government; but many more stood aloof—were eventually outlawed and dispossessed of their lands and property, and sought refuge in France, where they honorably distinguished themselves in the military and other service of that country.

Edward, though like his ancestor, Wil-

liam I, unscrupulous as to the justice of his conquest, was wise and judicious in his management. Though rigorous in enforcing his rule, he did much to reconcile the people to his supremacy, and to make the conquest acceptable and easy. In accomplishing this, he spent more than a year in Wales, among his new people, in reconciling a brave and freedom loving people to their new condition. Most of the laws and customs of the country he respected and preserved, which were not inconsistent with the operation of the English government. It is said that he promised the Cymry a government under a native prince; which to them was very flattering and acceptable. In the midst of winter his queen, Eleanor, was sent for from London to come to Cernarvon castle, there to give birth to an expected prince. His second son, Edward of Cernarvon, was born April 25th, 1284, his first son, Alfonso, was then living. Some time after this the king, at an assembly of the principal men of Wales at Rhuddlan, announced to them that, in accordance with their repeated request to be under the separate government of their own prince, he was now ready to comply with their request on condition of their acceptance and obedience. The chieftains assured him that if the prince was of their own nation they would accept and obey him. The king said he would give them one born in Wales, unable to speak a word of English, and whose life and conversation no man could impugn. And it is said that upon the chieftains receiving the promise by acclamation, he presented to them his recently born son as such prince. In connection with this, there is a controverted legend. It is said that in presenting the new prince, the king flatteringly made use of the Welsh words, "eich dyn," your man, when Anglicised; which have become a motto to the prince's arms. This has been controverted by saying the words were not Welsh, but Teutonic; and that the three ostrich feathers and fillet belonging to the prince's coat-of-arms were taken by the Black Prince at the battle of Cressy, from the king of Bohemia, and the words are "Ich dien" (I serve). Which of these legends is true

may be controverted; but certain it is that the first words pronounced in the hearing of any Welshman would be readily understood; but doubtfully so if pronounced to a Teuton.

It is also said that the Welsh chieftains at Rhuddlan expected that the crown of England would go to Alfonso, then alive, and that Edward of Cernarvon would come to them with a separate principality and government. However all this may be, certain it is that ever since the eldest son of the king of England conventionally becomes the prince of Wales; and that the principality has been as fully absorbed within the crown and parliament of England as any other part of her territory; and that her people have become so different throughout Britain, that probably at this day there are more persons of true Cymric blood—descendants of the Ancient Britons—in London and Liverpool than in Wales.

The wisdom and judicious forbearance which characterized the conduct of Edward towards his new subjects were frequently disregarded and violated by his officers. They were grasping and unscrupulous in taking the property and rights of others whenever they could; and in the discharge of their official duties they were overbearing and supercilious, and this was what the Cymry never endured but with indignity. It was not long before many causes of complaint and injustice existed, for which it was difficult to obtain any redress. In the ten or twelve years succeeding the conquest these causes of complaint became so intolerable to the Welsh that they were driven to retaliation and insurrection. In the south the malcontents were conducted by Rhys ap Meredith, a prince of great abilities and conduct in war; in the north they were directed by the young Madoc ap Llewellyn. It was astonishing with what skill and success these princes managed their desperate cause; fought great battles with success against some of the best generals that England could bring against them; often in success under the most adverse circumstances, a vivid sense of their wrongs and oppression

buoying them and their people to desperate exertions to sustain their rights and recover their freedom. But all was in vain with such vast power and odds against them. After a gallant and well contested struggle, these princes were compelled to yield to Edward's vast resources and power, and were taken prisoners; Rhys was taken to York, there tried and executed as a traitor, in the cruel and barbarous manner of the day. Prince Madoc was taken prisoner, and confined in the tower in London, where after a number of years he expired.

Edward, while engaged in an unjust war, in the vain hope of a conquest, with Scotland, died A. D. 1307, and was succeeded by his feeble son, Edward of Carnarvon, as Edward II.

§2.—*From the Accession of Edward II to that of Henry VI. A. D. 1307 to 1422.*

We are no longer to follow the Cymry, as the Ancient Britons, as a separate and independent nationality. All of that people south of a line drawn from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tweed have become annexed to and a part of the government of England, all on the island north of that line have become a part of Scotland, and of the Scottish people. With these two countries and nationalities have these ancient people become united, and their identity only to be traced as a part of the people of England and Scotland—a process that has been going on since the coming of the Saxons.

At the death of Edward I he had left to his successor that war which he had for some years been prosecuting against Scotland, with a hope of conquest as he had succeeded in Wales, with equal destitution of justice, but which that brave people resisted with great devotion to their country's rights and freedom. In that war William Wallace signalized his patriotic devotion to his country in a manner which commends itself to the admiration of the world. That war was soon closed by the great battle of Bannockburn, so fatal to Edward II, and so glorious to the Scots. No great event signalized the reign of this weak and inefficient monarch, which was closed after a

period of twenty years by a revolting murder, committed by his own officers and people. He was succeeded by his son, then a minor, Edward III, in a reign of much vigor and success, which continued for fifty years (A. D. 1327—1377). This Edward was frequently engaged in war with Scotland and France, as well as civil wars at home, frequently arising from arbitrary measures and excessive taxation. In connection with these wars, two battles were particularly noticeable, which took place in France, where a considerable number of Welsh troops were engaged for Edward, who had now become his subjects.

Edward had now been on the throne nearly twenty years, when he determined to invade France for the purpose of protecting his rights in the province of Guienne; and which culminated in the battle of Cressy. He started upon this expedition with an army of upwards of thirty thousand, of whom ten thousand were Welsh infantry. He landed in France on the peninsula on which Cherbonowry now stands, and from thence traversed the whole length of Normandy from the west to the northeast; everywhere, as was the miserable and barbarous custom of the day, plundering and marauding upon the country, as was then the practice, sacking every town that gave them any opposition, and plundering and taking what they chose; often slaughtering the people and leaving the town in ashes. Soon Philip VI, of France, with a large army, came in opposition to him. He moved on, crossing all the rivers, the Seine, and at length the Somme below Abbeville. Philip was now threatening him with a large army, at least more than three times his own number. Edward saw that a final crisis must soon come, and prepared to meet it by selecting an advantageous situation near the village of Cressy. Here he had his army most advantageously posted and arranged. In his incautious pursuit, the king of France came upon him in the latter part of the day, with a large and heterogeneous mass, made up of various materials, French, Genoese, Germans, Savoyard and others, with at least three crowned heads and their retainers, of whom

the king of Bohemia was one. These attacked the English in a confused and irregular mass. The battle was soon changed to a confused and irretrievable defeat. When the firmness of the English army had put their enemy at a stand, a body of Welsh infantry, seeing the situation of affairs, advanced through the ranks of the men-at-arms and archers, who made way for them,¹ and, with what some historians have called large knives, but in reality the Roman short sword, came upon the French when in this stand and disorder, and fell upon the very élite of their army. In some parts of the battle there was some hard fighting, and the prince of Wales, the king's son, Edward, who was then not over sixteen years of age, but afterwards celebrated as the Black Prince, was thought to be in danger, and word was sent to his father, the king, for aid. The king, from an elevated position had been viewing the contest, and seeing its probable success, sent word back that he was confident that his son would show himself worthy of the honors recently conferred upon him, and that he would be able, without his assistance, to repel the enemy. This being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh confidence, who made a more vigorous effort upon the French, in which the count of Alençon was killed, and their whole line of cavalry thrown into disorder. Then it was that the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng. The defeat soon became complete, and no quarter was that day given by the victors.² Such was the celebrated battle of Cressy, [A. D. 1346.]

About ten years after this Edward was again engaged in another war with France, and his army was under the able command of his son, the Black Prince; and the battle of Poitiers took place. One army had been sent to Calais which passed into Normandy, and another small army had been dispatched under the Black Prince to the Garonne for the protection of the province of Guienne. The prince had been very

successful in taking many places, with much plunder and pillage. The success of this campaign induced the prince to try another in the direction of Paris, with a view to join the main army in Normandy. Finding it difficult to cross the Logee, as the bridges were all broken down, he made his way to the vicinity of Poitiers on one of the southern branches of that river. His army was exceedingly small, said not to exceed twelve thousand, and not one-half were English. The king of France, with an overwhelming army, was drawing closely around the prince, who plainly saw there was no relief for him except in the result of a battle. The cardinal of Perigord, with the prelates of the church, took a great interest in endeavoring to prevent the effusion of blood, entered into negotiations for peace, which were ineffective; and this delayed the battle at least one day, which the prince diligently improved in fortifying his position. He was so flanked on either side with hedges that there was no approach to him except through a narrow lane. The hedges were ambuscaded with a party of archers. When the French approached in battle these archers did deadly execution in perfect security. The French, much discouraged by this unequal conflict, with diminished numbers, reached their enemies at the head of this lane, where the prince of Wales was posted at the head of his men, ready for the reception. Here they were discomfited and overthrown, one of their marshals was slain, and another taken prisoner, and the remainder of the detachment still in the lane, exposed to the shots of their foe, without being able to make any resistance, recoiled upon their own army and put the whole into disorder. At that moment another detachment of the prince's force attacked the French in flank, which brought on greater confusion and alarm. Some of the French officers withdrawing with the king's young son from danger, were taken to have fled, which gave a general panic to the whole of that part of the army, who imagined all was lost, and thought no more of fighting. Another portion of the French army was with and under the special charge of king John him-

1 Froissart's Chronicles, ch. cxxix, p. 82.

2 2 Hume Hist. Eng., ch. xv, p. 227.

self, which was still more numerous than prince Edward's army, being stricken with dismay by the unexpected flight of their companions, were now attacked by the whole of the prince's force. A body of German cavalry, placed in front for the protection of the French king, were attacked with great impetuosity, gave way, and king John was left almost alone to the fury of the battle. In the midst of great danger he was taken alive, as the English were anxious to do. The battle now ceased after a great but unequal slaughter. The royal prisoner was first taken to Bordeaux, and thence to London; and the humanity and kindness shown him by the prince of Wales did him more honor than the glory of his victory. The prince, proceeding with his prisoner through London, exhibited his usual kindness, humanity and meekness which always characterized him—he himself was plainly mounted on a small pony, while his royal prisoner was splendidly mounted on a fine charger by his side.

Edward III continued his reign about thirty years longer, in all fifty years; with an able and vigorous administration in all the departments of his government. He was frequently if not always engaged in war, either with Scotland or France. These wars were not always successful, though his panegyrists speak of them as glorious; though it is doubtful whether he left English rule enlarged either in Scotland or France. His administration of the law was firm and progressive. Many statutes were adopted improving the law, and in consequence of which he has been sometimes called the English Justinian. This Edward died A. D. 1377; and his renowned son, the Black Prince,³ departed this world about a year previous to his father, who was succeeded by the eldest son of the prince, as Richard II, who reigned twenty-two years without any distinction which commended him—with frequent commotions and rebellions; and was finally deposed and murdered, A. D. 1399.

A remark made by Froissart as to Ed-

ward II, is equally applicable to Richard II: "We must remark," says he, "a common opinion of the English, of which there has been proof since the time of the gallant king Arthur, that between two valiant kings of England there is always one weak in mind and body."⁴ During this king's reign there was more civil commotion and war at home than abroad; and finally he was deposed by an act of parliament, impeaching him with tyranny and usurpation of power. The sovereignty was then usurped by Henry the duke of Lancaster, as Henry IV.⁵

This Henry, known as Henry Plantagenet, and sometimes surnamed Bolingbroke, enjoyed a rule of fourteen years, without any noticeable event, except such as went to defending his crown. There are, however, two events worthy of notice: a border war with some Scottish chieftains, which involved him in a quarrel with the Piercys of Northumberland; and the rebellion under Owen Glendower, Glendowerdu, in Wales.

After the death of Llewellyn and the conquest of Wales by Edward III, the leading families then became very much divided in their interest and association; and this was fostered and encouraged by the English government; and it was one of the means by which that conquest was accomplished. Those who supported the English interest were caressed and fostered by them; but many of the patriotic persons who faithfully adhered to Llewellyn and the fallen destiny of their country, fled for safety to Brittany and France, where they became distinguished. One of the latter is particularly noticed by Froissart, as Evan of Wales. He had been specially noticed and entrusted by the king of France, and

⁴ Froissart's Chronicles, ch. 1, p. 15.

⁵ Richard II had no issue, and was the only heir of Edward the Black Prince, the oldest son of Edward III. The second son died without issue, and his third son was then represented by Edmund Mortimer, the earl of March. The fourth son was represented by this duke of Lancaster; and the fifth son was represented by the duke of York. So that the earl of March, Mortimer, had a better title than Lancaster. But this latter usurper silenced Mortimer's claim by imprisoning him; and no serious contest was made to the claim until the time of Henry VI, and Edward IV, in the war of York and Lancaster; or that of the White and Red Roses.

³ The Prince of Wales was so named from his black armor.

put in command of important expeditions. While in Spain in the service of the French king, the earl of Pembroke was brought as a prisoner to where Evan happened to be. He challenged the earl as to the wrongs that had been done him in Wales, who said in reply: "Who are you that thus addresses me?" Evan answered: "I am Evan, son and heir of prince Edmund of Wales, whom your king wickedly and wrongfully put to death, and disinherited me. I may through the assistance of my good lord, the king of France, perhaps be able to apply a remedy to all this; and I shall certainly do so, * * * * for by your father and other evil counsellors was my lord and father betrayed, which ought to anger me; and of which I will be revenged if I have an opportunity." Upon this Sir Thomas St. Aubin, the earl's knight, interfered, and said: "Evan, if you mean that my lord or his father have done you any wrong, or owe you homage or anything else, throw down your glove, and you will find one ready enough to take it up." To this Evan replied: "You are a prisoner; I shall gain no honor in calling you out, for you are not your own master, but belong to those who have taken you; but when you have gained your liberty, I shall speak out more boldly; for things shall not remain as they now are." After various important services rendered by Evan to Charles V, king of France, while engaged in the siege of Mortaign, in Normandy, Evan was assassinated by one John Lamb in the employ of the English. Froissart says of him: "Evan of Wales was a valient knight, a good man; his regard increased so fast that evil befell him, for which it was a great pity. He was retained by king John, under whom he bore arms at the battle of Poitiers, when he fortunately escaped. On the renewal of the war, he returned to France, and conducted himself so well that he was much praised and loved by the king of France, and by all the great lords."⁶

On the other hand we have an account of Howel y Twyall, or Howell of the Battle-axe, from the ponderous weapon he wielded, who on account of his good conduct at the battle of Poitiers was knighted by the Black Prince on the field of battle. It is said that this knight, by his services in these wars, amassed immense wealth, and retired, living in great splendor at his castle in Wales. From the death of Llewellyn to the elevation of Richmond as Henry VII, many interesting episodes may be narrated of distinguished Welshmen, which the compass of my work will not admit. But the part acted by Owen Glendower is so deeply connected with the history of both England and Wales, that it cannot be entirely overlooked.

Owen Glendower was a marked man of that age. He was born about the year 1348, and the 28th of May is commemorated as that of his birthday. His father was Gruffydd, the native prince of Powys, and his mother was Helen, daughter of Eleanor Goch, and grand-daughter of Catherine the daughter of Llewellyn, the last Cymric prince of Wales. He thus was a descendant of the princes of Powys on his father's side; and the only heir on his mother's side, from Llewellyn the prince of Cymru Oil. He appears to have received a finished education for the day at an English university, studied law at the Inns of Court in London, and became a barrister;⁷ but for some unknown cause he chose to retire to his estate in Wales, where he lived in the midst of much wealth and splendor. In the

time in which he was held by the French; and also says: "One of his relations, John Wynne, celebrated for his graceful deportment, and surnamed *le poussetout d'amours*, served with him in this war, having, in the like manner, under his banner, a small troop of Welsh exiles."

⁷ The estimation in which Glendower was held in Shakespeare's time, by men in whom his memory was fresh, may be seen by his play of Henry IV., Act iii. Scene i.

"Mortimer."

"In faith, he is a worthy gentleman,
Exceedingly well read, and profited
In strange concealmments, valiant as a lion,
And wondrous affable, and as bountiful
As mines of India."

And in Act i. Scene 3. Henry IV is made to say

"Thou dost belie him, Percy, thou dost belie him.
He never did encounter with Glendower:
I tell thee,
He durst as well have met the devil alone,
As Owen Glendower for an enemy."

⁶ See Froissart's Chronicles, ch. cccvi, xi. T. 2d ch. vi and xvii, pp. 209, 212, 231 and 239, where an interesting history is given of this Evan of Wales. Thierry (Vol. 2d, Hist. Norm. Con., p. 282) also bears testimony of "Yolan of Wales," and the high es-

then division of parties, he took an active part in favor of Richard II; and was taken prisoner with his sovereign at Flint Castle, by the orders of Bolingbroke, now earl of Lancaster, who by the deposition and murder of that unfortunate sovereign was fast becoming king of England as Henry IV. Not long after the ascension of this Henry, while Owen was living peaceably and happily on his estate, a neighboring lord, lord Grey de Ruthyn, emboldened by having been an opponent of Richard, laid claim to a part of the estate which Owen insisted was his own. Grey took forcible possession of the disputed territory; and Glendower laid the case before parliament; but among so strong partisans of Lancaster, there was no redress for a man who had been the decided friend of Richard. Soon after this a summons was issued for Owen, as a feudal baron to attend king Henry in his expedition against Scotland; and this writ was entrusted to lord Grey to be served, who purposely delayed it until it was too late. For this neglect to attend, Owen was by his enemies charged with treason. The matter was debated in parliament; and notwithstanding that Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, exonerated him of any blame, and warned them against the impolicy of provoking a man of his character and influence with the people of Wales, the majority by their decision intimated that they did not regard him or his people, nor his demand of justice. Thereupon Grey was authorized to seize upon Owen's whole estate, as forfeited to the crown for high treason.

Thus driven into rebellion, Glendower proclaimed himself prince of Wales; and his countrymen, indignant at the treatment and injustice he had received, rallied to his standard. The Welsh bards sung his praises, and the righteousness and glory of their cause; and derided with equal contempt the ridicule attempted to be heaped upon them by the English. Glendower invaded and seized upon the estate of lord Grey; and in turn the latter, aided by the king, by surprise, ravaged and burned the estate of Glendower. Now rallying his men, he ravaged and burnt the town of his enemy, Ruthyn, and made such progress

in the war, that the king in person took the field against him. A long contest ensued, in which his old enemy, lord Grey, was made prisoner, and paid for his ransom 10,000 marks, and married Jane, the fourth daughter of the chieftain. In the next campaign, which was very active, he took a number of places in England, defeated the forces sent against him; took Sir Edmund Mortimer, a member of the royal family, prisoner, who married another daughter of the prince, and was treated so kindly by him that he became Glendower's partisan, and arranged for him an alliance with the Percys of Northumberland. This confederacy agreed to divide the kingdom into three parts among themselves; the earl of Northumberland was to have all north of the Trent; Glendower all west of the Severn; and Edward Mortimer, the rightful heir to the crown, and the nephew to Sir Edmund, was to have all the rest. In the year 1403 Owen, in pursuance of this coalition, was pursuing a very active and successful campaign, when the allied army under Henry Percy (Hotspur) and Douglas, with only 400 of Owen's men, were besieging Shrewsbury, when the army of Henry IV made its appearance unexpectedly. Percy, disdaining to wait for the arrival of Glendower with his re-enforcements, hastily withdrew from the siege of Shrewsbury and attacked the king's forces, which brought on a severe battle,⁸ and defeat of the confederates, in which Henry Percy was left amongst the slain. This was a crisis in prince Owen's affairs. A treaty had been formed with the king of France, and he sent a small army to aid Glendower. These landed in the west and marched through Wales to the Severn, and with Owen attained some success but no substantial advantage. They soon returned to France, leaving Glendower to sustain himself as best he could. And it is astonishing how for so many years during Henry's reign this prince was able to defeat or thwart every effort of the king of England to defeat and finally conquer him. The ability, ingenuity and tact

⁸ See Hume's description of this battle; 2 Hume's Eng. Hist., ch. xviii, p. 333.

with which he opposed his enemies, defeated their blow, or avoided their force, obtained for him, among the English, the reputation of being possessed of supernatural powers. Army and expedition, one after another, were sent against him by Henry IV, but these were defeated in severe battles, or foiled by skillful maneuver, so that they always melted away before his abilities, while his enemies thought it was by magic. When it was opportune, he met his enemies upon the plains and open fields; and towns and castles were taken; when overwhelming force threatened him, the intricacies of his native hills, in the midst of Snowdon and Penlymon, became his defenses and ramparts. At length the king became wearied with exertion against him, and sought to quiet him by peaceable means. In the year 1413, Henry IV departed, and was succeeded by his renowned son Henry of Monmouth, who was born at Monmouth, and brought up and educated among the Cymry, under the care and direction of Sir David Gam. Henry V, in July, 1415, became anxious to quiet and reconcile affairs in Wales, offered pardon to all who would condescend to apply for it. Glendower continued his independence, and in the following September died at the house of his youngest daughter in Herefordshire. He had seven sons, the most of whom were killed in battle, and five daughters, who became united with the leading families of the country.

Henry V having come to the throne, the government of England progressed in its usual routine, with the difficulties in Wales quieted; but their negotiations with the French complicated with the English's old claim upon Guienne, and some other provinces in France. In 1415 Henry invaded France, with an army of about thirty thousand men of various arms; landed at Harfleur, and after a short siege captured that place. Circumstances soon compelled him to undertake a march to Calais, then in the possession of the English, as a place of safety. He was pursued, and annoyed on the way by a large French army. After crossing the Somme, he found himself in about the same situation as the Black

Prince just before the battle of Poitiers. Henry's army had been reduced to one-half of its original number, and the French army four times that of his own. From the heights he occupied he observed the French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, so posted that it was impossible to proceed without coming to an engagement. He therefore prudently drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, guarding either flank, and in that posture patiently waited the attack of the enemy. Had the French commander as patiently awaited his best opportunity, the English would have soon been compelled to surrender, or to have fought under very adverse circumstances. But the impetuous valor of the French nobility, and their vain confidence in their superior numbers, brought on a fatal action, most calamitous to them in its results. The French in their attack were compelled to make it in crowded ranks; and the English, having in their front a palisade to break the first impression, now safely plied upon their opponents, from behind their defenses, destructive showers of arrows. The late rains had rendered the ground unfavorable for the attack; their confined position, and the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks, and rendered the whole army a confused mass. Henry perceiving his advantage, now ordered his men to charge. They advanced and fell on their enemies with their battle-axes, who were in a position in which they were incapable of either fleeing or defending themselves — were hewed down without resistance; the field was covered with the killed and wounded. The battle became a complete victory. No battle was ever more disastrous to the French, in the number of princes and nobility slain and taken prisoners; and the slain have been computed at ten thousand men, while it has been said that of the English their number did not exceed forty. Thus the three great battles of that age — Cressy, Poitiers and Agincourt, have a striking resemblance, which belong hardly to any other. In this battle Henry was accompanied by his early Cymro friend and preceptor, Sir David Gam, who command-

ed the outposts of the English army; and when making his report on the night before, being asked the number of the enemy, replied: "There are Frenchmen enough to be killed, enough to be taken, and enough to run away;" which answer was fully as applicable after the battle as before it.

Henry, the most of his reign, was in war with France, for which it was mostly distinguished. In A. D. 1420 a treaty of peace had taken place between them, and Henry was married to Catharine of France, the mother of the unfortunate Henry VI. The war in France however continued, more in the character of civil war than that of a foreign war or conquest. Success attended Henry as a warrior, and while in full career in the pursuit of conquest and glory, when it seemed as though France must succumb to his success and conquest and he had apparently almost reached the summit, nature put a stop to his ambitious projects, and to that of his reign A. D. 1422.

In the succession of his infant son, Henry VI, commenced that troublesome time to the English people, known as the war of the roses, which only terminated with the accession of Henry VII to the English throne.

§3.—*From the Accession of Henry VI to that of Henry VII. (A. D. 1422—1485.)*

At the death of his father, when the son, Henry VI, acquired his right to the English crown he was not quite nine months old. The leading men of England immediately took possession of the government, and with the consent and action of parliament arranged the administration. John, duke of Bedford, the infant king's uncle, was appointed "Protector," as guardian of the kingdom, and Humphrey, the duke of Gloucester, was to exercise that office when John, his older brother, was absent. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to the care of Henry Beauford, bishop of Winchester, his grand-uncle. These were all men of extraordinary capacity and talent. The English affairs in France required Bedford's personal at-

tention there; so the protectorship was left to Gloucester, and the guardianship of the infant sovereign to Beauford. These ambitious men soon quarreled about the conduct of the government at home, so that Bedford, the wisest and most judicious man, called upon the interference of parliament to calm and reconcile the difficulties.

At the death of Henry V, the English had obtained possession of the greatest part of France, and appearances indicated its conquest. But their progress had come to its end; and Bedford with all his abilities was stopped, with the exception of one decisive battle in his favor, that of Verneuil, 1424. Charles VI, the incapable king of France, died a few months after Henry V, and was succeeded by the dauphin, his son, as Charles VII, who was a person of more capacity; and was gradually recovering that portion of France acquired by the English. In 1428 the latter had laid siege to Orleans, which was resisted by the determined bravery of its defenders until the next year, when it was raised under the inspired leadership of the renowned Joan of Arc. This name presents in history one of the most extraordinary characters that ever lived. It is the most extraordinary instance to prove that faith and will can remove a mountain. With that faith and will, and sufficient good common sense to understand the situation of affairs, she accomplished what no other person could have done in the same manner; which was so extraordinary as to be called an inspiration or miracle.

Joan was a native of Arc in Loraine, and had never been much out of her own neighborhood. Her education was nothing more than what that rural district afforded in common to all; but it is said she did not learn to read and write. She was accustomed to rustic labors, and well acquainted with the management of a horse. She was distinguished from the other girls of her neighborhood by her great simplicity, modesty, industry and piety. At about the age of thirteen she believed that she had witnessed an extraordinary flash of light, accompanied with an unusual voice, which enjoined upon her to be modest, and dili-

gent to her religious duties. When about sixteen years of age she became informed of the progress the English were making in the conquest of the whole of France. Charles VI was then dead, and the English in possession of so much of the country that the dauphin could not proceed to be crowned at Rheims; and that the enemy were then besieging and probably would capture Orleans. She was of sufficient intelligence to understand and appreciate the situation of her unhappy country. In brooding over it she became highly excited, and deeply sympathized with her people for their delivery. She became possessed of the belief, and fully in the faith, that Orleans could be relieved and the way opened for the dauphin to be crowned at Rheims, and that she was destined as the instrument to accomplish it. She disclosed her mission to some of leading men of the country, and was rebuffed. Full in the faith, and determined will, she went personally to the dauphin and disclosed to him her mission, to relieve Orleans and lead him to be crowned at Rheims. The dauphin permitted himself, with little faith, to be led by her. Her enthusiasm became contagious, and the army entered into the spirit of her pretended mission and zeal, and believed it was from heaven. The country girl of seventeen was seen, in the attire of an officer, heading the troops and carrying everything before them. Orleans was relieved of its siege, the enemy everywhere repulsed, and the way opened, so that the dauphin proceeded to Rheims and was crowned as Charles VII. The maid of Orleans, as she was now called, claimed that she had performed her mission, and begged to be permitted to retire. But her services had been too important for the army or government to permit it. She was retained in the service, and at the head of the troops led with extraordinary success in various perilous engagements. At length she was unfortunately taken prisoner by the English; was by them accused as a sorceress, shamefully condemned and executed. But her zeal and spirit had entered the French army; and success attended them, until the English were ultimately, in

1453, under the auspices of the unfortunate Henry VI, expelled from France, (with the exception of Calais,) greatly to the true advantage of both countries.

Soon after the English people were relieved from the war and conquest of France, they became engaged in a most deadly and lamentable civil war, which for nearly thirty years deluged the country with blood and death. This is known as the war of the roses, and was carried on by two factions, claiming the crown under different right; the one as that of Lancaster, and the other as that of York. The weak Henry VI was now the representative head of the Lancaster party, who claimed descent through Henry IV from the fourth son of Edward III; and the head of the Yorkists was Edward, the duke of York, who claimed a more rightful descent from the third son of Edward III, upon failure of issue in Richard II. In 1443 Henry had married Margaret of Anjou, a woman of extraordinary capacity and magnanimity. Ten years after the marriage this queen became the mother of a son, the sole heir of Henry; and the duke of York claimed the crown by descent in opposition to that of the house of Lancaster. Civil war was the result of this contest; and both parties were represented and aided by able men. They came to blows; and the battle of St. Albans, A. D. 1455, in which on both sides were killed many of the first men of England, was the first of that fatal war, which lasted about thirty years, and in which were fought twelve pitched battles, costing the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost annihilating the ancient nobility of England.¹ Five years after the battle of St. Albans was fought another great battle, Wakefield, which was very fatal to the Yorkists, especially in the death of their head, Edward, the duke of York; and in the events of the day that great woman, Margaret, became prominent in the interest of the king and her son.

On the death of his father, Edward, the young duke of York, his eldest son, assumed his father's place as the head of the party, and eventually became Edward IV.

¹ 2 Hume's History of England, p. 433.

The imbecility of Henry VI could not be overcome by the vigor and energy of the queen. He was captured and imprisoned, and young Edward of York assumed the crown as Edward IV, A. D. 1461; and during the following ten years the country and people most terribly suffered, under the most afflicting civil war and strife, in which were fought those destructive battles which attended that war, and effected so many changes from one party to another, in the administration of the government; Henry VI makes his escape, is restored, and again expelled, imprisoned, and dies; Edward IV is expelled, and finally is restored and triumphs. In these partisan changes the earl of Warwick was so active an instrument that he received the epithet of the King Maker; and the magnanimous Margaret of Anjou distinguished herself by every effort of which a woman was capable, to preserve the rights and interest of her infant son, prince Edward, who was at last disposed of by being murdered, at the instance of the tyrant, Edward IV, and his brother, Richard, the duke of Gloucester. At length the cruel and tyrannical Edward himself expires, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, leaving after him two sons—Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then but thirteen years of age, and Richard, in his ninth year, as the duke of York.

Then the young prince became known to history as Edward V. But the notorious Richard, duke of Gloucester, became ambitious of the crown for himself; but his two infant nephews were in his way. These innocent beings, in about a year after the death of their father, were, by the orders of the infamous Richard, murdered in the tower of London; and then this monster was proclaimed king, as Richard III.

On coming to the throne, A. D. 1483, Richard III did all in his power, by ample rewards, to attach his partisans to him; but by the English people generally he was detested for his cruelty and tyranny. Many of the nobility looked down upon his usurpation as flagitious, and the means by which it was acquired most wicked and criminal, and in this opinion a near relative, a pow-

erful lord—duke of Buckingham—participated. A great revolution is about to take place, and the leading spirit is Henry Tudor, the earl of Richmond.

Henry V was a native of Hereford, well acquainted with the Cymry, and much attached to them. Many were with him, and surrounded him while engaged in his wars in France. Among these was Owen Tudor, or Tewdwr, as well as Sir David Gam and his companions, who rendered him such devoted services at the battle of Agincourt as to be commemorated by the eloquent pen of Sir Walter Raleigh. After the death of Henry V his widow, Catherine of France, declared her preference and attachment for Owen Tudor, and was married to him. Owen was a descendant from the ancient British princes on the part of both his parents, and was known at the English court as Sir Owen Tudor; but among his own people as Owen ab Meredudd, ab Tewdwr. He and queen Catherine were the parents of three sons, Edmund, Jasper and Owen; the latter of whom became a monk, and died at a convent while young. After the death of the parents—the mother, the queen, having died while the children were quite young—the two elder brothers were well cared for by Henry VI, who was their half-brother. Edmund he created earl of Richmond, and Jasper earl of Pembroke; and precedence was given them over the nobility of the kingdom.

Edmund, earl of Richmond, Sir Owen's eldest son, about the year 1455, married lady Margaret, only child of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; and on the 21st of January, 1456, their only son, Henry, was born at Pembroke castle; and within one year became fatherless by the death of his father. Being the sole issue of Richmond, and of the heiress of Somerset, young Henry, the duke of Richmond, was looked upon and supported by the Lancaster party as the descendant of John of Gaunt, and the true heir to the crown in opposition to Richard III.

In the spring of 1471 the forces of the Lancasterian party were collected at Tewkesbury on the Severn, and there were queen Margaret and her son Edward, the

young prince of Wales, a body of French troops, the militia gathered by the duke of Somerset, and the remains of the army of the earl of Warwick, which had been defeated eighteen days before at the battle of Barnet, waiting the re-enforcement coming under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, at the head of a large body of troops from Wales. Edward of York, fearing the result of this union, hastened to intercept it, and attacked the Lancastrian intrenchments with fury, routed their troops with great slaughter, and captured the queen, the prince of Wales and the duke of Somerset. Soon after this the prince was stabbed and killed in cold blood, and the king, Henry VI, privately murdered. After the battle of Tewkesbury the affairs of the Lancastrians became desperate, and Jasper, earl of Pembroke, on receiving intelligence of the disaster, dismissed his troops, and engaged himself in watching over the safety and interest of his young nephew, Henry.

For a while the Tudors were safe in Wales, but the jealous spirit of Edward of York and his brother Richard became so vindictive that it was unsafe for a Lancastrian to be within their reach, so that it became necessary to send the young Henry Tudor to Brittany and France for safety and education.

At length, in the year 1485, Henry, the earl of Richmond, becoming acquainted and well informed of the affairs and disaffection in England, prevailed upon the French government to aid him in his contemplated enterprise, to relieve the English people of their tyrannical rule; by which he was enabled to embark at Harfleur, with his uncle and exiled friends and with a body of two thousand foreign mercenaries. In due time he landed at Milford Haven in Wales, where he found Sir Rhys ab Thomas with a body of two thousand horsemen ready to aid and protect his landing. The retainers of his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, immediately joined the little army, and Richmond unfurled the Tewdwr banner, and set forth upon his adventurous enterprise.

From Milford Henry commenced his march towards Shrewsbury, through Car-

dingshire and Central Wales; everywhere receiving fresh accessions to the cavalry of Sir Rhys and the two thousand Bretons who had disembarked with him. Sir Rhys proceeded south through South Wales, calling upon the Cymry in that quarter to rally in support of prince Henry; and a generous response was made—even Morgan, the chief of the Tredeger house, gave assurance of his earnest engagement in the cause, as well as like reports from the neighborhood of Monmouth, Glamorgan and Brecon, and the domain of the families of Raglan, Tretower, and their relatives. On his way south Sir Rhys was joined by the Herberts, Vaughans, Gams, and other influential adherents. At a review held at Brecon, four thousand picked men were selected as troops to be sent in advance. Jasper Tudor was rallying the north, and was everywhere met with acclamation and praise for his energy, and the care he had taken of their prince. These three forces triumphantly met and joined hands in the neighborhood of Shrewsbury. This town with but little hesitation soon opened her gates and received Henry Tudor. This Cymric army, with noble enthusiasm and decision, at once struck out its course towards the center of England. In the meantime the able and experienced tyrant, Richard III, had become aware of what was progressing against him, and had collected eighteen thousand choice troops, the veterans of the twelve pitched battles of the war of the roses. His cavalry, said to rank as the finest and the most formidable in Europe. He had determined speedily to meet his opponent, and Richard marched with his army to Coventry. Henry came with his army to Bosworth, near Leicester, with not half the number of that with which Richard was approaching him. Many of the English kept aloof, fearing the result, wishing first to see something that was more decisive of the event. This was particularly the case with lord Stanley, who in command of about seven thousand men took his position in such a manner as to be equally convenient to go over to either side, when he was satisfied which way the battle would go. This he did

While pretending to Richard he was loyal, and committing to no one his final intention.

The rivals were now approaching each other towards the field of battle; and in the evening before Richard passed through Leicester mounted on a fine charger, clad in the same armor he wore at the battle of Tewkesbury, and exciting his men with the glory of his former achievements. He possessed, like his brother Edward and his race, military genius and personal bravery in an eminent degree; and all were assured that nothing personal would be lacking in him, in securing a favorable result of the battle. He was but thirty-three years of age, loved by none, detested by many, yet he was respectfully feared, and his imperious command everywhere obeyed; while he was unscrupulous as to all matters in the way of his interest. Morally and physically he was capable of doing what he said he would do, "live or die a king that day."

On the morning of the 22d of August commenced the eventful battle of Bosworth. Each army was arrayed for battle, with a considerable plain or moor between them; and each was divided into three parts—the advance, the center, and the rear. In Henry's army the advance was commanded by the old earl of Oxford, who had recently escaped from prison and joined the invaders. Henry in person commanded the center, supported by his uncle Jasper, the earl of Pembroke; and in the rear his cavalry. Richmond's right was considerably protected by a morass. Richard's army was also similarly divided, and his advance in the command of the duke of Norfolk, who was faithfully attached to his sovereign. Richard himself was in command of his center. The king in looking over the field did not like the appearances of things, and suspected the faithfulness of some, and convinced of the vacillating policy of others, but hoped by a bold stroke to restore his power, and punish his enemies. He gave orders to Norfolk to charge the enemy, and the two advanced parties were soon in a hot conflict, which drew on the main army, and a general engagement was

commencing. Richard observing a coming crisis in the affair, on a sudden put spurs to his horse, and shouting "Treason!" galloped into the midst of his enemies. He made toward the center, where waved Richmond's standard, with the hopes of meeting him, and at once decide the conflict. He rapidly made his way toward the standard, and cut down Sir William Bardon, the bearer; and was driving toward his rival, when he was overwhelmed and slain by those who bravely gathered around him. The conflict was fierce, short and decisive. Stanley now seeing how the battle was going, came in at its close, and helped in the closing victory. Many distinguished men were slain on both sides; on the side of Richard were the duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey; and it has been said that three thousand men slain were left upon the field. Richmond, the victor, was declared king by acclamation of the victorious soldiery, and crowned on the field, with the crown produced by lord Stanley taken from the head of the slain Richard. Thus terminated this important and renowned battle, which terminated the war of the roses, and transferred the crown from the Plantagenet to the Tudor dynasty; and inaugurated a new era in English history; and the Cymry of Wales, who performed so important a part in it, became a part of the English people, in union with many of the English people whose blood is derived from the Ancient Britons.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

§1.—*The Condition of the Cymry from the Norman Conquest to the Conquest of Wales by Edward I.* (A. D. 1066—1276.)

In order to well understand the condition of the Cymry at and during this period, it is necessary that the student should honestly and impartially study the sources of their civilization, and trace it down from the time of Caesar. These are, unquestionably, the descendants and the representatives of the Ancient Britons. The progress made by these people, in the arts, science and civilization, from Caesar's time to that

of Agricola, has been already referred to, and sustained by Tacitus, Dion Cassius and other classics, deriving their information from cotemporary sources; from whom we obtain satisfactory information of that period, as well as from that time to the coming of the Saxons. When the latter came, their conquest was not like the Norman a rapid subjection of the whole, but the slow conquest of one small province after another, in the course of two hundred years. During that time it was the progress of barbarity and heathenism over civilization and Christianity; of war, with fire and the sword, over the labor and industry of centuries. War, and what sustained it, was the only study of the conquerors, and Woden their only religion.

Here two nationalities came in conflict, and continued it until the one had swallowed the other, and became an union and amalgamation of the two. One of the most striking differences between the two was the manner in which each held the title to their land and occupied it. The Cymry, in common with the Romans, and all civilized Europe, held their land as the individual property of the holder and cultivator, in the same right and manner as he held any personal property; and made no distinction in its acquisition and transfer. On the other hand the ancient German made land the property of the state or government, and no one had any individual right or property in it. The people or tenants cultivated it, and divided the products between themselves and the officers of the government. In this the officers made the best terms they could. This made the cultivator a dependent on the government, and the government the means of exercising an absolute control over him. This is the origin of the feudal system,¹ and all its attendant consequences. Wherever the northern barbarian went as conqueror, he carried this system, claimed the land as his own, and the people as his tenants or serfs. With the Romans this was otherwise; and

the laws of the Cymry were the same. The land was individual property, except when it became confiscated; and it was transmissible like all other property to his children or heirs, or to whomever he chose to dispose of it. This was the case with the Cymry, throughout Britain, until the Saxons had driven this system out of it; but in many places its relics remain, under the name of *gavel-kind*,² as in Kent. In accordance with this, the Cymry claimed a greater degree of individual freedom and independence, and submitted to less degree of domineering and lordly rule which accompanied the Saxon's feudal system. It was this that created in the Welsh that opposition and hatred to the Saxon laws, and so deep attachment to that of their own. Gradually the features of the feudal system have so disappeared, or been modified, between the time of Edward I and the last of the Tudors, that but little difference remains between the individual rights of an Englishman to his landed property,³ and that of the Ancient Briton, except that of primogeniture. The law, and the rules of personal property, and personal rights are constantly assimilating to that of the Ancient Briton.

In Germany, says Tacitus,⁴ "Each slave has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependent, who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel.⁵ The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further." This was the system brought with them to Britain, out of which

² 4 Stephen's Blackstone, ch. xxvii, p. 475. The word *gavel-kind* is derived from the Welsh, as referred to their custom in reference to division of land in the family. The English word *fourme* means *hold*; the word *hold* in Welsh is *gael* or *gafael*; and *kind* has reference to family or kindred. The word *gavel* is now used as English, both in England and the United States, as applied to the *hold* or bundle of grain in reaping.

³ XII Vol. Encyclopedia Americana, titled *Tenure*, p. 199, where it is said: "At length the military tenures, with all their heavy appendages, were destroyed at one blow by Stat. 12, Charles II, which enacts that all sorts of tenures, held of the king or others, be turned into free and common socage."

⁴ Tacitus' Germania, ch. xxv, p. 551.

⁵ This is a reason and evidence why the Saxon soldier, when he came into Britain, would be desirous to retain the people, who did not chose to flee, for the purpose of procuring for themselves grain, wearing apparel, and other necessaries.

¹ See Mr. Hargrave's note to Col. Littleton 3 Vol., 191 a.; particularly see V, (3), (4) and (5). In Germany the land is let by the state. Tacitus' Germania.

grew the feudal system there and elsewhere. Every one of the leading men of Saxon immigrants who came and settled in Britain claimed he was a descendant of Woden, and by that had a right to rule and control the land they conquered. They brought with them scarcely anything more than their battle-ax. Whatever else they wanted they claimed by that right to take; and claimed they had the right to the industry and property of others whenever they had power to assume it. All their skill and experience was directed to one object—war; and wherever they went their first object was to plunder and pillage. This they practiced not only upon the Welsh, but upon each other, in the wars which the various provinces or parties waged against one another. Their ultimate success was inevitable for two reasons: death had no terror to them; and wherever one fell, his place would be sure to be recruited by another soldier from Germany. When a province was acquired it was distributed among the relatives who were descendants from Woden, as lords of the manors; and others were made their tenants and serfs. Of the original inhabitants, they as young soldiers of fortune took their choice of the women for their wives; and of the rest, with the men who were unable to flee, they added to their other serfs. This was the case in all the country places and rural districts. Many of the smaller towns were utterly destroyed; but we have sufficient authority for saying, that the larger cities, as London, York, Winchester, Exeter and others, were not destroyed, and probably not captured, but saved upon terms of paying to the Saxons certain amount of manufactured articles which they stood in need of; and they were thereupon permitted to regulate their own internal affairs in their usual manner, subject to the Saxon supremacy, as the Romans had done. This will account why in cities we now find so many institutions partaking of Roman origin so different from those of Germany, and will account for the large admixture of the Ancient Britons in the present English; who may well claim that they are descendants of the Ancient Britons and Romans, as

well as of the German, and that Caractacus and Boadicea were their ancestors, as the British queen actually does.

In this manner the Lloegrian Cymry were swallowed up by the Saxon invaders, just as we have positive history that it was afterwards done with the Ancient British population in the counties of Somerset, Devon and west of them, and was done in the counties of Salop, Hereford and Monmouth, west of the Severn. To these is to be added at a later date, in the north and eastern part of England, the Danish immigration. Such was the origin of the mixed population of which England was composed, when the Normans came to capture and rule from the Saxons, just as they had formerly done from the Britons; and the operation in each case was very much the same, except the Normans were the more civilized people, and the Britons had been far more stubborn material to conquer. At the Norman conquest the Saxons had been in possession of that portion of England around London six hundred years; it was the garden of England; but their progress in that length of time was slow. That can only be accounted for by the Saxon form of government;—by the supercilious claim of the Saxon nobility, that they were descendants of Woden, and ruled by divine right; and placed the low and subordinate position of the great mass of the people as serfs; which arrangement was a dead weight upon their progress.

But the origin and progress of the Welsh had been entirely different. The Romans in the time of Claudius found the Ancient Britons a people who had made great progress in the arts and civilization; and that their country in its production was giving great impetus to commerce; and the people capable of rendering and paying large amount of tribute and taxes, which was the sole object of the Roman conquest. After the time of Agricola, they had been for three hundred years accustomed to peace under Roman rule; to whom alone belonged the subject of war, and all its incidents, leaving to the Britons the culture of the arts of peace. Under that state of things, and at the same time the rapid pro-

gress of Christianity among them, the Ancient Britons became a highly cultivated people for that day; it was their industry and capability that produced in Britain almost all that which since has passed as Roman towns, works and improvements. The civil affairs of the country were left in the hands of the people, as was usually done by the Romans, where the people regularly paid their tribute and taxes; while the military, fiscal and foreign affairs were attended to by the Romans themselves. Many of the subordinary provinces and cities were left as stipendiaries, to govern themselves and regulate their own affairs. They therefore were a people accustomed to civil affairs and the administration of justice. They were a Christian people, with a regular ecclesiastical polity regularly established, with archbishops, bishops and priests; with regular territorial divisions, and churches; so that when Augustine came, a hundred and fifty years after all communication with Rome and the mother church had been cut off, he found the British church sound in doctrine and discipline, except that he insisted that the people did not keep the right day for easter, and the priests did not trim their hair right.

Such were the people of Wales at the arrival of the Normans and the battle of Hastings. They had, amidst all their difficulties with the Saxons, preserved their devotion to the Christian religion, their attachment to literature, and their love of personal liberty and freedom. In the midst of the war they maintained against the Saxons, to preserve their country and personal rights, they produced during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries that amount of literature as to surprise the candid examiner of it, when compared with the dark ages of Europe when it was produced. As poets it produced Taleisin, Aneurin, Marlin and many others; among the prose writers, Gildas, Nennius, Asser and others. But that age was entirely eclipsed by their great literary productions in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under still greater difficulties arising from the wars, brought upon them by their enemies, in which were

destroyed many of their churches, schools, monasteries and places of learning. It is surprising that they were able to produce such productions, in the midst of such wars to conquer them. Yet it has been the fashion with some to call these people illiterate and savage barbarians; and do this off-hand, without ever having examined the subject. But the matter has been vindicated by Turner, Matthew Arnold, Stephens and others.⁶

"Yet at this period," says M. Augustin Thierry,⁷ "the Welsh nation was, perhaps, of all Europe, that which least merited the epithet of barbarian; despite the evil which the Anglo-Norman inflicted upon them every day, those who visited them unarmed, as simple travelers, were received with cordial hospitality; they were at once admitted into the bosom of the best families, and shared the highest pleasures of the country, music and song." Thierry, upon examination of various ancient authors, assures us that the Cymry were thus qualified at every village to entertain and interest their company. He thus continues: "The vivacity natural to the Celtic race was further manifested in the Cambrians by excessive taste for conversation, and their prompt repartee. All the Welsh of every rank have been gifted by nature with a great volubility of tongue, and extreme confidence in answering before princes and nobles; the Italians and French seem to possess the same faculty; but it is not found among the English race, nor among the Saxons of Germany, nor among the Aliemans."⁸ In addition to this, it may be remarked that history is full of instances of the high estimation in which certain persons of Wales, both men and women, have been held at both the English and French courts—as Asser, the friend and biographer of Alfred; those mentioned by

6 See Sharon Turner's vindication of the propriety of his History of the Anglo-Saxons. See also his Introduction to the Cyman. Poet. M. Arnold's Essay on Literature in the Cornhill Magazine of 1850, and copied in the New York Eclectic.

7 2 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. viii. p. 90.

8 Thierry in super. These expressions had reference to the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, A. D. 1088. It probably would not apply to the English of the present day, when the blood of the Ancient Britons is more developed in them.

Froissart—Owen Tudor and David Gam, the special friends of Henry V; and this is no less the case in modern times.

The habits, customs and condition of the Welsh people in the time of Henry II. are more fully disclosed and developed in the journal of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his journey through Wales, than any account of any other people of that day. He was the son of a Norman nobleman and a Welsh princess; born and reared in Wales; educated in Paris, and became a clergyman. By his education and experience in the world, he was well qualified for his task. From him we draw principally these few remarks. In consequence of the continual war of the Saxons and others upon them, they were trained to war, and studiously watched the defense of their country and their freedom; and inured themselves to the hardships and privations of a rugged country, necessary to sustain themselves against their numerous foes. They were agile and quick in their movements; and this was observed by the Romans, as they had the advantage with light arms, and only defeated where heavy armor and discipline prevented. They used light equipments—breast plates, helmets, and shields; and some were the most expert archers, who with a stout bow would send an arrow with almost irresistible force; while others were distinguished for their skill in the use of the lance; and others as cavalry, and the skill and care with which they managed their horses. In agriculture they took great pains in plowing their ground; but depended more for their subsistence upon their flocks than upon their grain. The agriculturalist, artist and scholar were all cherished and protected as the three pillars of the state. But it was in literature that the Welsh excelled their neighbors in Western Europe, in that dark age; and this they fondly cherished, as their inheritance from the druids, bards and priests of the ancient Cymry and Britons.

Law was even then studied as a special science, and especially as it applied to the rights and freedom of every individual as a man, and to the protection of his property. It was on this account they so strenuously

insisted upon the maintenance of their own laws, and opposition to the feudal laws and oppressive aristocracy of the Saxons and Normans. But as the English laws from the time of Edward I to the present time gradually improved, humanized, and assimilated to their own, their opposition ceased.

"The Briton," said Palgrave, "despised their implacable enemies, the Anglo-Saxons, as a race of rude barbarians. This will not be considered as any decisive test of superior civilization; but the triads, and the laws of *Hoel Dda* excel the Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic customs in the same manner that the elegies of Llywarch Hen, and the odes of Taliesin, soar above the ballads of Edda. Law had become a science amongst the Britons; and its volumes exhibit the jurisprudence of a rude nation sharpened and modelled by thinking men, and which had derived both stability and equity from the labors of its expounders."⁹

The land in Wales was private property, and generally the owner resided on his estate. There were no serfs; the laborers were freemen, who were permitted to go or to be employed where their own best interest called them. Generally every man of family and of any standing was the owner of a piece of land, or homestead—a yeoman. Estates were larger or smaller, according to one's ability to purchase and hold them. The princes were owners of large estates, and their revenue was generally derived from their management of them, as gentlemen of large estates, residing on them, would in the present day. In history we hear of no complaint of taxes, except when compelled to pay tribute to other powers; which is generally resisted to the utmost of their abilities. This is a very different state of things from those found in England, under either the Saxons or Normans, until after the time of Edward I; and in these respects the state of things in the two countries were not assimilated until Henry VIII.

The Cymry were kept back from enjoying the advantages that their civilization,

⁹ Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth*.

Christianity and laws would ordinarily give them by the circumstances by which they were surrounded. About the time that the Roman army were compelled to leave Britain, in consequence of the invasion of civilized Europe by the northern barbarian, Britain began to be sorely afflicted by the pirates and robbers from the sea. Then came the Saxons expelling Christianity and learning, and destroying improvements. Commerce was destroyed and all communication with the civilized world cut off, at least for a hundred and fifty or two hundred years. Then were the dark ages resting upon all Europe, and the Cymry driven back to the western shores of Britain. It was under these adverse circumstances that the Britons maintained their Christianity, literature and arts, while cut off from communication with the Christian world; until after Augustine's time, who was astonished to find Christianity on the western shores of Britain, which was to him like finding an unknown land. Still the Cambrians were surrounded by their enemies, bent upon robbery and conquest, destroying everything that was not yielded up to them with fire and the sword. These matters prevented commerce in Cambria, and peace and commerce were necessary to her success. In a great measure these were given to London; but if they were bestowed on Cardiff, Milford, or Liverpool—there would have been London. But London had her superior surroundings, which commanded peace, and attracted commerce to her. Like all other great cities that preceded her, she attracted to herself from every place the talent and enterprise of the world; and all that came she claimed as her own. Surrounded with war and hostility, Cambria could not do this. It is London that has made England what she is. In that the Lloegrian Cymry in London, at the coming of the Saxons, whom the Saxons were never able to take, assisted; so did the same people, throughout England, who submitted to Saxon rule, assist; and so have the Cymry of Wales and Scotland assisted. And these claims the citizens of London would not now be willing to surrender.

Notwithstanding that for more than four

hundred years the Cymry had been pressed by war and conquest by the rude people of Northern Europe, in succession of swarms one after another, as though there was no end to their resources for warriors, or their coming, until they—the Cymry—had been driven back, step by step, from the fields of Kent to the mountains of Wales; while all that pressure and brave resistance was only to determine whether the free land of the Cymry should be converted into the manors and seridoms of Saxon or Norman lords; yet in no instance does history demonstrate that they were a warlike people with a view to a foreign conquest. Their wars and hostilities were for the preservation of their rights and freedom. What they contended for was to be let alone in the enjoyment of their property, their religion and their just laws. But their fair fields were coveted by the invaders, to be converted from the individual property of freemen to the occupancy of the feudal lord and his serfs. Even while surrounded by these oppositions, they preserved their institutions, though their progress was retarded or deteriorated by the rudeness of the dark age that surrounded them. If they had been let alone to progress from the time that the Romans left them, we might hope that their free institutions, as to land, law and Christianity, would have produced a new civilization, of which that of England is now only a part.

But when their difficulties and surroundings are taken into consideration, the extent to which they preserved their condition is surprising. When Giraldus visited these people in the reign of Henry II, though he was well acquainted with Paris and other cities of Europe, he was astonished when he came to visit Caerleon on the Usk, to see the architecture and degree of refinement and improvement he found there. He highly complimented the refinement he found in the houses of the gentry he visited. Not only were the matters of the church in religion and theology protected and fostered, but, in accordance with the practices and institutions of the ancient Druids continued to later times, they

equally protected and fostered secular interest, by a public institution, which was denominated the Eisteddvod, which was a public assembly of the learned and wise men of the land, where public essays were produced on all subjects of interest—in poetry and prose, in arts and science, in view to public interest and improvement. These meetings were common and frequent, both before and after the Norman conquest. Some years after that event, on the return of Rhys ab Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, from Brittany to Wales, says the historian, “he brought with him the system of the Round Table, which, at home, had been quite forgotten, and he restored it as it is with regard to minstrels and bards, as it had been at Cærlleon on the Usk, under the emperor Arthur, in the time of the sovereignty of the Cymry over the island of Britain.”¹⁰ This institution became an adjunct to that of the Eisteddvod. The latter was frequently held, but it required a public notice of a year and a day to call the assembly of one.

Besides the Eisteddvod, public meetings similar to them were also held by the princes on their own account, of one of which we have the following narrative: “Gruffydd ab Rhys (in 1135) had a large feast prepared in Ystad Tywi, whither he invited all to come in peace from North Wales, Powys, South Wales, Glamorgan, and the Marches. And he prepared every thing that was good in meat and drink, wise conversations, songs and music; and welcomed all poets and musicians, and instituted various plays, illusions and appearances, and manly exercises.” And to this feast came persons from all parts of the island. And it is further stated: “After the feast Gruffydd ab Rhys invited the wise men and scholars, and upon consulting them instituted rules and law on every person within his dominions, and fixed a court in every Cantrev, and an inferior court in every Commot. Gruffydd ab Rynan did the same in North Wales; and the Normans and the Saxons, sorry to see this, made complaint against these princes to

king Stephen, who, stating that he knew not where the blame lay, declined to interfere.”

About forty years after the last mentioned feast, Lord Rhys, Henry II's justiciary for South Wales, made another great feast at the castle of Cærdigan, where similar competitions were held; and it is said that “it appeared in the contest the bards of North Wales got the prize for poetry, while a young man belonging to Rhys' own household was adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony.”

These exercises and institutions are very honorable to the Cymry, and excel anything of the kind among any other people of that day; and we are informed that the Eisteddvod is occasionally continued to the present day; but it is possible that the institution may be superceded by the modern form of delivering lectures.

But it is the literature of the Cymry, during those dark ages, which surprises the historian and reader more than anything else—that of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries have been already referred to; but the age we are now considering, the twelfth and succeeding centuries, which has brought forth an astonishing development of their literature. Some of it, which has sometimes been attributed to this period, undoubtedly belonged to a far more remote age, as the triads and the laws; but after making all due allowance for the production of previous ages, this period has of itself a wonderful development of its own, and almost entirely a native and original production. Besides the great volume of poetry produced in that age, for which I must refer to Mr. T. Stephens' very learned and able work on the “Literature of the Cymry,” there is a great variety of prose writing but little known to the readers of the present day, amongst which we must be permitted to particularly mention two—Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, and the Mabinogion.

The British history of Geoffrey assumes to give the history of the island and its people from the earliest period down to Athelstan, and without regard to whether the work is true or false, or how much of it is

¹⁰ See Stephens' Literature of the Cymry, p. 336, and who cites Iolo MS., p. 630.

true; still it must be admitted to have been the most important literary work of that age. It has been more copied, translated and read than any other book of that period. It was a work that inspired, and furnished materials for all the poets and romance of the following centuries. "Materials for some of their noblest works of fiction and characters of romance." It inspired and infused a literary taste for that age, incomparable with any other book. "Its popularity is proved by the successive adaptation of Wace, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, Mannyng, and others; and its influence on the literature of Europe is too notorious to be dwelt upon."¹¹ Nor should its influence upon the work of Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton and Tennyson be forgotten.¹²

The history of Geoffrey has sometimes been severely criticised, condemned and traduced; yet other competent judges have strongly sustained its literary merits, and the obligation it has conferred upon the world. Of these is Prof. Buckle in his *History of Civilization in England*, in which among other favorable things he says: "The work is, therefore, the joint composition of two arch deacons, and is entitled to respect, not only on this account, but also because it was one of the most popular of all the productions of the middle ages,"¹³ and he vindicates Geoffrey's history of Arthur, and gives a very interesting account of the work and its merits.

The Mabinogion was a class of literary work produced by the Welsh, contemporaneously with their poetry, but in prose. It was a collection of tales written to while away the time of the young chieftains, to be repeated at their fireside; but which very powerfully reacted upon the national

literature and character, as did their poetry. These tales were almost on every subject which would give interest to fiction and narratives, as novels do at the present day. Recently these tales have been collected, arranged and translated by Lady Charlotte Guest, and published in a very acceptable style, so that we now have them in the English language. "So greatly do these Mabinogions differ in character that they may be considered as forming two distinct classes, one of which generally celebrates heroes of the Arthurian Cycles, while the other refers to personages and events of an earlier period."¹⁴

These literary productions, together with their laws, will greatly dispose the condition of the people; but for the want of space in our work, we must only refer to the works themselves; and to the able work of Mr. Stephens on the Literature of the Cymry, which will very satisfactorily disclose the condition and habits of the people during the period. Any fair mind must be satisfied that a people who are able to produce such an amount of literature, and codes and systems of laws, as has been referred to from time to time, must be, in their moral condition, far in advance of the ignorance and barbarity which then had benighted Western Europe. Surrounded as the Cymry had been by the conquering barbarian, and that pall of darkness and ignorance which in the previous age rested over Western Europe, without the advantage of any city and commerce, it is impossible to conceive how this people could have produced and preserved this literature and science, except having preserved them from the advanced condition they were in, as the Ancient Britons between the time of Cæsar and the coming of the Saxons.

¹¹ Stephens' *ut supra*, p. 320, who cites Quarterly Review for March, 1848, p. 236.

¹² Geoffrey's work was written in Latin; and a good translation of it is found in Bodley's Antiquarian Library, "Six Old English Chronicles." Geoffrey lived in the early part of the twelfth century; and in the year 1152, in the time of king Stephen, was made bishop of St. Asaph. He, in his British history, was aided by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. Both of these men were native Welshmen, and well acquainted with their native language, and often wrote in it. Giraldus was of the same age.

¹³ Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, Vol. I, p. 232.

¹⁴ Stephens' *ut supra*, p. 413. Here it may be remarked that some of the Saxon writers insist that the Ancient Britons and Druids did not commit to writing, but depended upon memory and oral delivery. This is claimed from what Cæsar says, that the Druids delivered their instructions to their students orally, who were required to commit them to memory, for the purpose of exercising that faculty. When this is insisted upon to prove that general laws and other matters were not committed to writing, it is false; for elsewhere Cæsar does say that they did commit to writing both public and private matters.

§2—*Condition of the English from the Norman Conquest to the Conquest of Wales by Edward I. (A. D. 1066—1276).*

As it has been already claimed, it is deemed that there can be no doubt that the government of England, up to the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor, when Harold and William the Conqueror began to claim the right of succession, was entirely in the hands of an hereditary aristocracy, who claimed their right as descendants of Woden; and that the title to the land of the country was in the hands of that aristocracy, who might be more properly termed a caste rather than a class. Almost the only exception to this arrangement was the break that Godwin's family made in it. All the Saxon kings of England, and the nobility, "Aldermen," constituted, says Palgrave, "a kind of ruling caste or tribe, all sons of Woden;"¹ and by that right and title they claimed to rule. They held the landed property of the country, and the great mass of the people were tenants and serfs under them. The people were divided into three classes, the nobility or lords, the freemen, and the bondsmen, and these latter were generally designated as villains or serfs, were considered as appurtenant to the land and transferred with it. The land and the serfs were the property of the lord. Some bondsmen were domestic slaves. The great body of the people were serfs; the freemen were in the minority, and were only free to choose what lord he would serve and become his tenant. As freemen they had the right to hold certain offices in the police government of the hundred or shire; but they had no control over the state government, for that was wholly in the hands of the hereditary nobility. The king had his council, called the Witenagemot, which consisted of such of the landed nobility as the king thought proper to summon. But when the government was in the hands of such kings as Penda, or Offa, or Ethelfrith, or Edgar, such council was of little importance; then everything went on as the king willed it—peace or war, extravagance or economy, the people had to

submit. But when the throne became vacant, or was in the hands of an infant or a weak prince, then the council, the Witenagemot, would interfere and take the government in their own hands, until an able prince was capable to rule for himself. Still the council consisted exclusively of the aristocracy, and they were of one family—the descendants of Woden. There was no arrangement or principle in operation by which the people had any controlling influence over the government; the great body of the people were serfs.² Such had been the government of England for nearly four hundred years previous to the coming of the Normans, except so far as it was interfered with by the Danes. These were

¹ See ante, B. . . In determining the Saxon government in England, we have nothing to do with Tacitus and the Germans. The question is, what was it in England? Saxons and Venen arose after Tacitus' time. The Saxons coming to Britain under the auspices of Woden, his children, and religion gave to England a new form of government, in which blood and freedom for the great mass of the people had no part. ² Turner's *Hist. Anglo-Sax.*, p. 202.

In Turner's history, second vol., p. 428, is an abstract from the doomsday book, showing the enumeration of families in England by counties in the time of William the Conqueror. This greatly assists in seeing the condition of the people at that time, which did not much change the condition of the people from the Saxon times, except to transfer the so-called nobility from the Saxon nobility to the Normans. We here copy Oxfordshire as a fair sample of the whole:

OXFORDSHIRE.	
Chief proprietors.....	77
Villani.....	3,548
Bordarii.....	388
Servi.....	938
Peasants.....	35
Molani.....	170
Slaves.....	40
Peasants.....	32
Scholar.....	1
Households in Oxford were.....	721
Other persons.....	80
Total.....	7,461

These 7461 are heads of families, which should be multiplied by at least six, which would give about forty-five thousand for the Saxon population. Of these the villani, bordarii and servi, 6,301, are the condition of bondsmen or slaves and would be a population of 17,300. "Perhaps six of the other classes above enumerated as serfs; but this makes at least four-fifths of the population servile." Turner, on page 337, further says: "Given holding a freehold does not give liberty to a villani, a remark not observed by those who have deemed villani free peasants, because they were found to have lands." The bordarii, servi, cotarii, &c., were "similarly circumstanced." In the doomsday book, burgesses are mentioned as having bondarii under them. There can be no doubt that nearly three-fourths of the Anglo-Saxon population were in a state of slavery; and nothing could have broken the powerful chains of law and force by which the landed aristocracy held their people in bondage, but such events as the Norman conquest, and the civil wars which it excited and fostered, and in which such numbers of the nobility perished."

¹ Palgrave's *Anglo-Sax.*, ch. iv, p. 60.

pagans, as the Saxons had been, claimed to be the children, and believed in the principles, of Woden; yet they were not so much a hide-bound aristocracy as their Saxon brethren in England. Although the Danes brought upon the Saxons of England the same desolating war of plunder, slaughter and devastation—of pagan animosity against Christianity, as the Saxons themselves had formerly waged for two hundred years against the Ancient Britons, and gave the appearance that Providence was paying the Saxons in their own coin for the wrongs they had done the Britons; still the Danes did improve, and under Canute the Great for a while gave to England a better government, and have the credit of being the means of giving to England the first great man of plebeian Saxon origin, in the person of the great earl, Godwin.³ Sometimes out of wrongs and evil good does arise, even in political events; but that good might be attained by better means, but for the selfishness and cupidity of man.

When the Normans came to England the Anglo-Saxons had a government, which, though gradually improving, was as bad as any that was ever imposed upon an intelligent people.⁴ Mr. Turner thinks that nothing less than the revolution of the conquest would have broken the chains with which the aristocracy had bound their people. I think otherwise. It is believed that when the wars had ceased by which the aristocracy purposely kept the people in, for their own objects, and not that of the people, British soil and British humanity, in due time, would have produced a race of men, who of their own intelligence

and native form would produce a revolution which would put Britain upon a proper basis as to its laws and government. At any rate, such were the laws and condition of the Anglo-Saxons when the Norman conquest came upon them. No serious effort was made against it after the fall of Harold. The aristocracy did not until it was too late, for they thought it was only going to change the head of government and put in William instead of Harold, and the latter they considered too much of a *parvenu* for them to aid him. The people did not care, for they thought it was only a change of masters, which would not make a great deal of difference with them. But they found it was in reality a change of masters; a master who held a rod of iron in his hand.

The change which then took place has already been stated; and terrible as it was, it would seem that every class of people suffered in the revolution; but it would appear that the lower class, who were the villains and serfs, and constituting the great mass of the people, suffered the least. Their condition was the same before the event as after it. When the Conqueror decreed the transfer of the land from the old Saxon aristocracy to the new Norman lords, the people were transferred with the land; and it was only a change of owners, and they still remained as villains and serfs upon it.

The Anglo-Saxons who came to Britain and established their government there, came from the low and then swampy country at the mouths of the Elbe and Eider, possessed none of the advancement of upper or Southern Germany, in literature or arts. They were warriors by profession and pirates by practice. They looked upon literature and the arts as beneath their attention, and inconsistent with their character and profession. They came as soldiers to conquer and acquire fortune, not as emigrants or colonists, but to capture and plunder. They therefore brought with them but little more than their battle-axe, expecting to take, in the rich and improved country to which they were going, whatever they wanted, even their wives; and to

³ See ante, B. iii, ch.—.

⁴ The authors of *Pictorial History of England* (Vol. i, p. 40) say: "The feature of the Anglo-Saxon system of society that appears the most singular to our modern notion is the existence of so large a body of the people in the condition as that of the *villani*, or chief cultivators of the soil: that is to say, not subject to the control of any master who had the right to regard and use them as their absolute property, yet so completely destitute of what we understand by freedom, that they had not the power of removing from the estate on which they were born, and were transferred with it on every change of proprietors, they and their services together, exactly in the same manner as any other portion of the stock, live or dead, human or brutal, which happened to be accumulated on the surface. They were bound to the soil, and could no more uproot themselves and withdraw elsewhere than could the trees that were planted in it."

make the people their serfs, to produce for them their sustenance and clothing. When established in Britain, the time of their aristocracy was taken up with the wars with the natives and each other, and in the management of their estates and serfs. Thus literature, arts and science were neglected as beneath their attention. During the four hundred years from their advent to the Norman revolution, their progress in all kinds of improvement was slow. They neglected architecture as well as literature, and what little they had was confined to the clergy, stimulated by the Roman church. The nobility generally knew not how to read or write. During the same time the Welsh, Irish and the Scotch, under great disadvantages of foreign war imposed upon them, made great progress in literature and learning, and sent out into the world as teachers and missionaries such men as Pelagius, St. Patrick, Columbanus, Asser, Erigenus, Dun Scotius, and others. The Normans, after their settlement in Normandy, by their assimilation with the original Celtic inhabitants, made very rapid improvements in literature, architecture, and all the arts then known, and manifested a decided taste for them. When the Normans came to England, the difference apparent between them and the Saxons in respect to matters just mentioned induced the Normans to look upon the acquirements of the latter with contempt.

This feeling, and the assumption of conquest on the part of the Normans, soon induced a strong opposition on the part of the Saxons to William and his followers, which did not exist at first; and gradually produced rebellion and resistance to them, but when it was too late to be successfully organized, and when the Normans had acquired such a hold upon the country that they with ease put down all resistance against them.

From the commencement of the conquest the Normans had been in the habit of confiscating the property of all those who were found in opposition to them; and perhaps the subsequent rebellions were more courted than feared. At any rate, the Normans found, during William's reign, occa-

sions enough to transfer all the property of the Saxon nobility, with their serfs, to the Norman lords. This brought upon the Saxons so severe a rule and oppression that some of the Saxon nobility gave up their positions and voluntarily became serfs.

The condition of the Saxons, by the conquest, became most deplorable. Not only was the position of the nobility entirely lost, and that of the common people in no wise improved, for all the landed property and the serfs were transferred from the Saxon nobility to the Normans, but the oppression and wrongs of a conquered people rested upon every class of the Saxons in proportion to the capacity of each to suffer. Whenever any disturbance or rebellion took place in any district, the Normans rode over and traversed the country as a conquering army—plundering and pillaging, burning and slaughtering, as whim, caprice or interest might dictate, often quartering themselves upon the people, and taking what property and forage they pleased at will. Upon such occasions they respected no law, human or divine, and all kinds of oppressions and wrongs were perpetrated. Frequently death itself was a relief to other wrongs, and the epithet of injustice is too mild a term for them. Many years of the Conqueror's reign passed off before the country was relieved of this oppression, and the affairs settled down into a regular and usual government.

A contemporary writer, lamenting over the unhappy condition of his country, exclaimed: "From that day every evil and every tribulation has fallen upon our home. May God have mercy on it." It is said that the men had to undergo indigence and servitude; the women insult and outrage more cruel than death. Those who were not taken in marriage were taken *paramours*, as the conquerors termed it; and sometimes the least and lowest of them was lord and master in the house of the conquered.⁵ They took all kinds of liberties and license, and were astonished at their own insolence and success. The

⁵ 1 Thierry's Norman Conquest, B. iv, pp. 193, 226. 1 Hume's History of England, pp. 190—196.

Conqueror and his immediate cabinet officers governed the country as he chose, without the aid or restraint of any parliament or any constitutional body, sharing with him the powers of the state. He required such payment of taxes as he chose to levy. The Saxon lords were extinguished, and the Norman lords, who were to supercede them, were not sufficiently seated to exercise much restraint over him. During the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, a period of thirty-four years, from 1066 to 1100, the form of government did not much improve, except as it settled down in a peaceful and ordinary administration. But after the reign of Henry I the Norman lords began to feel their own strength and importance; many of them becoming natives of the soil, and more attached to it than to Normandy; less inclined to support the king's interest in his old home in Normandy, and more divided in partiality to his wishes and interest of the king. Gradually the Norman lords and their descendants became recognized as part of the government; and by the time of king John they became powerful enough to remonstrate against the wrongs and oppressions of the government, and to bring the king to a stand, and compelled him to assent to a charter embodying the terms of what they considered to be a just administration of the government and protection to the rights of individuals.

The Normans, notwithstanding their tyrannical and oppressive government at first, were the means of ultimately producing great reformation in the condition of the English people. One was the breaking up of the old Woden aristocracy, and another was a reformation as to the ignorance of the Saxons, and their indifference to literature and science. To accomplish this reform Alfred had labored with very exemplary vigor, with but little effect as to the mass, even among the nobility. The Normans, on the contrary, were active in introducing and encouraging literature and the arts. They were in the habit of writing and putting matters to record of the proceedings of the courts and government. William, under the pretense of the great

ignorance of the Saxon clergy, removed a large portion of them and filled their places with foreign or Norman clergy. They also introduced a greater amount of architecture and a spirit for its improvement. The oldest style of architecture after the Romans in Britain is that of the Normans. They immediately commenced to build large castles in various parts of England on their estates; and numerous abbeys, monasteries and churches. Thus the Normans were the means of introducing into England great improvement in the arts, which produced great reformation in the habits and condition of the people. This difference between these two people enabled the Normans to hold the Saxons in contempt, and impose upon the latter, until about the time of Edward III, their own language, the Norman-French, in all public proceedings, and that of the courts and government. For all the prominent places in the government, courts and church, learned foreigners were sought, and the Saxon natives excluded. This state of things was terribly oppressive to the Saxons, though the country, in point of learning, society and arts, was constantly improving.

By the time of king John a hundred and fifty years had elapsed, and the nobility of the country—the descendants of the Percys, Fitz Osborn, Warren, and other followers of the Conqueror, were now in the fourth or fifth generation, and their hopes and affections attached to British soil; while the king and his immediate attendants were still from Normandy. These Norman kings still held possessions and interests in Normandy and other provinces in France, and their expenses attending all the administration, and satisfying their attendants, became very great; and that expense was raised by taxes and contribution levied upon the land proprietors and holders of property in England. In the payment and the enforcement of the collection of the requisitions of the government, and the arbitrary manner in which they were enforced, the Anglo-Norman nobility of the country began to feel the oppression and complain of the arbitrary and unlimited administration of the government. They now realized as

oppressive what was indifferent to them when inflicted upon others. After much complaint of grievances unredressed, the barons of England combined against the king and his ministers, for the purpose of securing a more just and liberal government. After a very decided military movement against the king, a revolution threatened, a conference was held (A. D. 1215) between the king and these barons at Runnemedes; and the Great Charter of king John was there procured. The king afterwards complained that he was compelled to grant it; but the English claimed it was no more than an acknowledgment of their just rights; and have since referred to it as the foundation and commencement of their liberties and constitutional rights.

The Great Charter was one of the most extraordinary political papers ever produced in any country previous to modern times, for the purpose of securing personal rights and the due administration of the government. The dignitaries of the church united with the barons to secure their rights and liberties from the royal aggressions of which they complained. It secures the rights and freedom of the church; it protects the rights and privileges of the nobility from the unjust encroachments of the crown, and declares that "NO FREEMAN shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be deprived of his freehold or liberties, or by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." These matters are so declared and secured in sixty sections of the Charter; and its object seems to be, besides restraining the undue powers of the crown, to protect the rights and privileges of the clergy, the nobility, and the freemen; but there is hardly a word in it that gives protection or comfort to that large class of English people, those constituting more than one-half, and perhaps three-fourths, of them—the villains, serfs and slaves. Only in two places does it refer to them, to-wit: In section twenty—"A freeman shall be amerced only according to his faults; and a villain shall only be amerced in the same manner." And then in section sixty: "All the aforesaid customs and liberties, * * * as well clergy as laity shall observe, as far as they

are concerned, towards these dependents." So that the great body of the people—the great body of humanity—were still left to the tender mercies of their masters. The Charter speaks, as all conventions of the kind do, of the wrongs and injustice which they themselves have felt; but the bondsman—the serf—is left unnoticed. It is sometimes said that the Charter was the reproduction of Anglo-Saxon liberty. This is a mistake. It is not probable that a single Anglo-Saxon had anything to do with it. It is almost certain that there was not a single Anglo-Saxon in the convention which produced it. There is a great deal of excellent matter in the Charter, but it refers to the nobility, clergy and freemen, and leaves the bondsmen and slaves out of its protection. Still the Charter was drawn up in a most excellent spirit of freedom; it was probably the work of some of the clergy—the bishops who were members of the convention. The nobility of that age had no sympathy for the humble, the serf, or the slave; and the clergy would not dare to say much in favor of the freedom of the slave or serf. English liberty and freedom, like the race itself, is the growth of various elements combined and brought forth since that day; but the Great Charter may be a corner-stone in the foundation of the great temple of British laws and freedom. In general terms it uses apt words in favor of justice and freedom; and in this respect it may have been drawn up by some one who made it more so than the barons were aware of.

The Great Charter is a most extraordinary instrument of civil liberty and constitutional freedom for the age that produced it. It interfered but little or none with the form of the government, but its great object seems to be to reform the administration by prohibiting some things and requiring others to be observed, for, the purpose of suppressing arbitrary and oppressive measures, and of securing justice and due administration of the law. In these respects it is entitled to its great appellation, and was cherished by the people in subsequent times as the palladium of their rights. For a long time every new king was required

to renew or confirm the Great Charter of king John. But one of the most extraordinary and unaccountable matters in it is that which is found in three of some of its last sections; and they are these: "Section fifty-six—If we have deprived or dispossessed the Welsh of any land, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, either in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them: for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, for tenements of the Marche according to the law of the Marche: the same shall the Welsh do to us and our subjects." "Section fifty-seven—As for all those things of which a Welshman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been disseized or deprived of by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, * * * we will immediately do them full justice, according to the laws of the Welsh and of the parts before mentioned." "Section fifty-eight—We will without delay dismiss the son of Llewellyn,⁶ and all the Welsh hostages, and release them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preservation of the peace."

What is extraordinary in this matter is the care that is taken to do ample right and justice to the Welsh people, whom they had been accustomed to rob and plunder of their property upon every feasible opportunity. At whose instance was this done? It seems that about ten years before this, peace existed between Llewellyn and king John, and the king gave to the prince his daughter Joan in marriage. Soon, however, the earl of Chester and other lords of the Marches were making encroachments upon the prince by taking possession of more Welsh lands; and Llewellyn making resistance and reprisals. These lords were very anxious to capture more land, found Llewellyn not so easy a man to deal with, and made complaints and misrepre-

sentations to king John of Llewellyn's opposition. War followed with much difficulty and hard fighting. Llewellyn being desirous of peace, sent his wife to king John, her father, to mediate for peace, in which she was successful. Afterwards occurred the difficulty between the king and his barons, which culminated in the adoption of the Charter. Now, in their difficulty with the king, the barons were very friendly with Llewellyn, and solicited his co-operation. The barons were successful in not only enlisting Llewellyn, but also the Pope in their favor, against the king; and the Pope sent a special communication to the prince releasing him and his people of their tributary oaths, and urging them, under the penalty of his curse, to annoy and trouble king John to the uttermost of their power. Llewellyn was in a difficult situation for John had his son and other hostages in his hands. The barons were thus able to bring king John to terms. But then who represented and cared for the interest of the Welsh people in the convention at Runnemed? It seems from the instrument itself that they were amply cared for, though there is nothing to show that the Saxons were.

Of the barons who attended that convention, we have the names of two, there may be others, who were intimate and well acquainted with Welsh affairs, and intimately connected with them. These were: First, the earl of Pembroke, marshal of England. This man was William de Clare, who, with two of his ancestors, was surnamed Strongbow; Gilbert de Clare being the first, Richard de Clare being the second, and William the third Strongbow. They all had been among the most distinguished of the great men who came from Normandy to Britain. They all had been earls of Striguil in Normandy, and earls of Pembroke in Wales. But William, who was a member of the Runnemed convention, was the greatest of them, and a very excellent man. At the death of John, he was at the head of the government; and, says Hume, "it happened, fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not have been intrusted into

⁶ This was Llewellyn ab Iorwerth, prince of Wales A. D. 1194-1240, and not Llewellyn ab Gruffydd, the last prince.

more able and more faithful hands;⁷ and he elsewhere calls him a wise and virtuous nobleman. Second, John Mareschal,⁸ who seems to have been one of the barons from some of the king's fiefs in Wales.

It is probable that it was these two distinguished men, at least, and probably others, who took that great care of the interest of the people of Wales at Runnemed. If the spirit of that care had always been manifested towards the Cymry, the peaceful times, which distinguished that people, during the Roman times after Agricola, during the reigns of Alfred, Edgar and Athelstan, and since the accession of Henry VIII, would have been perpetuated; for they never engaged in any aggressive or foreign war, or any, except that which was in defense of the right. The Great Charter unquestionably inured to the benefit of the Welsh people, in securing common rights and justice, although there was probably nothing in it which could not be found in Welsh laws and triads.

A part of the barbarous customs introduced by the conquerors of the Roman empire throughout Western Europe, and especially from Germany through France and Britain, which neither Christianity nor the Great Charter were able at once to remove, and discontinue as law until very modern times, was the trial of judicial matters by ordeals and personal combats.⁹ These objectionable features in the law continued long after the period at which we now are, but the progress of civilization gradually abolished their use in practice, until they became obsolete, as barbarous and unchristian.

During the Saxon and the fore part of the Norman period war and conflict, and even private battles, were looked upon as the normal condition of man, and believed the result to be the interference of Providence—that God would decide the right.

This idea was carried into their trials by combat, and into contention for the possession of property. Violence, blood and carnage had no repulsion or terror for them. This, undoubtedly, was a part of the barbarity and superstition introduced into Western Europe by the children and devotees of Woden, which Christianity and civilization had not as yet been able to uproot and abolish. During the reign of Henry III¹⁰ and Edward I, and from thence down, the English people began to feel these evils, and the better sort of people to labor for a reform. Various statutes were passed by parliament, reciting the evils,¹¹ and enacting the proposed reform. From that time gradual improvements were made both in the laws, customs, and manners, until they have developed into those of modern times. Yet the progress was slow in overcoming what had been so deeply rooted by custom and habit: the privileges and lawlessness of the upper class, and the absence of general education among the lower class of the people.

In regard to the general character of the Anglo-Saxons, it is chosen to follow those who have shown themselves to have been quite favorable to them. "They were," says Hume,¹² "in general a rude, uncultured people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanical arts, untamed to submission under laws and government, addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their latter period; and their want of humanity in all their history. Even the Norman historians, notwithstanding the low state of the arts in their own country, speak of them as barbarians, when they

⁷ See a very good chapter on the subject in the *Pictorial History of England*, Vol. I, B. iii, ch. iii and vii; B. iv, ch. iii and vii.

⁷ 2 Hume's *Hist. Eng.*, p. 2—8.

⁸ John Marshall, late Chief Justice of the United States, has written a statement, an autograph which I have seen in a lithograph, that his ancestors came from Wales to Virginia. The first of the name in Wales took his surname from being a Mareschal under the English government.

⁹ See Powell's treatise on the Law of Appellate Proceedings, introduction.

¹¹ See 1 *Pictorial Hist. Eng.*, p. 851. Statutes of 1375. 2 Richard II, stat. 1, c. 6: "Do sometimes burn and maim, murder and slay the people for to have their wives and goods and the same women and goods to retain to their own use; sometimes take the king's liege people in their houses and bring and hold them as prisoners, and at last put them to fire and ransom, as it were in a land of war."

¹² *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 177.

mention the invasion made upon them by the duke of Normandy." The authors of the Pictorial History of England,¹³ extracting from Ordericus Vitalis and Malmbury as contemporary English historians, say: "They assure us that, when the Normans first came over, the greater number of the English clergy could hardly read the church service, and that as for any thing like learning, they were nearly to a man destitute of it; if any one of them understood grammar, he was admired and wondered at by the rest as a prodigy. The upper classes in general were sunk in sloth and self-indulgence, and addicted to the coarsest vices. * * * Besides other gross practices, they were universally given to gluttonous feeding and drunkenness; continuing over their cups for whole days and nights, and spending all their income at riotous feasts, when they ate and drank to excess without any display either of refinement or of magnificence. The dress, the houses, and the domestic accommodations of the people of all ranks were mean and wretched in the extreme." This character of gluttonous and excessive drinking is given by all the Saxon historians of the times; but some excuse it as having been introduced by the Danes. But this assertion is very questionable, as it is more probable that this vicious habit was common to both people. In these respects they were put in contrast with the Celtic people, who generally were more temperate, and of whom the Normans mostly partook.

§3.—*The Condition of the People from the Annexation of Wales to the Accession of the Tudors. (A. D. 1283—1485.)*

The next year after the death of Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, Edward I proceeded earnestly to do whatever he thought necessary to annex Wales, politically and judicially, to the government of England. Since that time Wales has been a part of England as much as Yorkshire, and without any great rebellion or commotion, except that under Owen Glendower. This was accomplished after a struggle and

strife of eight hundred years, from the time of Hengist to that of Llewellyn; and that end was attained by the continual arrival of soldiers from the continent, who took one piece or province after another, making the land their own property, and the people their subjects. It has been suggested by a few, that at an early period, where we possess no historical account of the operation, that the Saxons slaughtered all the inhabitants, who did not flee the country—men, women and children, so that they had an entire vacant country to begin upon. This theory is not only contrary to the operation in subsequent history, and that of other countries on the continent, but in itself is so horrid, barbarous and inhuman, that both history and humanity impugn it. The union and assimilation of both the conquerors and the conquered is the only theory consistent with truth and history. Prof. Creasy, in his learned essay on the English Constitution, reluctantly comes to our conclusion, and says: "The same evidence, both the historical and the philological, when carefully scrutinized, leads also to the belief that it was only the male part of the British population which was thus swept away, and that, by reason of the union of the British females with the Saxon warriors, the British elements were largely preserved in our nation."¹ It seems therefore to agree with Mr. Creasy's sense of humanity, reason and history, to save all the females and make them a part of the English nation, but that all the males,—boys under the age of a soldier, and old men above it, as well as all those not killed in battle, were gathered together by the Saxons and murdered or massacred in cold blood. This accords with neither hu-

¹ Creasy's *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*, p. 28. But the idea that the Ancient Britons were generally slaughtered by the Saxons is now so generally unimaged that it becomes unnecessary to cite them. The other idea, that they were expelled to Wales is equally unimaged. At the coming of the Saxons Southern Britain had about two millions of people; Wales at that date never had one-tenth of that number, and could not have received them. No theory is, therefore, consistent or admissible, except that which consolidates the great body of the Ancient Britons with the Saxons who came; and who generally were soldiers and single men; and took wives, as suggested by Prof. Creasy; and the male portion of the population became their subjects, and perhaps serfs.

manity nor history, and will not be credited by any fair and candid mind.

The annexation by Edward I. completed this operation, and brought the last of the Cymry within the pale of the English government and nationality; and just as the Britons along the Severn, on the peninsula of Cornwall west of the Avon, in Mercia and in every part of England, have become Anglo-Briton, so will the people of the principality; and that time is fast approaching, depending upon the kindness and hospitality of the English people.

During the years 1283 and '84, Edward spent much of his time in Wales, endeavoring to reconcile its people to their new state of things. He visited the cathedral of St. David and paid great respect to that holy place. The archbishop of Canterbury at the same time made a visitatorial journey throughout the principality, observing very conciliatory action towards the people.

In March, 1283, king Edward enacted the statute of Rhuddlan, which recited that the king had caused the laws and regulations, then in force in those parts, to be read before himself and nobles, and their bearing being fully understood, he had, by the advice of his counsel, annulled some, permitted some to stand, and added some new ones, all to be perpetually observed throughout Wales, which Divine Providence had now delivered entirely into his hands. Several counties were formed, for which Sheriffs and other county officers were appointed according to English organization; but old division lines were observed, and leaving the cantrefs (hundreds) and cwmwds (townships) as they were marked out by their ancient lines. It also prescribes the duties of several officers and magistrates, and prescribes certain forms of judicial proceedings; and thus announcing the general subjugation of the country.

From the time of Edward's annexation the destiny of Wales and England became identified: the Welsh being the last of the Cymry or Ancient Britons who became a part of the English people; thus becoming united, in interest and destiny, with their brethren who had so preceded them, and forming a very large, if not the larger,

portion of the English people in blood and race.

The feudal tenures were undoubtedly introduced into England by the Saxons, as they were carried by the northern people wherever they subdued the Roman empire. The Normans found it in England, only that they by a written code reduced it to more certain and specific terms as they had done in Normandy. But from the times of Richard II down, and especially during civil wars and commotion, that tyrannical system gradually ameliorated, especially during the reigns of John and Henry III. In Edward's time it was greatly improved, and its most objectionable features taken off; and by Cromwell's time but little of it was left, and then it was declared that all tenures by knight and military services should be reduced to tenure by free and common socage. So that when the Welsh became a part of the people of England, the feudal system did not exist in its greatest enormity. But the Welsh always protested against that system; and in various treaties with the English, they annually provided that no feudal tenure should apply to any of their concessions. It is believed that no feudal tenures ever existed in Wales, though they probably did in some certain English lordships which were taken as conquered territory. Soon after the annexation the English tenures ceased to be so objectionable, and became as kind as those in Wales. But it was not only the land tenures that had thus ameliorated in England, but the whole system of human rights and freedom had improved.

After the reign of Henry II the condition of the English people began to improve in every respect. Slavery, serfdom, and arbitrary government began to yield towards a humane and rational liberty; a government of exclusive aristocracy, to the just claims of the great body of the commonality; and the arbitrary powers of the monarch to impose taxes as he might deem best, to yield to the just claims of the people.

In the reign of John the Great Charter did much towards restraining arbitrary power, and to secure personal freedom. Towards the close of the long reign of

Henry III, of fifty-six years, next after that of John and the Great Charter, there was great progress made in political freedom and personal rights, principally by the advocacy of Simon de Montfort, the great earl of Leicester, who attempted a great reform and innovation in the government of England. In the struggle which this attempt brought upon him with the king and the aristocracy, his greatest confederate and aid was Llewellyn, prince of Wales, before his own troubles came on. It was Leicester who made the first attempt towards the reform of parliament and place it within the reach of the people. Under his influence it was ordered that four knights for each county should be chosen to represent to parliament the grievances of the people.² But it was afterwards that he attempted the great reform: "He ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men which, in former ages, had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils."³ But this was too great an innovation upon the close aristocracy of the English government up to that time, to be countenanced or repeated; and at that time there was no indication of a house of commons, or that the people were to share any part in the government.

But it was not until after thirty years from Leicester's time that we find that the people had obtained any real hold on the government. Previous to that time all the attempted reformation we find in the English history came from partisans of the nobility themselves, but after that we find the people—the plebeians—acting and contending for human right. Until then, in the reign of Edward I, the people were kept down, in too abject condition to understand or think of a liberal form of government. By a combination of the aristocracy, the people were kept too far from political power to dream that they could participate in it. But now the principles secured by the Great Charter, and those

contended for by the earl of Leicester, began to produce fruit, and open the eyes and understanding of the people. Hume is, therefore, undoubtedly right in saying: "This period, which is the twenty-third of his reign, (Edward I,) seems to be the real and true epoch of the house of commons, and the faint dawn of popular government in England. For the representatives of the counties were only deputies from the smaller barons and lesser nobility; and the former precedent of representatives from the boroughs, who were summoned by the earl of Leicester, was regarded as the act of a violent usurpation, had been discontinued in all the subsequent parliaments."⁴ This period, and this reformation in the government and the condition of the people, was ten years after the annexation of Wales; and it aided in assimilating the laws and condition of the two people; and preserve for the Welsh people the personal rights and freedom to which they had been accustomed. The opposition that the kings of England encountered with some portion of the nobility themselves, induced the sovereign sometimes to side with the people in opposition to the wishes of the barons. The kings frequently found the people the best supporters of the just claims of the throne; and adopted the policy of encouraging and protecting the more industrious orders of the state, who were found well disposed, when well treated, to obey the laws, and maintain civil institutions, and whose industry and integrity best promoted the progress and welfare of the state. Their progressive improvement in the government and condition of the people proceeded onward to meet the great improvement that came with the Tudor dynasty. In the meantime this progression was sometimes interrupted or retarded by civil or foreign war, which invariably was the result of the work of the nobility rather than that of the commonalty. The war of the Lancaster and York factions—of the red and white roses, was a matter wholly of the nobility, in which there was not a single principle of good government or freedom at stake. Still the nobility sus-

² See 1 Hume's History of England, p. 34.

³ Hume, *ut supra*, p. 53.

⁴ 2 Hume's History of England, p. 101.

tained losses, and were so reduced in numbers in the course of the wars and controversy, that the position of the commonalty was greatly promoted in the result. The lords were constantly diminishing and disappearing, while new great men were as often rising and appearing from among the plebeians.

In this manner the commons of England, so very different from former times, have arisen, upon whom so much of the power and glory of their country depends. The apparent difference in the character of the English—country, government and people—before and after the reign of Edward I, it is no wonder that Macaulay says: "Here commences the history of the English nation. The history of the previous events is the history of wrongs inflicted and sustained," not only by various tribes upon one another, but by one class of the same people and race upon another, while inhabiting the same soil and neighborhood; and this, too, by Saxons upon one another, as well as by Normans upon their subjects.

The distinction that the Saxons, from an early period in their history, made between one class of their people, by which one was the ruler and the holder of land and the other the mere serf, was so deeply rooted that it took a great while to uproot it. It was this Saxon aristocracy, founded upon a descent from Woden, which enabled the Normans so easily to overcome them, and establish their government; and transfer the land, and the people living thereon, at once from Saxon lords to Norman lords, by the mere transfer of great lordships and manors. Had the land of the country been divided up into the hands of independent land-holders—the yeomanry of the country such as existed in Cromwell's time and now exists in the United States, such transfer could never have taken place. But between John's time and that of Cromwell's this change did transpire, deep rooted and as slow as it was. It seems from history that as firmly fixed as these evils were, the people in their slow progress as often profited by weaknesses, vices, and errors of their rulers, as by any other means. John and Henry III, and the war of the roses, were

good examples of this.

In the course of the progress of this reformation, we come upon instances of the new principles and customs coming in conflict with the old in a singular manner. It would seem that sometimes old habits and errors were too deeply fixed for them to get out of the way for the new to have its full operation. The love of war, and bloodshed and carnage, which the Saxons, in common with all the northern barbarians, brought into Britain, which was the legitimate fruit of Wodenism, and which carried with it the habit of personal and judicial combats; and that of redressing personal wrongs by force, and sometimes carrying on a private war to gain a wrong, or redress a private injury. This was frequently the case in those warlike times, tolerated or suffered, to the manifest injury of good government and laws, and to the great detriment of the interest of the people.

We have an account of a transaction in the reign of Edward IV, about 1460, which singularly discloses the character of the times and illustrates what has been said. The case was a contest for the possession of an estate known as Caister.⁵ The Pastons were in possession claiming the estate under the late will of "the celebrated warrior Sir John Fastolf"; and the possession contested by the duke of Norfolk, who proceeded to lay regular siege to the manor-house, to recover the possession. On being informed of this, one of the Pastons (Sir John) writes to his brother, to comfort him in the siege and encourage the defense, that he had procured "four well assured and true men, to do all manner of things that they be desired to do in safeguard or strengthening of the said place; and they be proved men, and cunning in the war and in feats of arms; and they can well shoot both guns and cross-bows, and mend and string them, and devise bulwarks, and keep watch and ward" * * * * for fear of the assault being made, "I send you these men. Ye shall find them gentlemanly, comfortable fellows, and that they will and dare abide by their taking." It appears that

⁵ See 2 Vol. Pictorial History of England, B. v, ch. vii, p. 265.

the siege went on for some time; that the duke called in his tenants to his aid and sent for guns, powder and other ammunition. The besieged were sore pressed; two of the men "be dead," and others sorely hurt. The mother writes to Sir John Paston urging him to get either the duke of Clarence or the archbishop of York to apply to the duke of Norfolk for terms of accommodations. After some time, we are informed, Caister was given up to the duke; and that the want of money, and the consequent failure of victuals and gunpowder, had compelled the brave garrison to surrender. The historian remarks upon this case: "These are exactly the circumstances we might expect between two parties not living under the dominion of any common law or government at all. Yet, if the law did not expressly sanction the present proceedings, it appears to have looked on without ever attempting to interrupt them." They were the relics of a ruder age, when war, fighting and bloodshed were looked upon with, at least, composure.

The Welsh now ceased to exist as an independent people. After so long and glorious a struggle for their freedom, they were compelled to yield to destiny, as did the greatest and best of nations before them. They have submitted to the inevitable laws of Providence, and force of nature, and are now united to their brethren in that union, which for so many ages had been swallowing up so many of their race, and which constitutes, if not a majority of their blood, at least a very large portion of the English people. In the course of this conquest, from the Roman times down, we find evidence of the character given them by Tacitus, a people easily led by kindness and justice, but hard to be driven by oppression and wrong. This has become a part of the character of the British people as though it were the development of its soil. Accordingly we find, in the dealings of the Saxons and Normans with the Ancient Britons and their descendants, the greatest extreme and opposition of these principles, of kindness and justice on the one hand, and oppression and cruelty on the other; the justice and kindness of

Alfred produced a long peace and harmony, as the oppression and cruelty of Offa produced relentless war. In the same manner may be compared the justice and kindness of the Great Charter towards the Welsh, or that of Montfort, the earl of Leicester, towards them, with that determined hostility and injustice manifested by Edward I. But these acts of injustice and cruelty are past and gone, and cannot now be remedied; they belong to another age. Whether it be true or false that Edward, in order to complete his conquest, collected the Welsh bards together and massacred them, in order to silence their praises in favor of their independence and freedom, and against the oppression and tyranny of their enemies; it must be true that the bards met him with the greatest hostility,⁶ and thousands of them met their death on account of their patriotism, as they did of old with the Romans.

This difference of action on the part of the Welsh, dependent on the spirit with which they were met at various times, has sometimes been misrepresented, and charged against the Welsh as characteristic of their capricious and unstable disposition, and faithlessness. But impartial historians have attributed this change of disposition to their true and just causes—to the just or the oppressive treatment which they received from those by whom they were surrounded, and with whom they had to deal. When acts of robbery, injustice and oppression were imposed upon them, they would resent it and rebel. For instance, their last great rebellion was that of Owen Glendower; and that was brought about by the injustice and wrongs of Henry IV towards him; and that was because Owen did not support his usurpation to the crown in opposition to the right heir. Glendower was therefore contending for the right in opposition to usurpation and wrong. By this injustice he was driven to declare the independence and freedom of his country. Impartial historians have repeatedly taken this view of the Welsh character, and in answer to these charges made against them,

⁶ 2 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, p. 281.

Thierry says:⁷ "The reproach of fickleness and perfidy so long lavished on the free population of Southern Gaul by their national enemies, the French and Anglo-Normans, constantly applied to the natives of Cambria. And, indeed, if it were perfidy not to recognize any right of conquest, and to make incessant efforts to shake off the foreign yoke, the Welsh were certainly the most faithless of all nations; for their resistance to the Normans, by force and by stratagem, was as pertinacious as had been that of their ancestors against the Anglo-Saxons." This vindication of the Welsh character has been made by other fair and impartial historians. They have considered how these people have been encroached upon for ages, as though the surrounding world was combined to rob them, until their last stronghold was taken. The Saxons and Normans were constantly making new approaches upon them, and every new acquisition defended with immense castles; and their new approaches gained by constantly recruited forces from England, Germany and France, until the operation of ages had worn them out. "These tyrannical lords and greedy retainers could not follow the example of the king's moderation—their cruel excesses and their insulting demeanor towards the Welsh continually provoked hostilities, and kept alive feelings which frequently vented themselves in deeds scarcely more lawless than those out of which they arose."⁸ Still the brave people were firm to the last in their resolution to resist the wrong, with strong faith in their destiny and hopes in the justice of Providence. Said a Welsh mountaineer to Henry II: "Thou seest this poor people, but such as they are thou shalt never subdue them—that is reserved alone for God in his wrath." Though it may not have been the wrath of God, and the country may have been reduced by Henry's great grandson, yet "seldom has ever a race made a longer or more gallant stand for liberty." "When better times and better feeling come, though the Welsh, being

less numerous and far more exposed, were less fortunate than the Scots, their valor entitles them to the same admiration and sympathy; and the high national character of the united kingdom of Great Britain may, perhaps, be in part owing to the fact that no one portion of it fell an easy or degraded conquest to the other."⁹

Although Wales was annexed by Edward I to England, yet no great violence was done to her laws and institutions. A Welsh historian, writing in A. D. 1740, says: "It is true that a great many technical terms, peculiar to the law, have become obsolete since king Howel's code was discontinued. The majority of his laws remained in force until the time of Henry VIII, who was the great grandson of Owen Tudor, of Anglesea."¹⁰ For ages have the English and the Welsh been in the habit of coming in contact with each other, either as opponents or allies, or as associates. In war they have been enemies, yet in peace often friends. Since the time of Cadwalla and Penda they have been often allies and associates upon extensive fields and in large operations. They are more alike than any two different races, and differ more in language than in anything else; and now, as better and more generous times have come on, the English, as a new language, is becoming common to both. In the United States the Germans say that the Welsh and the English are more alike than any other two people; their hopes and desire was to Germanize them both. In the mountainous districts of Wales the rustic appearance of the country is retained, as it is in all countries away from city influence and its cultivation; but in the low lands and cities the traveler finds all that modern improvement has given to England.

But during the whole Norman period—during that daybreak from the preceding night of the dark ages in which barbarity had swallowed up Europe, it may be well claimed that in point of civilization the Welsh were, of themselves, in advance, in their condition, of the rest of Western Eu-

7 2 Norman Conquest, Conclusion, II, p. 279.

8 1 Pictorial History of England, p. 676.

9 Ibid, p. 672.

10 Theo. Evans' Primitive Ages, p. 132.

rope. They were the relics of the Roman better days. The Cambrians were the only people of Western Europe that the barbarians had not conquered and reduced at once under the dark period of their reign. They were surrounded by it, but not overcome with it. That was reserved for the returning light and civilization of the time of Edward I. In the meantime the Cymry had preserved their holy religion against the conquest of Wodenism, their literature from being swallowed up in the dark ages, and their civilization from the days of the Romans down, as it was found by Augustin when he came to Christianize the Saxon pagans; and as described by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the time of Henry II. In the subsequent times of the Edwards, we meet with frequent accounts of their happy condition when not afflicted by war, brought on them for conquest by Saxon, Dane or Norman invaders. It was not that of great cities and commerce, for of that they were cut off, by the enemies and barbarity which surrounded them, but it was that of Arcadian simplicity, refined by love of literature, of freedom, and of Christian religion, as preserved by them, from those Roman days, when their ancestors were in the possession of all Southern Britain.

They cultivated the Christian religion in its simplicity and purity, and always against the mere dogmas and corruption of the Roman church. They cultivated literature in a degree superior to any in Western Europe, and personal civil liberty unattained in any other country. It was that love of personal liberty, in opposition to the feudalism and serfdom of the Saxons and Normans, that caused their greatest opposition to them. It was customary among them to hold frequent *eisteddvod*, or assemblies, for the cultivation of literature, poetry, music and general intelligence and science. We frequently find accounts of such assemblies held by private gentlemen on their own estates at their own expense, when, for that day, great refinement and taste were exhibited.

The condition in which many of the Welsh gentry lived, even in the stormy days of the annexation, can be gathered

from many accounts given in prose and poetry. A bard of that day describes the principal abode of Owen Glendower, in the parish of Llansilin, and called Sycarth. It is said that this residence of the chieftain, before it was destroyed by his enemies, would compare in splendor with the palace at Westminster. In the midst of one of the finest of the numerous scenes to be found in Wales, the stranger entered the premises, by a gate-house, surrounded by a moat and rampart, so common in those days, inclosing nine halls with their necessary conveniences. To these were added the church with its chapels. Near by, on the green bank, stood a wooden edifice, covered with tile, containing four apartments, with two chambers each, prepared for the reception of the guests who might visit this stately residence. Around these in their proper places were the park, a fishpond stocked with fine fish, the warren, the dovecote, the orchard, vineyard and the mill, with every other appendage suitable to the owner's condition and rank.

Such establishments were then common in that country, as they are now with such gentlemen as Sir W. W. Wynn, Sir C. Morgan and others. But it was not in these physical and ornate matters that the Cymry excelled; for it is their culture, in that day, of literature, taste and intellect, in prose and verse, in song and story, which has produced the vindication and admiration of the candid of modern times. Among these Thierry may be ranked, who says: "But the books of this petty nation were so full of poetry, they had so powerful an impress of enthusiasm and conviction, that once translated into other languages, they became most attractive reading for foreigners, and the theme upon which the romance writers of the middle ages most frequently constructed their fictions. It was thus that Arthur, the old war chief of the Cambrians, appeared in the fabulous histories of the Normans and French *tronveres*, the ideal of a perfect knight, and the greatest king that ever wore a crown."¹¹

¹¹ 2 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, B. xi, p. 198. And Thierry is fully confirmed by what Prof. M. Arnold says in his essays on Celtic Literature.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BOOK V.—THE MODERN PERIOD.

From the Accession of Henry VII, to that of Queen Victoria.
(A. D. 1485—1837.)

CHAPTER I.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL CHANGES OF THE PERIOD.

§1.—*The Tudor Dynasty.* (A. D. 1485— 1603.)

The accession of Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, to the English throne as Henry VII, forms a striking epoch not only in the history of Britain but that in the history of the world. A thousand years transpired from the fall of the Roman empire to the reformation—from the time when the barbarism of the north, throughout Western Europe, triumphed over civilization, paganism over Christianity, and violence and bloodshed over humanity and justice. This era, so terrible in the history of mankind, has been denominated the dark ages, or middle ages. It is difficult to fix the precise time when this era commenced or terminated; but it has been sometimes put as commencing with the fall of the Western Roman empire, A. D. 476, and terminating with the commencement of the reformation, A. D. 1520. As to the precise time, it may be justly varied in one way or another, for the commencement or termination of the period; but so far as Britain is concerned, no permanent land-mark can be placed, so just, for the beginning and end of that fatal era, as that of Hengist and Henry VII: as its beginning and ending from A. D. 450 to 1485. That truly was a dark period, when the progress of mankind in civilization and improvements was turn-

ed back for a period of at least a thousand years.

The government of England by the Saxons was a fair outgrowth of the state of things existing in that dark age. It was a monarchy in some measure controlled by a hereditary nobility, all claiming to be descendants of one family, in whom was vested the real property and all the political power.¹ As to the landed property and political freedom, the great mass of the people of England were in a very abject and hopeless condition. The Normans so found them, and transferred the landed property and political power from Saxon lords to Norman lords, leaving the great mass of the people in the condition they found them. The Norman king assumed the sovereignty with almost despotic rule; and still he claimed only to take and exercise the powers and authority of Edward the Confessor. Edward had a council of advisers of such of the Saxon nobility as he chose to summon, called the Witenagemot, in which the people had no part. The king and this council governed the country as they pleased; raised taxes, declared war and peace as they thought best. The Norman king, for a long time, assumed the like rights and powers, with the aid of a new council, composed of such of his

¹ See ante B. Though this position is contrary to received opinion, yet it is fully sustained by historical facts. The Saxon aristocracy was so close and exclusive, and opposed to the interest and freedom of the people. Godwin and his family were the only plebeians ever admitted to the Saxon nobility, and that was only accomplished by Danish influence.

Norman nobility as he chose to summon; and in this the people and their influence were entirely excluded. This council, instead of being called the Witenagemot, was denominated the parliament; but which contained no more of the admirable elements of the present English parliament than of a Turkish divan, or congress being the representative of the old native Indian council. The reformation and improvement in these respects between the time of John and the termination of that of Richard III., was the natural growth of the new state of things and the native desire of the people for the exercise of their just rights and liberties.

The reform in the English government from the time of the conquest to the accession of Henry VII, was very slow and gradual. There did not appear to be any until the adoption of the great charter at Runnemed; and that was exclusively the work of the Norman barons, to secure their rights against the arbitrary measures of their king; which did not apply to the great body of the people, as villains, serfs and slaves, except as they afterwards became freemen. The government was exclusively in the hands of the king and his nobility; and they were, in a great measure, the creatures of his own creation. The commonalty, which afterwards acquired a voice in the government, then had no part in it.

But until after Edward I, the Norman kings of England were also dukes of Normandy, and were interested in supporting their interest there, which caused them to divide their attention and expenditures between England and Normandy. To meet these expenditures, the king resorted to oppressive measures to raise the necessary revenue, which fell upon his nobility in England. These oppressive measures they resisted, which produced a civil war, and which resulted in a compromise between the king and his nobility by the adoption of the great charter as their security. After that the number of freemen between the nobility and the great mass of bondmen began to increase, to become independent freeholders and of some importance in the state. At the close of the reign of Henry

III, Mountfort, the earl of Leicester, in his opposition to the king, procured to be summoned to parliament two knights from each shire, and deputies from the boroughs; but it is apprehended that these were only to represent the interest of their constituents to parliament, and were not members of it themselves. But at any rate this measure of Leicester was looked upon by the nobility as being so obnoxious to them, in making the people themselves a part of the government and state, and as an usurpation, that the measure was dropped, and not again heard of, until towards the close of the reign of Edward I;² when probably the house of commons was first formed, a period of about eighty years after the time of procuring the Great Charter. After the admission of the commons in parliament, constitutional principles of freedom, and the advancement of the people in the rank of manhood, gradually progressed towards what we find it at this day. But it is vain to attempt to find the origin of the political and civil liberties of the British people, in any of the institutions of the Saxon or Norman period, prior to Edward I; or to find the origin of the house of commons before that time. It was then that the British people began to be emancipated from that thralldom which Saxon and Norman aristocracy had bound upon them; and the first step towards it was the admission of the people to a participation in the government, by the formation of the house of commons, the glory of the British government, and the model for every government that deserves a name.

But the progress of the English people in the principles and institutions of a free and just government, from Edward I to Henry VII, was slow, and only progressive. It required much time for the people to be emancipated from those institutions fixed upon them by the institutions of the dark ages. It was necessary for them to be relieved of that exclusive and oppressive aristocracy instituted by the Saxons as founded upon their claim of descent from Woden, which in a modified and more lib-

² 2 Hume's History of England, pp. 96-106; Creasy's English Constitution, p. 177; see ante B.

eral form fell into the hands of the Normans; and to be enfranchised into those free and liberal institutions which constitute and support the house of commons. Gradually, between the time of Edward I and that of Tudor, these great operations in the course of human freedom were progressing, but not finally accomplished. This progress was more the result of time and circumstances, and the action of the barons, than any great movement of the people themselves, as in Cromwell's time. The aristocracy became numerous, and a portion of them frequently found themselves oppressed by the unjust and oppressive measures of the government. A portion of them then became the advocates of a more just and liberal government, as was the case in the time of Leicester under Henry III. At such time the people would profit by their advocacy and movement, more than in any of their own. Then came on those difficult times, from the accession of Henry VI to the end of the reign of Richard III, a period of about sixty years, in which transpired the fatal war of the roses, when a large portion of the nobles lost their lives in a partisan war, in which there was no principle at stake; but by which the people gained by the mere loss and reduction of the nobility. The battle of Bosworth brought those distracted times to a close; and the new administration gave a fair opportunity to the sound principles and reformation of the government that had been for years progressing, to be perfected and consolidated. Of this opportunity Henry VII availed himself with that sagacity and wisdom for which he was distinguished. Tudor's legal title to the crown was much questioned, and he himself placed his right upon various grounds. He endeavored to satisfy all parties—the Lancasterians of the red rose, by his descent from Catharine, his grandmother, the widow of Henry V; the Yorkist, or the white rose, by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV; and did not neglect to claim some right to rule by his descent from Arthur and the princes of the Ancient Britons through Owen Tudor; nor

did he deem his right to sovereignty was any less than William the Conqueror, by his victory of Bosworth-field. Still his right was frequently contested by uneasy partisans, who, when unable to find a legitimate claimant to the throne, set up, at least, two different spurious pretenders, which Henry was able to defeat with his usual sagacity and success.

In the accession of Henry VII, England was particularly happy in receiving a monarch, just such a one, as the people and the times then stood in need. He favored the rise and advancement of the people, rather than the restoration of the unbounded power and influence of the nobility. He delighted more in witnessing the progress and prosperity of the people and country, than in the glory of war and conquest. He was devoted to his country, and sought its interest, in opposition to conquest and extension of territory. In this he showed the wisdom and realized the success of Cæsar of old. He promoted the interest and prosperity of the people by authorizing the nobility to sell and alienate their lands, and by various means to avoid and abolish the trammels of the feudal system. Though he possessed the reputation of a brave, experienced and able warrior, yet he greatly loved peace and its prosperity to any other honorable consideration. Throughout Europe he was extolled as a shrewd and sagacious monarch, and his great wisdom everywhere acknowledged. He was economical and saving, and by that means greatly increased his treasury; and his success in this respect, in the latter part of his life, brought upon him the reputation of being avaricious and sordid, and resorting to unjust means to increase his wealth. His reign was a great success, and has received the great commendation of such historians as lord Bacon. To the Cymry it was a great triumph, for they considered it as the restoration of one of their own countrymen to the throne of Britain. All the Tudors, to queen Elizabeth, the last of them, always treated the Welsh with great kindness, and were always forward in acknowledging their kindred. Whatever they did to the contrary was thought to be

to the interest of the nation.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Henry VII died, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII, A. D. 1509. The latter ascended the throne at the early age of eighteen, under the most flattering circumstances, with all the hearty congratulation of his people, and the advantage that the prosperous reign of his father could add to them. Like all of the Tudor dynasty, he was distinguished for his pre-eminent ability for executive and administrative talent and capacity; but less marked with that superior wisdom and sound judgment which distinguished his father. There is a striking uniformity in vigor and success of the reign of all the Tudors and, during their time, in the prosperity and welfare of the country. The father had raised the position of England in the scale of nations, socially and commercially, to an altitude which it never before attained; but it is the reign of Henry VIII and that of his daughter, Elizabeth, which specially exalts the English government and people, and gives to their history an interest which no other period has attained. It was then that England was coming out in the early daylight from the darkness of the middle ages. The feudal system was then fast giving way before the action of the government and people to a more just, equitable and rational system of real property; the old Saxon close aristocracy, which might be truly denominated a caste, was broken down by that of the Normans, and the latter was now placed on a more liberal basis; parliament was now fully organized with its house of commons, so that the people felt that they had a share and an interest in the government and state; her commerce and manufacturing interest began to develop themselves; and above all, peace and its blessings began to be more loved than war.

The general character of the reign of Henry VIII was like that of his father, that of peace, and its accompanying incidents. During the preceding ages nothing was more common than a king, or perhaps the lord or baron of a district, to make war upon his neighbor, with very little or no cause or pretense, except to show a due de-

gree of enterprise and spirit. The history of such events informs us that the enterprising ruler went with an army into the territory of his enemy and there took towns and laid them in ashes, ravaged the country, and returned with immense spoils. This was looked upon as a glorious affair, though the people in the despoiled district were left in a miserable and suffering condition. But they received but little or no sympathy; all was for the glory and advantage of the ruler or lord, and nothing for the misery and suffering of the people. This was war and the state of things that the northern barbarian brought upon Western Europe, and especially upon Britain during those past ages. This fondness of war was now giving way for the peace, happiness and prosperity of the people; and the Tudors were distinguished for taking the advance in the movement. It is somewhat surprising that Christianity was unable to accomplish its legitimate ends in this respect sooner. But the priesthood of that day were frequently warriors as well as priests; and be sure they would be slow in presenting the benevolent doctrines of peace and good will of their holy master, in opposition to the taste and interest of the aristocracy of the country. They were sure not to urge the true doctrines of their religion to the advantage of the people, against the interest and wishes of their lords.

Soon after the accession of Henry VIII, the Pope of Rome, Julius II, was an ambitious and ruling spirit, and a disturber of the peace of Europe. He united Maximilian, of Austria, Louis XII, of France, and Ferdinand, of Spain, in a league at Cambray, for the purpose, by the means of their united arms, to overwhelm, if not to crush, the prosperous commonwealth of Venice. Henry incautiously permitted his name to be added to the confederacy, which eventually involved the most of Europe in war. This excited the ambition of the youthful king; and the intrigues of the continental monarchs induced him to embark, with many of his nobility and an army, in a war with France, brought on by the intrigues and misrepresentation of his father-in-law,

Ferdinand, of Spain. While Henry was thus engaged in France, with no great distinction or advantage to the country, James IV, of Scotland, though the husband of Henry's oldest sister, was so concerned for the safety of France, his ancient ally, who was then in great danger from the combination of enemies against her, was induced to make a diversion in favor of France by prosecuting a war against England. For that purpose he collected a large Scottish army and crossed the Tweed into England. Henry's lieutenant in England, Howard, the earl of Surrey, advanced north with a considerable army to meet the king of Scotland. These maneuvers resulted in a battle a little south of the Tweed, on English ground, and known as the battle of Flodden, the most noted battle of the times. The two armies were about equal, being about thirty thousand each; but the English had the most experience and discipline, for they had just received five thousand veterans returned with their experience in the war in France. The most of the Scots were of recent levies, and needed the experience and discipline of their opponents; but fought with their usual gallantry and bravery. After considerable maneuvering, the battle commenced about the middle of the afternoon, September 9th, 1513, when the left wing of the Scots, under Huntley and Home, fighting on foot, with their long pikes, "fell on the right wing of the English, under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible." That wing of the English was beaten, and "part of the men fled in great disorder." "It is said that most of the fugitives were men of Cheshire, whose wonted valor was impaired by their being separated from the rest of their countrymen, and placed under the command of a Howard, instead of a Stanley." Howard and the remainder of his wing were saved by the opportune aid of the rest of the army. The battle then raged long and fierce. The Scottish Highlanders, charged with that determined bravery as though each man thought that with his own broad sword or battle-axe he was to decide that great battle. The English were at first astonished at their temerity

and valor. But making great efforts, the English succeeded in driving them back, with great slaughter. "The two chief commanders of the Scots, the earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged king James' center on the right flank and rear, while at the same time he was compelled to meet the shock of Surrey's attack in front. James was now surrounded by a circle of foes, excited to desperation, and seemed to have adopted the savage resolution of giving no quarter."³ Then the king of the Scots bravely met his last, in the midst of heaps of his devoted countrymen. Night came on and separated the surviving combatants. Surrey, the English commander, was at a loss to know whether he had gained a victory or sustained a defeat; but the morning disclosed to him, by the retreat of the Scots, that it was a victory, but a dear one. But it was a still dearer one to the Scots, for they had sustained a very great loss in men, but a grievous one in the loss of their king and so many of their leading men.

The battle of Flodden was the last great and interesting battle fought by Britons on British soil during the reign of the Tudors. This race, though abundantly distinguished for their resolution and courage, are also greatly distinguished for their love of peace, and the prosperity of the country. But what was still as observable, was the numerous great men who appear in English history during that period of time.

But what particularly distinguishes Henry VIII in history, not only in that of England, but that of the world, is the decided stand he eventually took in favor of Protestantism. When that matter was first moved by Luther, the conservative principles of Henry, in matters of religion and government, induced him to oppose it, and he wrote a book in defense of the Catholic church. This so pleased the Pope that he entitled him the Defender of the Faith. But afterwards, when Henry found that the Catholic church was so decidedly interfering with the government and state and bringing the whole in subjection to the

³ 2 Pictorial Eng. History, p. 314—319. ³ Hume's English History, p. 101.

paramount authority of the church, he entered zealously into the principles of the Protestants in opposition to the Pope; and by act of parliament established an independent English church. This was carried so far as to abolish and suppress all monasteries and exclusively Romish institutions; and place the Christian church of England free and independent of the control of the Pope of Rome. This was a great measure in favor of freedom and true Christianity, not only for England, but as an example to mankind.

It is sometimes said that the English people are not upon the whole, decided Protestants; that they are Protestant or Catholic as circumstances may favor; that they readily became Catholic under Mary as they became Protestant under Henry; and many of them are now turning in favor of Catholicism or high church measures. There is some truth in all this; but no fair man can read English history for almost the whole of the last four hundred years, and doubt that an overwhelming majority of the English people are in favor of Protestantism, and a free and independent church.

It is also said that, according to the indication of race, the Germans are the Protestant and the Celts the Catholic elements of this religious controversy. This assertion is not true. It is a question not depending upon race; and the races are strongly divided upon the question. In Germany, in the north the majority are Protestants, as in the south the majority are Catholics; though of the whole the majority are Protestants. In Italy and Spain the people are too much mixed, of all races, to be a test of the Celts. In Gaul and in Great Britain and Ireland they are a fair test. Where has there been found a more decided Protestantism than among the Huguenots⁴ of France? Where are

there any people who suffered or fought more, or were more decided in favor of a free and independent religion? The Cymry, from the very earliest time in the history of Christianity in Britain, now about eighteen hundred years, always maintained an independent Christian church, unless it might be a comparatively short time during the Norman period. The Welsh have always been Protestants. A Welsh Catholic would be a *rara avis*. They have always been too much in favor of personal freedom and independent liberty of conscience to be governed by Catholicism. The same may be said of the Scots, who are substantially the same people. The same may be said, in a great measure, of the people of the north of Ireland. In the south of Ireland the people are principally Catholics, but they are so more from circumstances than from race. They have systematically been kept under an oppressive government, which gives the Catholic priests of the country the opportunity of enforcing upon the people the idea that they were the special friends of the Irish people, and the English their natural enemies and oppressors. At the same time the people are kept in great ignorance without the priesthood taking that interest and practical exertion in their enlightenment and temporal welfare that they should, and that good policy and character require.

While Henry, during a long reign, was prosperous in the promotion of the interest of his country at home and abroad, in the latter part of his life he became unfortunate in his domestic relation. His first wife was Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain. She was the widow of his brother Arthur, who died a very young man. After living with her twenty years, and she becoming by him the mother of Mary, he became convinced that his marriage with the widow of his brother was unlawful. Upon that subject the church and people were divided. Though she was a woman of warm affections and great attachments to Henry, yet he procured a divorce upon the ground of

⁴ With the Huguenots should be remembered the Albigenes and the Waldenses and the Camisards of the south of France, all of whom for their Protestantism fought and suffered more than any other people. The question of Protestantism or Catholicism does not so much depend upon race as upon the circumstances by which the people are surrounded. North Germany was protected from Roman power by its distance from Rome, while France was crushed in consequence of its accessibility to Rome, Italy

and Spain. For the Camisards, see Chambers' and American Encyclopædia.

the unlawfulness of the marriage, with great difficulty, and after a long litigation. This was principally on account of the difficulty thrown in the way by the Pope; and possibly that aided the king in his determination to support the Protestants.

After that he married Anne Boleyn, who became the mother of Elizabeth. Soon after, the king's jealousy was excited against her, and she was charged with improprieties and crimes, and was tried and executed. Henry next married Jane Seymour, by whom he had a son, Edward, who became his successor, and his mother only survived his birth two days.

The king then married Anne of Cleves, whom he soon disliked, and was divorced. He next married Catherine Howard, whose dissolute life was soon discovered; she was condemned by parliament by a bill of attainder, and beheaded. Three or four years before his death he lastly married his sixth wife, Catherine Par, a widow, a woman of great virtue, discretion and prudence, and duly imbued with the Protestant religion; with whom the king spent his last days, greatly enjoying her kindness, devotion and affection for him.

After a prosperous reign of thirty-eight years, (A. D. 1547) Henry departed to his fathers, and was succeeded in the government by his young son, Edward VI, who was then only ten years of age, and who only exercised sovereignty about six years under the protectorship of his uncle, the duke of Somerset, a Seymour. With very little variation the administration followed the routine of business and course of events which characterized the previous reign. The Protestant religion was fully maintained. The event that most marked the reign was that arising from the protector's ambition to unite the whole island under one and the same government. For that purpose he marched an army into Scotland, which resulted in a decisive battle near Edinburgh, known as the battle of Pinkie. The Scottish army was a hasty gathering, badly managed and sorely defeated body of patriotic men. But eventually the English were compelled to withdraw without accomplishing the object for which the war

was commenced.

Upon the death of Edward VI, the crown was assumed by his sister Mary, who reigned about five years. She was a bigoted Catholic, and partook more of the characteristics of her mother, Catherine of Aragon, than of the Tudors; and what added to its intensity was her unfortunate marriage with Philip II, king of Spain, the only son of the emperor, Charles V. He was narrow minded and bigoted, and tended to make her more so. Mary, by her sovereign influence, was able to bring over the majority of her nobility and parliament to her views in religion, though the majority of the English people firmly adhered to their Protestant faith. She procured parliament to abolish all the laws which had been passed in the two previous reigns in support of Protestantism, and those were passed which put Catholicism in its full force. Her reign became that of a bloody and vindictive persecution. Bishop Gardner, a devoted Catholic, became her prime minister; and Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley were persecuted for their faith and made martyrs. In her time all kinds of cruel persecution for conscience sake were endured; all sorts of violence, death and bloodshed, to enforce an obnoxious religious tenet, were resorted to, until the queen became known as the Bloody Mary. But she, in the course of nature, soon passed off; and her sister, Elizabeth, was called to the throne. The people greatly rejoiced at this accession; she now, at the age of twenty-five, had acquired great popularity and a very good reputation for her religious principles and capacity; and in this the people were not disappointed. During a reign of forty-five years (A. D. 1558—1603) she sustained the English government in a position of prosperity and renown, unequalled by any other monarch of her country. Her rule was generally characterized as that of a Protestant and peaceful reign. The most noted event of her reign was in the thirtieth year, when Philip, with the great "invincible armada" of Spain, determined to conquer Britain. That armada, consisting of innumerable ships, covered the British seas, filled with an army and all requisites for

the conquest. Britain was threatened with a terrific preparation for that purpose. Elizabeth, with an admirable courage, resolution and management, met the occasion, and by her example roused the British people to an unexampled enthusiasm and resolution to meet and defeat their enemies. The British fleet met the armada and as with a whirlwind scattered it. Afterwards the storms and the difficulties of navigation destroyed much of what escaped; a just result of an unjustifiable attempt at conquest and interference with the rights of others.

The execution of Mary, the beautiful but unfortunate queen of the Scots, under the jurisdiction of Elizabeth and by her assent, is an act upon which historians and jurists have been divided, and probably will so remain. At last Elizabeth died a virgin queen, expressing a wish that her nearest kinsman and cousin, James VI, of Scotland, should succeed her. So the last of the Tudor family passed away from earth, as all terrestrial things must.

§2.—*The Stuart Dynasty. A. D. 1603—1714.*

James VI, of Scotland, came to the throne as James I, of England, by his hereditary right as the next of kin, and the dying declaration of Elizabeth in his favor. His accession to the throne was without any opposition, and in the midst of much rejoicing of the people of both countries; yet some expressed a theoretic doubt as to the future interest of either country, in thus uniting both countries under one sovereign. James was then thirty-six years of age, and had been king of Scotland since he was one year of age. He was the son of the celebrated but unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of the Scots, by her second husband, Henry Lord Darnley, who was also a Stuart.

Ethnically, James, like most of the British nobility, was of a very mixed race and blood. His mother, Mary, was the daughter of Mary of Loraine, the daughter of the duke of Guise, and James V, the seventh king of Scotland of the Stuart line, who was the son of Margaret, the queen of Scotland and daughter of Henry VII, of Eng-

land. This house of Stuart, so celebrated in English and Scotch history, has a romantic beginning. Just before the Norman conquest, when Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, murdered Banquo, Fleance, a son of the latter, fled for protection to Wales, to the court of Gruffydd ab Llewellyn, where he became enamored of Nesta, the granddaughter of that prince. Of this connection a son was born, named Walter, who was treated with kindness, and educated in the learning and national exercises of the day. When he arrived at manhood he unfortunately slew his antagonist, and fled to Scotland. There he engaged himself in public service, became lord Steward of the kingdom, and the lineal ancestor of the royal house of Stuart, from whom James claimed his descent. Thus making Gruffydd, Banquo, Henry VII and Guise his ancestors; and Wales, England, Scotland and France their nativity.

James was well educated, spoke and wrote well, and was proud of his learning; yet awkward and ungainly in his person. With much learning and great experience in public affairs, he lacked the wisdom, shrewdness, and executive talent of the Tudors. He was jealous of his prerogatives and supercilious as to his divine right to govern; and yet frequently yielded his point when shown his views were inconsistent with law.¹ With many good qualities and abilities, he yet, upon the whole, passed as a weak and inefficient man.² Being a strong Protestant, he quarreled with the Catholics; a decided churchman, he disagreed with the puritans; and a stickler for his royal prerogatives, he disputed with the liberals. He therefore was not a popular man, yet few princes were so kind and void of tyranny or oppression. In a reign of twenty-two years, terminating A. D. 1625, generally in peace, without any serious war, his whole kingdom prospered, and made considerable progress in the improvement of the country and the condition of the people.

¹ † Hume.

² The French minister, Sully, said of James, that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom." And Macaulay says: "He was, indeed, made up of two men—a witty, well read scholar, who wrote, disputed and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot who acted."

James was succeeded by his son Charles I, whose mother was Anne of Denmark. He was then twenty-five years of age; and for the preceding thirteen years was prince of Wales, as heir apparent to the crown. Charles was filled with an exalted notion of his royal rights and prerogatives; and utterly opposed to every attempt of the people to improve their government. When forced to do so, he would consent, and promise fair and just reform in the government; but all such promises in him were false and insincere. He had adopted the high notions of his father as to his rights and duty in preserving the prerogatives of the crown; and it was his great misfortune that his notions had then become more obnoxious at that time to the people than ever. Previous to the Stuarts, the English sovereigns controlled the action of parliament, so that no attempt was ever made to pass a measure contrary to the wishes of the sovereign. Even in Elizabeth's time, she would communicate to parliament her hostility to a measure before them and they would obey her. But in James' time the people had become largely freeholders and freed from the tenures of the nobility, and greatly imbued with a notion of their own rights and importance. The people had now, for the first time, become indoctrinated into the idea that they had some rights in the government and entitled to enforce an honest and just administration. This was a view of the matter that Charles, when looking back into the history of the prerogatives of English kings, could not understand; and looked upon every attempt to limit and restrain him as a personal wrong, and gave him a just right to evade it, or to abolish it, whenever he had the power. This led him into a conflict and distrust with his parliament; and after his fourth year he attempted to maintain his government without their aid; and actually for eleven years refrained from calling any parliament; and attempted, under the old laws and customs of the government, to raise the necessary revenue without their consent. At last he thought it advisable to call a parliament to enable him to raise a large revenue to meet the contingency of a war. When parlia-

ment had assembled, it manifested a determination to reform the government and secure personal rights and liberty in a manner never before exhibited by the commons of England; and in this the commons took the lead. Up to the coming of the Stuarts, both in Saxon and Norman times, it seems evident that the commons of England thought they had nothing to do with the government, except to obey whatever it chose to command. That was a matter which belonged to the king and his nobles; and whatever reform was had, it was the work of the nobles, on account of the unjust pressure of the government upon themselves. The people seemed to think, under Wodenism, as well as under Christianity, that their government was of a divine appointment, with which the common people had nothing to do. In the midst of the war and slavery which was then practiced, the common people never dreamed of the rights and liberty which naturally belong to man and humanity. But after the coming of the Tudors, notwithstanding the vigor and energy of the government, the people themselves began to think and act for themselves, and feel their own importance in the scale of humanity. This change was brought about by the increasing love of peace to that of war; by the decrease of slavery and the odium in which it began to be held; by the abolition of the tyrannical feudal tenures; by the freedom obtained for the alienation and transfer of real property by which the commons became freeholders and yeomen; and, finally, by the people beginning to understand and exercise those notions of right and freedom which belonged in common to all men. All this became more and more intensified under Charles I. This was the misfortune of Charles, as he did not understand it; but it was the glory of the English people.

Charles once more found it expedient, in 1640, to summon parliament, which proved to be less obsequious than any before it; and more determined to maintain the rights of the people and to sustain its own dignity. Before it gave any aid or subsidy to the king, they insisted that the king should confirm their petition and bill of rights, se-

curing their rights and liberties from abuse by the officers of the crown. They impeached the king's prime minister for high crimes and misdemeanors in advising him in his objectionable course of administration. Upon this impeachment, lord Strafford was tried before the house of lords, condemned, and ordered to be executed. This could not be done without the warrant of the king, which Charles hesitated to issue. Strafford wrote to the king, begging him to issue his warrant as means of reconciliation between him and his people; and that there could be no injury to a willing mind. Thereupon Strafford was beheaded. Still matters between the king and his people proceeded from bad to worse; the king constantly evading these reforms, and the people losing all confidence and faith in him. At length open rupture came, and appeal was made to arms. In August, 1642, the king erected his standard at Nottingham, and the patriots took arms under the Earl of Essex. In the meantime the house of commons usurped the government without the aid of the house of lords. The first conflict was at Edgehill, where the great patriot, John Hampden, met his death, and where the loss on both sides was severe and nearly equal. In the midst of numerous skirmishes and inferior battles, in which the parliamentary forces were constantly gaining ground, and in which Oliver Cromwell was making his way as the foremost man of his day, the parties came to the decisive battle of Marston Moor, where a triumphant victory was gained for parliament, and Cromwell established his fame as a warrior.

After a continued civil war of four years, during which there were many battles and much fighting and bloodshed, the parties came to the decisive battle of Nareby, in June, 1645, where the royal forces were completely overthrown, and the king fled to the Scots for safety. He soon found himself unsafe there, and was soon thereafter surrendered into the hands of the rebels. Parliament now proceeded to more decisive measures. They ordered the king to be dethroned, and to be tried upon articles of impeachment presented against him before a high court appointed for the purpose. This

court, upon the trial, found him guilty and ordered him to be executed, which was done on the 30th of January, 1649.

The government for the next four years was conducted by parliament, under the name of the commonwealth. In the meantime the civil war continued, in which Cromwell rendered parliament most efficient service in England, Ireland and Scotland. By the royal party, Charles II, the eldest son of the late king, was proclaimed his successor, but his partisans had become so feeble that it became dangerous for him to remain in England, and he fled through Wales to the sea and thence to France. Parliament, after a while, found its government without a proper head, and dissensions took place between parliament and the army. Cromwell took upon himself to dissolve parliament, which had been so long in session as to become odious and its former services overlooked. Another self-created parliament assumed its place, and by this assembly Cromwell was declared protector and supreme magistrate of the commonwealth. This office he exercised for five years, until his death, with that administrative vigor and ability which characterized that of the Tudors. He elevated his country and government in the estimation of all Europe, and rendered them glorious in history. Upon his death his office was assumed by his oldest son, Richard, who exercised it for about two years, when it was put to an end by the restoration of Charles II, in 1660.

The restoration of the monarchy and Charles II was probably in accordance with the assent of the majority of the nation; but it was principally effected by General Monk at the head of the army. As the king entered London, the people exulted with delight at his return. He, a few years previous, fled from them to save his life. Everything was soon restored to its former condition; his reign was dated to commence upon the death of Charles I, eleven years previous to his restoration; so that the reign of the Stuarts was supposed to be continuous, and the commonwealth a mere episode in the drama.

After his restoration, Charles reigned over the whole kingdom, England, Scotland and Ireland, for twenty-five years, during which the country made considerable progress in improvements, without the king being entitled to much credit for it. He was an easy, amiable and kind companion, with wit, talent and accomplishments sufficient to make a very respectable private gentleman, without possessing the vigor and energy necessary for a prosperous monarch. He enjoyed his ease and pleasures, with but little inclination to engage in the labors and attention necessary for a prosperous administration. This reign, upon the whole, was a peaceful one, though accompanied with some war on the continent and unimportant ones with some rebels in Scotland; but what most distinguished it in this respect was the great naval battles with the Dutch of Holland, in which Monk, now created duke of Albemarle for his services in the restoration, on the part of the English, and De Ruyter and Van Tromp, on the part of the Dutch, gained great renown for celebrated naval battles, without a decided victory for either nation. In the meantime the people continued to make progress in civil liberty and laws, of which the habeas corpus law was one of the most important and justly celebrated in favor of human liberty and restraint upon oppression; while at the same time the nation was greatly divided and distracted by all kind of divisions upon questions in relation to religion and civil government.

Upon the death of Charles without any legitimate offspring, he was succeeded by his brother, James II, known as the duke of York,—a bigoted Catholic, whose intolerance in religion, as well as his arbitrary and unpopular measures in the civil administration, brought on, after a short reign of only three years, the revolution of A. D. 1688, by which he was compelled to flee his kingdom and abandon his crown. During his short reign only two events are worthy of special notice. The first is Monmouth's rebellion. This affair was gotten up by James, the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II by Lucy Walters,

who was now about thirty-five years of age. He possessed a very fine personal appearance, was affable and popular in his manners. He had been engaged in some public service, in which he had been successful, and his conduct had rendered him extremely popular. Soon after his accession, James II had rendered himself so odious by his tyranny, and extreme measures to re-establish the Catholic church, and Monmouth had become so popular as the only hope of the Protestants, that the revolt was hurried on before they were ready. Monmouth raised his standard in Devonshire; and he was so popular, and the hopes of the people so strongly set upon him, that there was no lack of men or money coming to his cause. But they were unprovided with the necessary arms; and they were defeated by the royal troops before they could be well organized and armed. The defeated rebels were punished with merciless cruelty. Monmouth was brought to the block by his bigoted uncle; and the notorious Judge Jeffrey, then the chief justice of England, in the cruel and remorseless prosecution of the principal rebels, in accordance with the wishes of the court, consigned his own name to eternal infamy. Thousands of the minor convicts were, with the assent of the king and court, sold as slaves to the West Indies. The other noted transaction was the prosecution of six bishops of the church, who had become obnoxious to the king on account of their determined protection, and their heroic maintenance of their religion against the dictation of their monarch. They were indicted and tried in the civil courts for sedition. It was the most celebrated trial of that day, and all the power and influence of the administration were against them. But the jury had become imbued with the progressive liberal doctrines of the day, which sustained the rights and liberties of the people even when opposed by the crown and government. The jury acquitted the bishops, which was sustained by the court, and by the people with unwonted applause and commendation. This independence of the jury, in opposition to the influence and

wishes of the crown, until then was unheard of, and unknown to English history.

Previous to James' flight and abdication, the disaffected of the English people, outraged by the unwarranted conduct of their king, had invited William, the prince of Orange, to come to their relief. He was the son of William II, prince of Orange, by his wife Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I of England; so that this William was a distant collateral heir to the crown. His wife was Mary, the eldest daughter of James II; so she was a nearer heir to the crown. During Charles I and Cromwell's time, a lawyer lived in London, of respectable parentage and good practice; but to increase his worldly position, and not fearing a democratic degradation, he married a rich brewer's widow. He had been a member of parliament, and at first on the popular side, but afterwards became loyal and devoted to the king. This was Edward Hyde, who with his family joined Charles II while in exile on the continent. He soon became Charles' principal counsellor and his right hand man. He was an able man, experienced in state affairs and a historian—very useful to the then English royal family. While abroad in exile, James II, then residing with his royal brother, did not fear a plebeian connection, and so married Mary, Hyde's oldest daughter, and a daughter of the brewer's widow. Of this marriage came two sovereign queens of the English throne—Mary, the wife of William, the prince of Orange; and her sister, Anne, queen of England. On the restoration Hyde became the earl of Clarendon and chancellor of England, and for a while Charles' able prime minister.

William of Orange, upon the invitation of a portion of the English people, came with a small fleet and army and landed in the south of England. He was received with acclamation, and an overwhelming majority of the people declared for him—James had now become so odious that the army also turned against him, as well as his children, Mary and Anne.

By the advice and consent of the leading men of England the prince of Orange called a convention, to consist of members of

the two houses, precisely as that of parliament. These were peacefully and without any obstruction assembled, and proceeded to settle the government. The commons like sensible men came readily to a resolution on the subject: that king James II had endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom—the original contract between the king and people; had violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, and abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. The people were divided into two great parties—the Whig and the Tory. The former was the liberal and progressive party; the latter was imbued with ultra notions of conservatism—the divine rights of kings, of which James could not be deprived; they contended, that "by the uniform tenor of the English laws the title to the crown was ever regarded as sacred, and could on no account, and by no maladministration, be forfeited by the sovereign;" and various other notions of the kind.³ In the house of lords, where the Tories were greatly in the majority, the resolutions of the commons were greatly opposed upon these unreasonable and untenable grounds, and much debated. At length, however, the resolutions of the commons substantially prevailed. This shows how far the ruling portion of the English people were from any just notion of government and free institutions; and how recent these must have been with the people. The lords did not yield their opposition to all radical change in the rights of the monarch, until after the prince of Orange, who as an honest and just man, refrained from all decided interference in the settlement of the questions, intimated to his particular friends that it belonged to parliament to settle the various schemes proposed for the settlement of the government, with which he did not intend to interpose; he learned that some proposed to put public affairs in the hands of a regent, others proposed to confer the crown upon princess Mary, his wife. It was, he said, their concern alone to choose the kind of administration that suited them best; but intimated that something should

³ o Hume's History of England, pp. 359-360.

be done soon; he was averse to assuming the crown as conqueror, or undertaking the regency until a rightful heir might appear; and he had no time to spare from his affairs on the continent to serve under Mary as the sovereign. Mary herself was decidedly opposed to the last proposition, and indisposed to putting William in an inferior position to herself.

The Tories were astonished at this moderation and liberality on the part of the prince, and surprised that he thought they had a right, with such unlimited discretion, to settle the government as they pleased. But it brought the lords to a decided action; they now agreed to the action of the house with very slight modification. The convention then, by a bill, settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, for their joint and several lives, the sole administration to remain in the prince; the princess Anne, the sister of Mary, and then the princess of Denmark, to succeed after the death of both William and Mary. In Scotland the parliament settled the conflicting questions with more expedition and liberality; and before it was done in England in the same manner. In Ireland the Tories and Catholics united in support of James II, who returned there from France with some military and naval aid. Considerable war ensued in Ireland; but at the celebrated battle of the Boyne (July 1st, 1690) William III gained a complete victory over James II and his French and Irish supporters, and placed Protestantism triumphant over Tory and Catholic oppression and illiberality.⁴

This unfortunate war, brought upon the Irish by the worthless James II, was a matter, which in its consequences, has fatally affected and hung upon the Irish as a national affair. It is unfortunate for that brave and generous people that they look upon it as such, and that it is not forgotten. William's men were generally veteran troops, had seen much service and were disciplined; those under James were hastily recruited and undisciplined; and the result was just what such differences always produce.

But Irish gallantry and bravery have been too often tested and vindicated in both English and continental service, to be tested or questioned by their service under James. The abilities and merits of Sarsfield, their general, has thrown a flash of glory over their misfortune in that unfortunate campaign. When Sarsfield was rallied upon the defeat of his countrymen, he gallantly replied: "Just swap kings with us, and we will try it again."

The battle of the Boyne firmly fixed William and Mary upon the throne, and sent James upon a second flight to France; so soon was the revolution of 1688 a success. The reign was distinguished for its efforts in favor of a general religious toleration, more liberal than any preceding administration in England.

William III was an excellent man and an able prince. His administration for the country upon the whole was prosperous, for he was a statesman as well as a general. What was in him that was specially unfortunate to the British people was that he was a foreigner, deeply committed in wars and affairs on the continent, in which the English people had little or no interest. It was the same subject matter that has ever been the curse of Britain, that is, to be ruled by foreigners instead of by her own native people. The Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, and now the Dutch, all the same, except the latter were less avaricious and cruel, but all taking what they could get for the benefit of foreigners and a foreign country. William was liberal in distributing lands to his foreign favorites; and was indignant when parliament refused any longer to retain in the service of the country his Dutch army, in which he took so much pride. To this day there are among the English nobility those whose position and wealth is the result of William's attachment to his foreign friends. Some of these matters rendered William unpopular with a majority of the English people, who looked upon him as a cold, taciturn and phlegmatic Dutchman. The revolution, which was of so much importance and benefit to the country, was brought about by the people themselves, and proba-

⁴ See Macaulay's History of England, Vol. iii, p. 498.

ably could have been sustained without William's aid by her native people, as it was in Cromwell's time, had it not been for the high and illiberal notions of the Tory party.

William III was ruler of Britain fourteen years, having survived Mary eight years, expired in 1702, in consequence of a fall from a horse, and left the kingdom to Anne, in accordance with the terms of the settlement, who succeeded him. She ruled the country for twelve years, in which it made great progress in every department of the government as well as in every department of literature, science and industry. The war of the Spanish succession was on her hands, (1700—1713) in which the people of Britain had little or no interest, but to subserve the interest, whim or folly of the nobility or crowned heads, in which the duke of Marlborough and the British army acquired renown in the great battles and victories of Oudenarde, Blenheim, and Romilies. About the middle of Anne's reign (A. D. 1707) took place an important event in the history of Britain, and the welfare of her people—the long wished for union of England and Scotland in one kingdom and under one parliament.

Just before the close of her life, Anne announced to parliament the execution of the treaty of Utrecht, which brought peace and relieved the people of England from the expense and pressure of a long war on the continent. At length Anne departed this life, (1714) and it became a serious question as to who would be the heir to the throne, for she died childless, though she was the mother of seventeen children by her husband, the prince of Denmark; and her nearest heir was her half-brother, James, the son of James II, then in exile. Towards the close of her life she favored the Tories, contrary to her gratitude due to the Whigs, her early friends and supporters; and also favored the restoration of her half-brother, James, whose legitimacy she formerly had always doubted. But the Whigs, by their activity, stole a march on the Tories, and obtained from Anne a doubtful declaration in favor of the duke of Brunswick, who by an act of parliament in

A. D. 1707, and the settlement in 1701, was declared to be the heir to the throne after Anne's death, for the British people were opposed to the claims of the infant James, on account of the tendency of the family to Catholicism, and his education in France. In consequence of these matters, the Whigs immediately proclaimed George of Brunswick king of Great Britain and Ireland. By this transaction the rule of the Stuart dynasty was brought to an end, and that of the Guelphs commenced. This name has long been the family name in Germany, but the dynasty is frequently called the Brunswick, and it includes George I, George II, George III, George IV, William IV, and her present majesty, queen Victoria.

The expulsion of James II is wholly attributable to his bigotry and superstition in matters of Catholic religion and the well founded opposition of the British people to that denomination, founded upon their well known intolerance and oppression wherever they had the power to exert them. If it had not been for this folly and wickedness of James II, perhaps James III, the pretender, might have been king, as a Stuart, instead of George I, as a Guelph; and perhaps, also, the same might have taken place in case that lord Bolingbroke had been more forward and expeditious on the part of the Tories, than the duke of Argyle on the part of the Whigs, at the death of queen Anne. However that may be, it is still very questionable if the British people gained anything by the exchange of the Stuarts, with all their faults, for the gross and brutal habits and foreign manners and predelections of the Georges.⁵ But that there was any choice between them is equally doubtful, for neither were worthy of the position. The attachment of George to Protestantism was the only thing which preponderated in his favor.

§3.—*The Brunswick Dynasty.* (A. D. 1714 to 1837.)

George I, king of Great Britain and Ireland, was the son of Ernest Augustus,

⁵ See Thackeray's *Four Georges*. Also *Pictorial Hist. England*, p. 332. Vol. viii. *New American Cyclopædia*, Arts. George I and George II.

Electors of Brunswick, and of Sophia, a grand-daughter of James I, of England. His right to the crown was founded upon several acts of parliament, fixing the succession, after Anne, upon the descendants of Sophia, upon the theory that James II had abdicated, and that his blood in his son James, the Pretender, had been tainted by attainer. The English people were much divided at the time as to whether George or the Pretender should be called to the throne. A majority of the nobility were Tories and favored James, and they were led by men of decided talents and statesmanship; such as Bolingbroke, Oxford and others, who had no fears of religious consequences. But the majority of the people were Whigs, were highly attached to their Protestant religion, and greatly feared the domination of the Catholics and their known reputation for intolerance, tyranny and oppression; and were most decided against James and in favor of George. With them were many of the nobility led by the able duke of Argyle. Anne had been almost the whole of her life opposed to the pretensions of James, her half-brother, and insisted that he was illegitimate and superstitious. But at the close of her life her heart changed for her relative, and, had she the will, energy and talent of Elizabeth, he might, with the aid and ability of the Tories, have been recalled. At that time the duke of Marlborough, the most renowned and able man, both as a warrior and statesman, of his time, but at the same time the most selfish, heartless and treacherous, was playing between the two parties, waiting to see which party would be the most likely to succeed; but when Argyle and the Whigs had succeeded, he threw his powerful influence in their favor.

At the time that George was called to England he was Elector of Hanover, and therefore his family are as frequently called the house of Hanover as that of Brunswick. He was then fifty-four years of age, had seen a good deal of public service, both civil and military; but was more of a rough soldier than a statesman; a man of some action, but of moderate abilities—at the same time was heartless, cruel, subject to

gross indulgence, and frequently engaged in shameful family quarrels. To him England was always a foreign country, and he could not overcome his superior attachment for his native Hanover and its people. He could never reconcile himself to the language, manners, habits or customs of the English people; and therefore sought frequent visits to his beloved Hanover, whose interest was more at heart than that of England. Again Britain was cursed, as she always had been, with a foreign influence. This frequently induced the English people to call him a foreign tyrant, and induced many to engage in an ill-concerted rebellion to call to their aid the Pretender; who came, landed in Scotland, and was proclaimed James III. But this rebellion was soon put down, and the Pretender glad to flee; but at the cost of much blood and many valuable lives. It was the influence of the Whigs, and the love of the people for the safety of their Protestant religion, which induced the people to support so unpopular and hateful a monarch. In this they were supported by the talented minister, Walpole, and other native Britons who surrounded the throne and upheld it. After a reign of thirteen years George I departed this life in 1727, without any very distinguishing event to mark it; and was succeeded by his son, whom he most cordially hated.

George II, like his father, was a German by birth and education, and not a Briton. He had spent some years in Britain before he was called to the throne, still his love for his Hanover prevailed over that for his adopted country, whose English language, manners and customs were not much more cordial to him than they had been to the father. He too was a rough soldier, could indulge in cordial hatred of kindred, and unrelenting family quarrels. He injured his father, his wife and his son Frederick, who was the father of George III, and quarreled with all of them. For many years he enjoyed the title of prince of Wales, with its great income, with but little gratitude or return to the English people, from whom it was extracted.

The hateful character of these rulers

produced another rebellion, and prince Charles Stuart, a new Pretender, and a son of James, the old Pretender, was induced to land in Scotland with a few men and officers, and with a very limited amount of arms for such an undertaking. For a time extraordinary success attended his enterprise. It is said that a large number of men in Kent were ready to unite with him, but were never able to join him. Several battles were fought, in which Charles was successful; but reverses came, and he was compelled to retreat to the north, where at Culloden a severe battle was fought, April 16th, 1746, where Charles was completely defeated by the royal forces under the duke of Cumberland, George II's second son, whose barbarities at the battle and in the suppression of the rebellion conferred upon him the title of the "Bloody Butcher." Charles made a romantic escape under the guidance of Flora Macdonald, and though thirty thousand pounds was offered for him, and his escape was known to hundreds of the poor Scotch people, no betrayal was attempted.

Under this reign the English government gained their renowned dominion and empire in India, under Clive; and the capture of Quebec by Gen. Wolfe, and the establishment of their dominion in Canada. This reign was also distinguished for its fertility in great men; among them was William Pitt the elder, the earl of Chatham, the celebrated orator and statesman; lord Bolingbroke, the statesman and historian; Edmund Burke, the statesman and philosopher; to these may be added many distinguished men in literature, philosophy and arts, as Pope, Johnson, Hume, Smollett, Newton, Reynolds, Hogarth, and many others, who have added to the renown of their country—more as the evidence of the progress of the people than the merits of their sovereign. Hallam has said that it was "the most prosperous period that England had ever known." If so, it was comparatively when put in contrast with former times, when it then presented in bold relief the progress that the people had recently made for themselves in personal freedom and human liberty, as well

as in the arts and science, and human thought. In the time of John, the Great Charter was the work of the nobility against the sovereign, in which the people had no lot or part; it was now the people—the commons, in advance of the nobles and their unworthy sovereigns, in the noble effort of securing to every man his rightful liberties, and to humanity its just freedom. In this great task the house of commons of the British parliament, since its origin in the times of Edward I, has progressed and led the way for the establishment of all the free and liberal institutions in the civilized world.

George II continued his connection with Hanover and his attachment for that country, which compelled the British people to lavish much of their treasures and blood in his wars on the continent, in which the people had no real interest, which demonstrated the folly and injurious effect of the foreign connection. He died October 25th, 1760, in his seventy-seventh year, after a reign of thirty-four years, and was succeeded upon the throne by his grandson, George III.

George III was the grandson of George II and son of Frederick, who was son of the latter and nominally the prince of Wales. He came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, reigned over the country sixty years, and died at Windsor at the age of eighty-two, A. D. 1820. He differed from his two predecessors, his relatives, in sustaining a good moral character, exemplary in his family and domestic relations, and in private life would have sustained the position and reputation of a worthy and reputable citizen. He was endowed with but very moderate abilities, but conservative and dignified. He was bigoted even in his Protestant religion, tenacious of his royal rights, and supercilious in his notions of their divine origin, and thought it wrong that the people should interfere with what he considered to be his prerogatives; and withal he was obstinate and tenacious in his opinions. His dynasty was brought to the throne by the activity and influence of the Whigs, yet during his whole life he courted and favored the Tories, the opposite

party. In the course of his reign he was afflicted with several turns of mental derangement; and during the last ten years of his life he was a confirmed lunatic; and the administration passed into the hands of his oldest son George as prince regent.

The most striking events of this reign were: The American Revolution of A. D. 1776, which was brought about by the king and his ministry, principally under the guidance of lord North, claiming the right to tax the colonies at their pleasure, without the voice or consent of the colonies. This is just what the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans did; but the Americans, who had become better advised as to what was due to man and humanity, said no, there was no right to tax them without their consent or their being represented by a delegate in the legislative body who assumed the right thus to tax them. This brought on the noted war of the Revolution, from A. D. 1775 to 1783; produced the establishment of a new government of the United States, who were aided in the establishment of their independence by the alliance with France. The obstinacy of the British king compelled the questions in dispute to be settled by the sword, and the English people to submit to the loss of their colonies.

The next great event is the war of the French revolution, commencing in 1793 and terminating in 1815, which produced as a distinguishing feature of it the great naval actions, under lord Nelson, of the Nile and Trafalgar; and the great battles in Spain, under Wellington, in 1808—1810; and that of Waterloo in 1815, in all of which Sir Thomas Picton served, and was always designated Wellington's right arm; and in the last named battle sacrificed his life in a gallant charge for British glory and renown. The principal result of this great war is the tremendous national debt of Great Britain with which it closed, amounting to 885 millions pounds sterling, or \$4,425,000,000.

Another event happened towards the close of this reign, characteristic of the age, which should not be overlooked here. During the war, Great Britain enjoyed a great monopoly in manufactures

and commerce, which was greatly reduced by its termination; and by 1819 had produced a great revulsion and distress in the country. This called forth a great public meeting of the people at Manchester, to consider the evils of the times and devise relief. The government took the alarm and claimed the right to disperse it. For that purpose a body of cavalry was ordered to charge upon the meeting, by which a large number of people, men, women and children were rode over and shamefully massacred. This produced a great excitement in the people and denunciation of the government. Since then the people of England have so improved in their rights and liberties that the government would not dare thus again to interfere with such public meetings. Recently they have been repeatedly held, without the government thus daring to interfere.

Another important event of the reign transpired in 1801, by which Ireland was united with England and Scotland in one union, with but one national legislative parliament and government, designated the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Since then Ireland has had no separate legislative body or parliament, but is duly represented by delegates in the national parliament of the kingdom.

Upon the death of his father, George IV came to the throne and reigned over the country ten years, and died childless in 1830, and was succeeded by his brother, William IV. He had been prince of Wales from his infancy, which, however, gave him but little control of public affairs, for it was more a titular and conventional matter than an administrative affair; but during the last ten years of his royal father's life and his insanity, he was the head of the government as prince regent. It therefore produced no great change in the administration when he became the sovereign. He was long a public figure, a notable personage, at home and abroad; noted for his position in society, the subject of observation, remark and gossip, more than for his ability and action in public affairs. He was the subject of the most contradictory opinions as to his merits and failings. By his par-

tial friends he was said to be "the first gentleman of Europe;" and his merely respectable intellect, a good personal figure, his education and personal advantages enable them to make the remark, without his possessing one quality or action which should distinguish a British monarch. But the progress of the people in their control over political affairs and disregard for sovereign power and official station, unless accompanied by some merit and worth, as well as their improved moral virtues and their social position in relation to their government, enable his countrymen to estimate George IV in his true character, though enrobed in sovereignty. To his wife he was treacherous and cruel, if not to all he pretended to love. His frailties and licentiousness are still the subject of gossip, scandals and stories, and enabled Thackeray to portray his history, with his other royal namesakes, under the title of his "Four Georges," of whom George III, with his mediocrity, obstinacy and insanity, was the most worthy and respectable.

Soon after his coming to the throne, great commotion was raised among the British people by George IV attempting to procure, by an act of parliament, a divorce from his wife, Caroline. They were then childless, their only child, princess Charlotte, being then dead, and the king having been for many years separated from her, and she having been forcibly excluded from her rights at the coronation: these matters produced a strong sympathy for Caroline on the part of the people, and a firm belief that the indiscretions charged against her were more attributable to his vices and wrongs than to her guilt. The trial of the divorce case before the house of lords, with the splendid defense made for her by Brougham, one of her counsel, and the excitement of the people, produced one of the most exciting features of his reign; and caused the prosecution of the case to be abandoned in the house of commons.

The part that Britain took in the naval battle of Navarino in favor of the independence of Greece in A. D. 1827, and two years afterwards the passage by parliament of the Roman Catholic relief bill (which

had been so odious to George III), are among the most noted acts of his reign. He died June, 1830, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and it has been said, "that he should have lived so long is not the least notable circumstance connected with a life that has furnished as much material for scandal as any in English history."

William IV succeeded his brother George in 1830, as his nearest heir. He had been educated with a view to service in the navy, and at the age of fourteen commenced his professional career as midshipman, and rose to that of admiral. He was created duke of Clarence, and was generally known by that title. He possessed considerable of the blunt and honest character of a sailor; and was more respected and popular with the people than his predecessor, though, with the common licentiousness of royalty, he was connected with a mistress, Mrs. Jordan, who bore him five sons and five daughters, illegitimate children, who were known by the name of Fitz Clarence, and took a high position in the English aristocracy.

Soon after William came to the throne, the revolution in France, of 1830, took place, and excited all Europe for a reform and greater freedom and liberality in their government. The British people were also excited, and demanded some parliamentary reform, which was obtained by a more just representation of the people; which once more brought the Whigs into power, after an exclusion of fifty year, under the ministry of earl Gray, who carried through the Reform Bill; which was followed by other reforms of minor importance.

After a short reign of seven years William died, in 1837, and was succeeded by Victoria, the present queen. As the king died without legitimate issue, his nearest heir was Victoria, a daughter and only child of his deceased brother, Edward duke of Kent, who was called to the throne at the age of eighteen. By this incident an important event took place in the relation of Great Britain with the continent. Since the accession of George I, the British government had been connected with Hanover, and in a great measure subject to the in-

terest of the latter country. But now a happy separation was bound to take place. Up to the accession of Victoria, the king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover were confided in the same person. But the German Salic law would not permit the sovereignty to pass to a female, as the British constitution has always permitted. Consequently when the British throne passed to Victoria, she could not claim the sovereignty of Hanover, as she could had she been a male; that had to pass to the male heir of William IV, who was his brother, the duke of Cumberland, who consequently became king of Hanover.

The events that have transpired during the reign of Victoria are striking and important, especially the great control that the British people have acquired over their government by means of the house of commons, which in parliament has become the most important and influential political body that ever existed, not excepting the Roman senate in its palmy days. But these events and matters, existing within the memory of living men, do not require a reference to them; the history of the rulers of the Ancient Britons and their descendants has been brought down to the present day, and as the English people are now more of the blood of the Ancient Britons than of any other race, even they may well claim, as Victoria herself does, that Caractacus, Boadicea, Arthur, Llewellyn and Tudor are truly among their renowned ancestors. And now, instead of a further review of their rulers, we shall proceed to complete the review of the history of the people themselves; and show that the present people of Britain are not so much the descendants of Saxons, Danes, or Normans, as of those Britons who have occupied Britain from the time of Caesar down to our own day. And in so doing, it is well to remember that the government is now not that of England alone, but that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII TO THAT OF VICTORIA. (1485—1837.)

§1.—*The Condition of the Cymry.*

By the accession of Henry Tudor to the throne of England the destiny of the Cymry became fixed. In the progress of civilization, and a better conception of Christian duty, and of justice, their neighbors had ceased to make war upon them, and to rob and plunder them of their property. They were no longer compelled to fight for personal rights and liberty, or for existence and freedom. They have now become as peaceable, industrious and productive a people as any portion of the island; and this is so for reasons stated by Tacitus: that the Britons were a peaceable people, when they had no cause to complain of wrongs and injustice. Their brethren, the Lloegrian Cymry, in the east and south of the island, had submitted to become the subjects of the Saxons, just as the Saxons themselves had afterwards submitted to become the subjects and serfs of the Normans. The descendants of the Ancient Britons form the substratum and material part not only of the population of the whole island, but of that of England itself. Thus we were compelled, in pursuing the history of these descendants, to keep in view the government of England as well as that of Wales. But now the whole people are under the union of one government. The union of England and Wales by Edward I was that of conquest and not cordial—it was that of force, reluctance and distraction; but under the Tudors it was that of choice, friendship and confidence.

The Welsh people looked upon Henry Tudor as the descendant and representative of Arthur; as the return of their ancient rule to the sovereignty of Britain. Richmond could never have come to the throne of England without the aid of his countrymen; and this the Tudors always gratefully acknowledge, and treated the Cymry as their kindred and with special regard. The Cymry regarded this event as a realization

of the poetic prediction of the return of Arthur.

Wales is a small, but romantic country; with its hills and dales, its mountains and valleys; celebrated for the beauty of its valleys and rivers, and its charming landscapes. But in consequence of its mountains and hills, it will not support the same proportion of inhabitants as that of England, with her extensive and fertile plains. Wales therefore has never had over one-fifteenth, or one-twentieth of the population of England. In 1574, Elizabeth's time, the population of England was estimated to be about 5,500,000, while that of Wales was about 200,000. At the commencement of Victoria's reign the population of England was 13,000,000, while that of Wales was 800,000, and that of Great Britain and Ireland was 24,300,000. In 1861 the enumeration was for England, 18,949,000; for Wales, 1,100,000; and for the whole kingdom, 29,334,000. The representation as apportioned in the house of commons was: for England, 467 members; for Scotland, 53; for Ireland, 105; for Wales, 29; in all, 654; which gives to Wales a proportion as 1 to 22½. How Wales was able to sustain herself, politically and morally, with such disparity of influence and power in competition against her, is a curious question, which we will hereafter endeavor to answer.

The theory adopted by some historians, that the Saxons, as they settled in England, slaughtered all the Ancient British inhabitants who did not flee to Wales, we take to be untrue, not only on account of its cold inhumanity and its inconsistency in the analogy of history in all similar transactions, but that Wales was utterly incapable of receiving them. When the Romans left Britain, Wales had her full proportion of inhabitants, and was utterly incapable of receiving the very large population which then existed within the bounds of what is now England. It is very probable that before the Saxon conquest the ruling and foremost portion of the British people—as the officials, priests and learned men, fled to Wales and Brittany, but these were comparatively few; the great mass of the peo-

ple remained there, and submitted to their conquerors just as the Saxons afterwards did to the Normans, and became tributaries and stipendiaries to the Saxons as they had been to the Romans. This was specially the case with London, which was never taken by the Saxons, York and other large cities. Though we have no accurate historical account of this matter as it transpired at the time, yet we know that the Saxons came principally as soldiers, not emigrants with families, and took their wives from the women of the country, just as the Normans did in their conquest of Normandy, and afterwards in England. Their progress was slow; for a long time their conquest was confined to the neighborhood of the sea, until they were firmly fixed there; then they in the course of about two hundred years surrounded the interior of England, and swallowed it up under the name of Mercia. Thus the inhabitants of South-eastern Britain, called the Lloegrian Cymry, were swallowed up, and assimilated, and became Saxons, as the Ancient British historians say was the case. That they became Saxon in language was because the Teutons never change their language when they can help it, as we find to be the case in their settlements in Pennsylvania and New York.

The descendants of the Ancient Britons thus becoming English as well as Welsh, we were bound to take into our history both people; for the English may well claim their descent from the Ancient Britons, as Queen Victoria actually does claim hers from Caractacus, Boadicea and Arthur, through Llewellyn and the Tudors. Although the union of the English and Cymry was approached by hostilities and opposition, yet upon the coming in of Henry Tudor as sovereign of both countries, the Welsh considered the act as the placing of one of their own people upon the throne of Britain, and therefore the government was to them acceptable. Since then they have been as harmonious and active a part of the government as any part of England.

While we have contended from historical facts that the English in their origin were

greatly mixed with the Ancient Britons, and with Cymric and Celtic blood, we shall not rest upon that argument alone, but shall hereafter adduce other arguments from the language, the law, the physical constitution, and the antiquities of the people, to prove more conclusively the same matter. We shall now show from direct historical facts that the process of the mixture and combination of the two races has been constantly going on, not only by the Cymry mixing with the English, but the latter, in a less degree, with those of Wales. We now refer to historical facts already stated of marriages constantly going on between the English and the Cymry, from the earliest Anglo-Saxon times to the present. We may refer first to those which took place between the families of Cadwallon and Penda, and marriages which were constantly taking place between the kings and earls of Mercia, and the princes of Wales. The marriage of Williams, a gentleman of Wales, to the daughter of Lord Cromwell, of Henry VIII's time, made him the progenitor of a sovereign of England in the person of Oliver Cromwell; as well as that of Owen Tudor made him the ancestor of the Tudor sovereigns. Such marriages were numerous in every rank of life, as well with those who stood near the throne, or in elevated positions in society; as the marriage of Robert Owen to Miss Dale, who declared that the question with her was between Owen and celibacy. But Miss Dale was not the only fair English lady who declared that the question with her was between Owen and celibacy; but they were in every rank of life, of which history gives no account, but supported by the emigration of thousands to every part of England. This operation was constantly going on between the two people, especially after the accession of Owen Tudor, whose family were active in producing an uniformity, and an union of interest and feeling between the two people.

The Cymry have not only thus become an important part of the British people and nation, but have been constantly adding by their learning, talents and labors to the national renown. They carried with them

the literature and the Christian religion which they cultivated during the Roman times, and diffused the advantages of them among the English, as in the case of Gildas, Nennius, and Asser, the friend and biographer of Alfred the Great; but all this was more especially the case after the Norman conquest, as is evidenced by the writings and labors of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Walter archdeacon of Oxford, Giraldus Cambrensis, and many other such instances before the Tudor times, who were natives of Wales, and added to the literature and learning of England. But especially is this the case after that event, when Welshmen were introduced into every branch of literature, science and professional position in England.

What has just been said was so evident at an early day that Ben. Johnson, in the honesty of his heart, says: "Remember the country has always been fruitful of loyal hearts, minds and men. What lights of learning hath Wales sent forth for your schools! What industrious students of your laws! What able ministers of your justice! Whence hath the crown in all times better servitors, more liberal of their lives and fortunes?" From the earliest times natives of Wales have been distinguished in every branch of English literature, science and arts; in every profession—law, theology and medicine. Upon examination we find their numbers to be very large—unexpectedly so; many of whom in history and biography are stated to be Englishmen, but upon examination are found to be either natives of Wales or their immediate descendants, who were real Cymry in blood. The bar, the bench, the pulpit, and every department of government, as well as every calling, art and business, have had their full share of them. Our limits will not begin to permit us to point them out or enumerate their merits and distinctions. But everywhere we find the following Cymric names scattered through every department of British interest, viz: Allen, Adams, Bebb, Bowen, Bevan, Breese, Catsby, Clive, Cadwallader, Davies, Edwards, Evans, Griffith, Howell, Harris, Hughs, Humphrey, James, Jones, Johnes, Jenkins, Kenyon, Llewellyn,

Lloyd, Latimer, Lewis, Lee, Leigh, Morse, Morgan, Morris, Merydith, Meryck, Marshall, Nicholas, Owen, Parry, Perry, Picton, Peters, Pugh, Prichard, Phillips, Powell, Putnam, Price, Reese, Richard, Rice, Stephens, Stanley, Thomas, Tudor, Wayne, Wynn, Wynne, Williams, Yale, and many more. These names not only prevail in the principality, but are equally scattered throughout England and America—wherever the English language prevails, but they are among the most eminent in English history; and wherever found claim by their geneological table, or by tradition, that they were from Wales or the descendants of those who were. This is a very strong evidence of the great mixture of the Cymry, in large numbers, among the English, of a more recent date than that which took place with the ancient Saxons.

Some have represented the Welsh as contentious and disposed to war and fight, but upon fair examination it will appear that was the case only when they were imposed upon by the Saxons and Normans when attempting to conquer them and take away their rights and property. At other times they have been as peaceable as any people—never having been engaged in foreign conquest, or in attempt to injure or rob other people. What they contended for was to be let alone. Thierry and Hallam have thus expressed their opinion. The latter says: "As to the Welsh frontier, it was almost constantly in a state of war, which a very little good sense and benevolence in any one of our shepherds would have easily prevented, by admitting the conquered people to partake in equal privileges with their fellow subjects. Instead of this, they satisfied themselves with aggravating the mischief by granting legal reprisals upon Welshmen." But under the Tudors their rights and privileges were respected, and they became as peaceable and loyal people as any in the kingdom. In confirmation of this is the report of Sir Henry Sydney to his government, who had served under queen Elizabeth twenty-six years as lord president of Wales, and said

in reference to his high office in Wales: "It is a happy place of government, for a better people to govern or better subjects Europe holdeth not." To this effect abundance of authorities may be had, as well as it being proved by the course of history. They are generally loyal and conservative, honest and religious; and for these qualities entrusted by others, as much so as any people.

Since the union of Wales with England the military service of the Welsh to the kingdom has been highly important and distinguished. From the battle of Cressy to that of Alma, no battle has been fought where British valor was important and put to the test but where that of the Ancient Britons has had its part and been distinguished. A striking evidence of this is the history of the twenty-third regiment, known as the Royal Welsh Fusileers. This regiment was first raised for William III in 1689, by its colonel, lord Herbert, in Wales, and has since been kept up by recruits from thence. Other regiments of Cymry have gained their well merited distinction as the descendants of those who fought under Caractacus and Arthur for the rights and freedom of their country; but the twenty-third, the Fusileers, take the lead. It has served in all the great conflicts through which Britain has since passed—at home, on the continent, in America, in Egypt and in the Crimea; in most all the great battles under the duke of Marlborough and the duke of Wellington. Upon a comparatively recent occasion the regiment was presented with new colors by prince Albert, who took the opportunity to say he "felt most proud to be the person to transmit these colors to so renowned a regiment." The old colors were lodged in the church of St. Peter's Carmarthen, and the new colors, bearing more names than any other regiment in the service, are inscribed with the memorable and important battles of Minden, Sphinx, Egypt, Cornua, Martinique, Albuera, Badajos, Salamander, Vittorea, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Orthes, Toulouse, Waterloo, Alma, Jukerman, Sebastopol. It is remarkable that the last named were those attached to the land of

1 Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. iii, p. 163. See ante, B., ch.—.

the cradle of their ancestors. To this regiment are attached numerous names of officers and men whose memory is historic and dear to the Cymry, and whose blood has freely stained the fields of British renown in every country and climate, to sustain what is dear to every Briton—their honor and their freedom.

With the Tudors came Protestantism. The Cymry, though among the very earliest of the people who adopted Christianity, were always the most decided opponents of Popery and Catholicism, and in favor of a free and national church, in opposition to foreign influence and control over their religion and consciences. After the time of Augustine, it was a long period of time before they submitted to any control of the church of Rome over their Christian religion and worship. They told Augustine that, while they were willing servants of the church of God and every true Christian, all other obedience they disclaimed, being governed, under their Heavenly Lord, by the bishop of Caerleon. This was what the Cymry always fondly adhered to; and when Henry VIII and Edward VI and Elizabeth declared in favor of and gave their support to an independent national church, they had warm supporters in Wales. Lord Bacon says of it: "The Britons told Augustine they would not be subject to him nor let him pervert the ancient laws of their church. This was their resolution: and they were as good as their word, for they maintained the liberties of their church six hundred years after his time, and were the last of all the churches of Europe that gave up their power to the Roman beast; and in the person of Henry VIII that was of their blood by Owen Tudor, the first that took that power away again."² In the revolution which brought Cromwell to the sovereignty of England the people of Wales were very much divided upon the questions in dispute, but both parties were warm and decided in the cause they espoused. Those who permitted their native conservatism to prevail were loyal, and in whom the royal family

confidently confided; while those who followed their native love of freedom and a just government were among the most efficient of Cromwell's followers, and decided puritans.

The condition of the people of Wales during this period may be very well surmised from these facts stated. It must be very much like any portion of rural England away from the large cities, as London, York and Winchester. They had labored as far as possible to preserve their schools and churches, which they had cherished and brought down with them from the Roman times; but these were often burned down or destroyed by their Saxon, Danish and Norman invaders and enemies. Notwithstanding these calamities, the people with great exertion labored to preserve their literature, learning and arts, and in these respects were ahead of England until very modern times, when the progress of civilization and the great advantages of England in population and all the elements of wealth and prosperity have enabled her people far to surpass them; yet not behind any similar rural districts of England. But the very rapid progress in improvement now being made in Wales, in the development of her great mineral resources, and the great increase in her towns and manufactures, put her on par with other like districts of England outside of London.

Since the conquest of Wales by Edward I there has never been a time when her people have been treated with the hardness customarily put upon conquered people, as that of William the Conqueror upon the English; indeed they have been treated as a favored people. But especially was this the case since the accession of Henry VII. During the whole time the English government has favored them in enforcing no very objectionable laws upon them, and preserving for them the most of the favored laws of their own; and never enforcing upon them the feudal laws, which were always so very objectionable to them, until the laws of England were so reformed, and ceased to be objectionable of themselves in these respects. Gradually the laws, habits and customs of the two countries have be-

² Bacon's Elements of Law and Governments.

come assimilated, so that now there is but little or no difference between them, except that in the more rural districts the Cymreig is the common language of the people.

After the accession of Henry VII, Welshmen and their descendants became still more intimately connected with the government and the nobility, than during the Norman times, when so many of the Norman barons were connecting themselves in marriage with the leading families of Wales, and forming some of the great lordships of the kingdom. It is said that Jasper Tudor, the duke of Bedford, was continued to be entrusted by the king, his nephew, with the chief command of his military forces, as an acknowledgment of his services at Bosworth field; and Sir Rhys ap Thomas was no less so, when troops were called for and mustered in an expected rupture with France; and "was much noted," says Lord Bacon, "for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales." And Henry during his whole reign manifested special confidence in the military forces of his native land.³

In the year 1536, Henry VIII was induced, by common consent, to have a statute passed, enacting that the principality should be united and incorporated with the kingdom of England;⁴ and that all Welshmen should enjoy equal liberty, rights, and privileges with the king's English subjects. From that time forward the people of the two countries have become more and more identified and assimilated. Afterwards, in 1543, this monarch had procured further statutory enactments for the improvement of the government of Wales, intended to establish equality of legal rights, and legal action in relation to the two people. The government then established was under a lord president of the

principality, aided by a council and other officers, whose seat of office was at Ludlow Castle. The judiciary consisted of a circuit court in each of four circuits into which the principality was divided; each court had a justice appointed for it, who held his court in each county, and had jurisdiction of all cases in law and equity, with an appellate jurisdiction in error in the higher courts at Westminster. Elizabeth added another justice to each court in the several circuits, and the practice of the law was almost precisely like that of England.

Of these matters Mr. Justice Blackstone⁵ says: "Courts—barons, hundred and county courts are there established, as in England. A session is also to be held twice in every year in each county," by judges appointed by the king, to be called the great sessions of the several counties in Wales; in which all pleas of real and personal actions should be held, with the same form of process, and in as ample a manner as in the court of common pleas at Westminster; and writs of error shall lie from the judgment therein, as a court of record, to the court of king's bench at Westminster." Since then all distinction, in the judiciary system of Wales, between it and that of England, has been abolished; for by statutes⁶ it was enacted that the jurisdiction of the court of great session, in law and equity should cease; and that the jurisdiction of the courts of common law should be exercised in the counties in Wales, in the like manner as in the counties in England. Since then subsequent statutes⁷ have rendered the judiciary and practice of the law in Wales uniform and similar in every respect with that of England.

Thus has the condition of the Cymry, with respect to their laws and government, been put upon a perfect equality with the English subjects, and their rights and liberties the same as that of any other citizens of the kingdom.

This delay in accomplishing this desira-

3 Miss Williams' History of Wales, p. 180.

4 1 Stephens' Com. English Law, p. 825; stat. 27 Henry VIII. Notwithstanding the conquest by Edward I, and the statute of *Wallut*, we are assured by Barrington that the feudal laws were unknown in Wales; and that the property there was entirely *free and allodial*. Blackstone in his Com. (Vol. 1, p. 91) says: "They still retained very much of their original polity; particularly their rule of inheritance," viz., the gavel-kind. See, also, Judge Sherwood's Notes to Blackstone.

5 Commentaries, Vol. 3, p. 77.

6 Stat. 18. Eliz. c. 8.

7 Stat. 11, George IV and 1 William IV, c. 70, § 4.

8 Stat. 5 Victoria s. 2, c. 33; and 8 Victoria, c. 11.

the object was caused by the Welsh people themselves, in every treaty, insisting that the English feudal tenures should not be enforced upon them, and that they should still retain certain favored laws of their own, until the English should be so improved as to be equal and as acceptable as their own. When the very objectionable features of the English feudal laws had been abolished or become obsolete, and the English laws themselves had been so ameliorated and improved, the Welsh then had no objection to this happy union and assimilation with the other people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

§2.—*Condition of the English.* (A. D. 1485—1837.)

The progress made by the English people, in the amelioration of their condition within this period, is unexampled in the history of the world. This progress of improvement has been progressive in all the relations and affairs of human life—in their political relations; in the emancipation of man from unjust bondage and restraints, and placing him upon a just and humane equality in the attainment of happiness and justice; and in the advancement of arts, science and business. From the coming of the Saxons to the Norman conquest, there were six hundred years; from the conquest to the accession of Tudor, there were over four hundred years, and from that time to the accession of Victoria there were three hundred and fifty years. During the first period there were only the king and ruling aristocracy who were permitted to govern: when the government was in the hands of a strong king, he did as he pleased; when in the hands of a weak one, the nobility ruled as they pleased; but in either case the people were nothing in the government, but were subject to be ruled with equal tyranny and injustice by either. In the second period the Normans took possession of all political power, and transferred the landed property, with the nobility, from the Saxon lords to the Norman; leaving the people where they were before—the tenant and serf. Towards the

close of this period, after the commencement of the reign of Edward I, the house of commons was formed, but it neither knew nor exercised any of the powers which now distinguish it; and the people only began to feel and know that they had some rights in the government. But it was after the commencement of the last period that the house of commons began to exercise those rights and powers that it now maintains—the representative and guardian of the rights of the people, holding in its hands the government itself, and the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Of the various people and races, who enter into the composition of the English, to which of them is to be attributed these recent improvements? The answer should be, to neither exclusively; it is the growth of British soil; the recent progress of humanity, aided by favorable circumstances. Certainly to the Saxons, the usual claimant, the least of all. The Normans were probably the most proximate cause. It were they who produced the Great Charter of John, and afterwards suggested the house of commons; but which never existed in its majesty and power in their period. We can not trace any thing, of the many that is admirable in the British government, to a Saxon origin, or a Saxon ingenuity. They came from a remote and barbarous corner of the European world, and, as complacently suggested by Cæsar, the farthest from Rome and civilization. They came as warriors, with few or no wives, to fight and conquer. They brought but little with them but their battle-ax, and their knowledge and experience were confined to arts of a savage warfare. They came to live upon the country; took their wives from the people; expelled the former rulers and Christian priesthood; made the mass of the people left in the rural districts their tenants or serfs, and the cities their tributaries or stipendiaries as they were under the Romans. Their government the most unrestricted monarchy—their great council, the Witenagemot, consisting of the most exclusive aristocracy or oligarchy, made up of the descendants of Woden, who were of no account in the government

when a Penda or an Offa or Ethelfrith ruled; and they themselves ruled with equal tyranny, when such weak men as Edwy or Ethelred II. or even Edward the Confessor, were on the throne, or when it was vacant. The Witenagemot was no more the model of parliament than the great council of the red man of America was the model for the formation of congress—parliament, however, was. The Saxons came without literature or science, except such as was connected with their operations in plunder and war: the avowed enemies of Christianity and civilization, and as pagans of the Woden stamp, destroying every evidence of either.

The Norman conquest was so complete that almost nothing of a Saxon institution remained, except what they could turn to their advantage; the rude Saxon feudal tenures, unwritten and depending upon custom, were by the Normans reduced to form in writing and a code, which for about two hundred years held the people of England in its iron feudal grasp. The first relief from it came from the Norman barons in a revolt against the tyranny of their kings. They wrenched from them their charters, and eventually established something like the house of commons, which was the first thing necessary and essential to the present government of England and the United Kingdom. It was then that English government and British institutions of liberty and freedom had their origin and grew.

The frequent wars in England kept the people from improving, and in subjugation and poverty. Its tendency was to produce an indifference to civil orders, with idleness and crime. This was particularly the case in those times that preceded the death of Richard III. The character of the Anglo-Saxon during those times as represented by Hume and other historians, is very low in point of civilization and good government. But all that may have been the natural consequence of the low position at which the people were put, and the habits of continual war. The manner in which both the Saxons and the Normans placed the ownership of the landed property in control of a

landed aristocracy, to the exclusion of the mass of the people who tilled them, had the inevitable effect of holding the mass of the people as serfs; and excluding them from a participation in the government, produce a low, degraded and criminal population just as Hume has described. On the other hand, when a large body of agriculturists become themselves land owners—the yeomanry of the country, exercising important part and function in the government, they are elevated as men to moral responsibility and character.

Under both the Saxon and Norman government it was impossible that the great body of the people should be otherwise than as represented. For a people to be elevated and of a high moral tone, they must be free, and enjoy a just share in the blessings of the land and their government. To the mass of the English people these rights came to them very slowly; the king and the nobility, by whom all the powers of the government were exercised, generally looked upon every movement to ameliorate the condition of the people with a suspicious and hostile eye. When Monfort, the earl of Leicester, late in the reign of Henry III, proposed to call into parliament representatives from the commons,—from the shires and burgesses,—the nobility looked upon it as a fearful innovation; and the proposition was not renewed for a long time. But after the accession of the Tudor dynasty, a new policy was inaugurated in reference to the advancement of the position and interest of the people. This was done by the abolition of the most offensive part of the feudal tenures by statutes to enable the nobility to alienate their lands, by which a middle class became holders of land; and this was specially promoted by the great sale of lands, by Henry VIII, confiscated from the monasteries and clergy. The increase of the yeomanry of the country had been greatly promoted by the great slaughter of the nobility in the war which ended in the death of Richard III. and by the constant enfranchisement of the people, and the increase of power and influence of the house of commons. To these means—

1 See ante, B. —, ch. —.

ures should be added the policy of peace instead of war, pursued by the Tudors; which greatly promoted manufactures and commerce of the country. These measures soon raised the people to a position of power, influence, and wealth, never before attained. By these means, and from this time, the people of England made a progress in their own elevation and condition, morally, politically and physically, unsurpassed by any other.

It may be well to notice in the course of this advancement that the improvements made in the condition of the people were never made formerly as they have sometimes been made of late by a voluntary movement on the part of the government or nobility, for they were too hostile, and lacked all sympathy and feeling for the interest of the people to do anything of that kind; there was an awful distance between the nobility and the mass of the people as serfs and bondsmen, which utterly prohibited it. The action of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in favor of the people, was received with hostility by his fellow nobles and not soon adopted. It was in the course of the revolution and troubles among the government and nobility themselves when the greatest progress was made, and was the means of procuring it. It was the Danes and Normans who broke down the old Saxon aristocracy of Woden origin, the closest and the most odious that was ever formed. It was the hostilities between the Norman nobility and their monarchs, John and Henry III, that broke in upon the overpowering authority and tyranny of the Norman kings; and it was the war which terminated at the death of Richard III which almost annihilated the powers of that nobility, and gave a fair opportunity for the improvement under Henry VII; it was the revolution under Cromwell that brought out the yeomanry of England; and it was the movements of the restoration of William III and George I which did the most to enable the people firmly to secure their liberties. But of late the nobility and government have of their own accord sympathized and done much to promote such movements, finding it was easier to con-

trol untoward events than to resist; easier to save the tree that was sufficiently pliable to yield before the storm than one that was so stubborn as to break. Upon the whole, the progress made by the British people in their government and their condition leaves but little doubt that it will soon attain all that reformation that reason and justice require.

§3—*Ethnology of the British People.*

It is easier to establish satisfactorily the ethnic relation of any of the people constituting the British kingdom than that of the English. As to them many fanciful and favorite theories have been adopted, without consideration or evidence to establish their pure Saxon or Teutonic lineage. One of these has been, that when the Saxons came to Britain they coolly slaughtered off the two or three millions of civilized and Christian people found there, who were unable to flee to the mountains of Wales; so that the Saxons had a clear territory to begin their nation anew. We believe that there has already been enough said to satisfy an unprejudiced mind that this theory cannot be true; and that after that conquest was complete a majority of the people of the Anglo-Saxon territory were of the blood and the descendants of the Ancient Britons. But for fear that some may adhere to this unfounded fancy, we are disposed to bring forth other collateral evidence to the same point, arising from the investigation of language, physiological characteristics, law, and the examination of antiquities; all these, as well as history, go to prove that the English are more the descendants of the Ancient Britons than of the Saxons who invaded Britain; more the product of the union and amalgamation of the various races who invaded Britain at various times than of the Saxons alone; more of the Celtic blood than of the Teutonic.

Before entering upon these collateral evidences, let us recall to our memory the prominent facts of our history bearing upon the question. From the earliest times the inhabitants of Western Europe consisted of the Celts and Teutons. The Celts

were the more southerly in Gaul and Britain, and were the more cultivated and civilized; the Teutons more north, in Germany and Scandinavia, and the more uncultivated and barbarous. The Romans in various ways had come in contact and in some measure mixed—principally as conquerors and rulers—with the Celts; more in Gaul than in Britain, but not at all with the Teutons.

When the Saxons came the Romans had withdrawn, except such as had been mixed with and had become a part of the Cymric population. The Celts were distinguished into two families—the Gael and the Cymry, or the Gaelic and the Cymric Celts; these are sometimes denominated, the first as the old or low Celt, the latter as the new or high Celt; but the Gaelic or old Celt or the Cymric or new Celt is the better designation. The old Celts or Gaels were the first settlers, as far as our history gives, of Gaul and Britain. The Cymry came last from the Cimbric Chersonesus or north of the Elbe, and took possession of the northwest part of Gaul, north of the Loire. Those north of the Seine and south of the Rhine, who were more in the habit of war in keeping back the Germans, and some little mixed with the Teuton, were denominated Belgæ or Belgic Cymry. A part of the Cymry passed over from Armorica to Britain and became possessed of the south part of it; and the Gael principally withdrew to the north part of the island,¹ and over to Ireland. Subsequently

other Cymry came over from Gaul—from Armorica and Belgium, and occupied the southeast of Britain, and were known as the Lloegrian Cymry. As the Romans came many of the Cymry, for the love of independence and freedom, withdrew to the valley of the Clyde and the low lands north and east of the Forth, and the latter became known as the Picts. Others withdrew from the Romans over to Ireland, and occupied the northeast of it, and became known as the Scots, who subsequently passed over to Scotland, gave to it its name, and eventually became completely united and absorbed with the Picts.

When the northern barbarian began to overrun Europe, and the Saxons to invade Britain, the older inhabitants were thus divided: The old Celts or Gael occupied as the permanent inhabitants of the country the south part of Gaul, the highlands of Scotland, the south and west of Ireland and the Isle of Man; the new Celts or Cymry the northeast of Ireland, the south and east of Scotland, all of England and Wales, and the northwest of Gaul, south of the Rhine.

Of the people who invaded Britain after the Romans were: 1. The Saxons. 2. The Danes. 3. The Normans.

The Saxons were known and designated amongst themselves as three separate families, viz: The Jutes from Holstein and Schleswick; the Angles to the east of the Jutes, from the southwest angle of the Baltic; and the Saxons, so specially called, from all the country south of the Jutes and north of the Rhine, including the Friesians. They were all denominated by the Britons under the name of Saxons, without any distinction; and were all more or less Teutonic, but probably differed much from the Germans of the interior and south of Germany.

That the Cymry were once settled in the very country from which the Saxons came, and known in early times as the Cimbri, is a fact admitted by all historians. After the Cymry of Armorica and Britain

¹ See ante, B.—, ch. —. It will be remembered that it was concluded that the Gaels of Gaul and those of the British Islands in ancient times were the same people; they settled Britain before the Cymry came. They then withdrew to the north, and finally became identified with the northwest of Scotland and south and west of Ireland. I have recently examined Latham's *Ethnology of the British Islands*, in which he represents the Gaels as isolated and unconnected with any language in Europe. But he approves of what he calls the Lhuyd theory, of which he says: "The doctrine of Humphrey Lhuyd, one of the best of our earlier archaeologists, suggested it. * * * And it is highly probable. It makes the original population of all the British Islands—England as well as Scotland and Ireland—to have been Gaelic, Gaelic to the exclusion of any Britons whatever. It makes a considerable part of the continent Gaelic as well. In consequence of this, the Britons are a later and intrusive population, a population which effected a great and complete displacement of the earlier Gaels over the whole of South Britain and the southern part of Scotland. Except that they were a branch of the same stalk as the Gaels, their relation to the aborigines was that of the Anglo-

Saxons to themselves at a later period. * * * * The general distribution of these two branches of the Celtic stock leads to Lhuyd's hypothesis, in other words, the presumption is in its favor."

left the Cimbri Chersonesus a large body of them still remained there, until the time a body of them in alliance with a body of Teutons passed south and invaded the Romans, under the name of Cimori and Teutons, in the time of Marius. From that time Cimbri of the Chersonesus disappear in history. But it is contended by historians that they emigrated both north and south, and were mingled and swallowed up by the people with whom they came in contact; on the north with the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes;² on the south with the Saxons, Friesians, Hollanders and Belgians. This will account for the ethnic difference in language and people of those to the south or low German on the shores of the German ocean from the high German to the east of them; and also those to the north, as the Danes, Norwegians or Scandinavians, from the Gothic and Teutonic people to the east and south of them.

How much Cymric blood entered into the composition of these several people it is impossible to determine, but it is probable, on a number of accounts, that there was more in the Danes and Norwegians than in those who passed under the name of Saxons, for they differed the most from the real Teutons; and it is said that the Northmen's literature bore evidence of their connection with the Celts, as well as some portion of their antiquities. All these people, when they came to either Britain or Gaul, came as soldiers, to rob and plunder or to conquer, being mostly men and but few women. They were few in number compared with the people among whom they settled, conquered and ruled.

² This would make the Northmen who settled in Normandy part Celt to begin with, and account for his differing so much from the real Teuton. Authors have frequently alluded to this, and Prof. M. Arnold says: "Since the war in Schleswig-Holstein, all one's German friends are exceedingly anxious to insist on the difference of nature between themselves and the Scandinavians." (Arnold's Celtic Literature, part iv.) This difference is in no way so well accounted for as by supposing that they were a mixture of the Cimbri of Denmark with the Teutons. And Arnold quotes Zeuss to prove that in very early times the Celts, with their bards, poetry and learning, were found with the Norwegians and Icelanders. This shows that Rollo and his men may have been considerably Celtic when they came to Rouen; and then they were not one in fifty, if one in a hundred, in the population of Normandy. So that the Normans who came to England were far more Celtic than Teutonic.

This was specially the case with the people of Normandy. The largest portion of their blood must have been of the original Cymric Celt of the country. The Normans of Normandy were formed by the settlement of a few thousand Northmen, warriors, expelled from Norway, their home, settling among the great body of the people of Normandy or Neustria, and forming a new race by the union of the two; when there was a probability that there were more people in the city of Rouen alone than all the Northmen warriors. They amalgamated and made one people, but the great proportion of their blood must be still Celtic, especially so as their principal intercourse was with the Britons of Armorica in marriage and political alliances.

Such were the people and race who invaded and subdued Britain, imposed upon it their rule and in some measure their language; and by that union formed a new people and language, different and unlike either of their progenitors, but still partaking materially of the original inhabitants of the country—the Ancient Britons, with a large infusion and probably the major portion of Celtic or Cymric blood. It was the Normans who impressed upon England and its people the greatest portion of their new characteristics; and they and those who came with them were greatly predominant with Celtic blood, which made the English more Celtic than they were before.

Leaving the historical question thus at this point, it is now proposed to proceed to our collateral evidence; and, I. Language. It is apprehended that upon examination the English language will show its intimate connection with the Cymric Celt, and show that the English people are greatly indebted, if not principally so, to their Celtic ancestors for their origin. It is freely admitted that Saxon warriors who came and subdued South-eastern Britain imposed upon the British people their rule and language; for the Germans of all people in the world are the most tenacious of their language, and will only change it by slow and imperceptible degrees.

The English language is entirely a new language, unlike any other. Upon inspection a German would hardly dream that it had a German origin; and the older Anglo-Saxon we examine the less resemblance to the modern English we find. The English is a new composit language, made up by strangers who were unacquainted with each other's language; picking up from each other what was the most convenient to each, with the condition that the Saxon must be its substratum. They would enquire of each other the names of several things and words to express ideas. They would adopt them in a rude form, like the Chinese pigeon-English. They would adopt them in one form, dropping off all changes in nouns and verbs for grammatical delineation or conjugation, and all modification for mere harmony of sound; and instead thereof adopt a few prepositions and auxiliary verbs. Thus discarding all changes in words on account of these changes of cases and tenses: and especially all the numerous changes that the Ancient Briton had in his words, by changes of the initial letters in words to make it harmonize with other words in the sentence, and adjectives to agree with their nouns in gender and case. If the Saxon was told by a Latin scholar that the instrument he wrote with was called *pena*, he would use it in its rudest form and call it *pen*; and would never trouble himself with the *a*, *e*, *is*, or *an*; but would help that idea by some preposition or auxiliary. In the original Saxon the changes in words were few, principally to change nouns to verbs and adjectives; and this was done principally by adding *an* for a verb, and *ig* or *ic* for adjectives; thus *wit* was mind, sense, knowledge; *witan* was to know, to think; *witig*, wise, sagacious; or by combining other words. But their prepositions and auxiliaries were few, and those afterwards adopted in the English were principally borrowed from the Celts.

This is all proved by the most casual examination of the English language. Almost all other languages present some evidence of culture by additions or prefix to

make it harmonize with the genius of the language; or to agree in case or number, or in tense, with its position in the sentence. All this is almost entirely discarded in the English, and in this respect it is helped by a very simple expediency of adopting a few prepositions and auxiliary verbs; they generally adopt a word in one rude form, without regard to sound or harmony; and this has been done by borrowing words from all people and languages that they have come in contact with. This has been carried so far that the original Saxon has almost lost all resemblance to its original.

It is customary to consider all the words and phrases found in the English, from the time the Saxons came to Edward III, as Anglo-Saxon. For the purpose of showing what the Saxon language was before it was improved in England, this is all wrong. The question is not what the Saxon was made to be in England, but what it was when it came there. Upon such examination the Saxon language is found to have been so improved, and combined with other sources, and so much composed of materials foreign to itself, that it has become a composite language, wholly unlike the original Saxon. The oldest specimen of the Saxon language now at my hand, is a specimen greatly lauded as a fair specimen of Saxon language and literature—the poem of Cædmon, “The Creation,” composed about A. D. 680, about two hundred years after the Saxons first settled in England. This specimen will aid us some to judge of this matter.

The following is a quotation from Cædmon's poem of the Creation, taken from Chambers' Cyclopædia of English Literature. It is put into English letters; if it was put into Saxon letters it would appear still further from its parentage of the English language:

ORIGINAL SAXON.	ENGLISH TRANSLATION.
Nu we sceoln herian heofon-rices weard, metodes mihte, and his mod-ge-thone, wera wuldor fæder! swa he wundra ge-hwas ece dreyhten, eard onstealde. He arest ge-scƿop, wita bearnum heofon to hrofe, halig scyppend! tha middan-geard	Now we shall praise the guardian of heaven, the might of the Creator, and his counsel, the glory-father of men! how he of all wonders, the eternal lord, formed the beginning. He first created, for the children of men! heaven as a roof, the holy creator! then the world

3 See Turner's Anglo-Saxon. Vol. ii, Appendix, pp. 82-92.

mon-cynnes wearde,
eccc dryhten,
after teode,
fram foldam,
frea elmihtig.

the guardian of mankind
the eternal lord,
produced afterwards,
the earth for men,
the almighty master!

In this part of the poem there are about forty-five Saxon words; about fifteen of them may be connected with and converted into English, the other thirty have no connection with it. In determining how much of the English is Saxon, and how much of the Saxon language enters into the English, we must ascertain what the Saxons and their language were when they came, not what they and their language afterwards became after several hundred years of culture on British soil.

Language is evidence of the origin of a people, but not conclusive evidence; for many people and races have adopted a language entirely foreign to themselves. The Saxons did tenaciously adhere to their language, and slowly improved it by adopting now and then, here and there a word from the language of the Celtic population with whom they mixed. So much was this the case, that the English language has become one entirely unlike the original Saxon; as the English people themselves have become unlike their Saxon ancestors, by the same process—intermixture and amalgamation with the original subjects of the island.

In examining the above specimen from *Cædmon* or any other of the Saxon language in England until the time of Alfred, at least, we shall find the Saxon language entirely different from the English in its formation, construction and grammar. That language was almost entirely unlike in its original from the English which superseded it. It had no articles, nor few or none of prepositions, or auxiliary words; and without these the English would be nothing, or lose its native force. There was no article *the* in the Saxon,—so very important in the English. The above words of *Cædmon*—"metodes mihte," Mr. Chambers translates, "the might of the Creator." The English adopted this article from the Cymry; they always use this article, thus they say, *y dyn*, and we say in English, the man; and the English for a long time wrote the article in the same

way, as *y* or *ye*, as *y field*, the *y* being sounded as an *e*, with an aspiration. The Saxons had no preposition *of*. This again was borrowed in the English from the Cymry, who would say, *o y dyn*, for of the man. So *in* is from *yn*; and many of the most simple words in the English, are borrowed in the same manner.

There are a few English writers who contend that the English have borrowed few or no words from the Cymry. But there are many fair and honest men who strongly maintain the contrary. Mr. Whitaker, the very able historian of Manchester, contends and gives a list of more than three thousand words in English borrowed from the Cymry.

Prof. Creasy, in his essay on the English Constitution,⁴ with reluctance admits the fact that the Cymreag, or the language of the Cymry, forms any important part of the English language, yet gives us a list of thirty words borrowed from the Celtic Britons, collected by a Mr. Garnett, as evidence that the Saxons did not slay all the Ancient Britons, but took their wives at least from them; and consider the fact that his list of words relate to domestic feminine occupation, as evidence that the Saxons generally did thus take their wives from the Britons. He gives the following list of such words: Basket, barrow, button, bran, clout, crock, crook, gusset, kiln, cock (in cock-boat), dainty, darn, tenter (tenter hook), fleam, flaw, funnel, gyve, griddel, gruel, welt, wicket, gown, wire, mesh, mattock, mop, rail, rasher, rug, solder, size (glue), tackle. This is a very important list of words, and strong evidence that the Saxons took wives from the British women. This would make the next generation of them half Britons, without taking into consideration the rest of the Britons who became their subjects, tenants and serfs; and the inhabitants of cities not taken. But this list of words would only begin to enumerate Celtic words thus adopted in the English language. Take for instance the word *herian* in the first line given above from *Cædmon*, and in the translation it is rendered *praise*. This is from the Celtic; in

⁴ Creasy on the English Constitution, p. 20.

Welsh it would be *pris*, price; and *prisiaw*,⁵ to praise; in Latin it would have been laus, laudo, laudabimus.

For the purpose of testing this matter further let the following list be examined, and it will be found that the borrowing of words from the Cymry was not confined to mere domestic concerns, but to all the relations of life. And let it be remembered, that the Saxons' had no communication with the Latin until after the coming of Augustine, when the Saxons had been in England upwards of one hundred and fifty years, or five generations, when the intermixture of races would have been completed, especially in Kent, rather than in Northumbria, where Cædmon composed his poetry. In this list we first give the Anglo-Saxon word, when known, then the English translation, and then the Cymric or Welsh word from which it was adopted, thus:

SAXON, OR ANG-SAX.	ENGLISH.	WELSH, OR CYMRAEG.
Haga.	Farm.	Fferm, 6 ffermyr (a farmer). In Armorica and France it was ferm and ferme. There is no such word in the Teutonic language.
—	Ford.	Ffordd (pronounced as forth) or flor (a road or way). When the Saxon would inquire the way to cross the river, the Briton would point it out, and call it y flordd; and the Saxon would repeat it, the ford. Thus any English words are formed from the original British.
Mlin, or Mylen.	Mill.	Melin.
All.	All.	Oll, or holl.
Boca.	Bacon.	Bacwn.
—	Basin.	Basn.
—	Barrel.	Baril.
Bana.	Banner.	Banar.
Dali, or Cnap.	Button.	Dal (to catch or hold), button or botwm. These words are common to the Celts, but not to the Teutons.
Corp.	Fetter.	Corp, fetter or chastise.
Copp.	Top.	Cop, the top.
Cos.	Kiss.	Cus.
Cid.	Battle or strife.	Cad.

⁵ Webster's Dictionary.

⁶ The English scholar should notice that the *f* is *f*, and *j* is sounded like *v*, *c* like *a*, and *i* like *e*, in the English. And *u* is to be frequently sounded like *e*, as in du, Rhoderick Du.

SAXON, OR ANG-SAX.	ENGLISH.	WELSH, OR CYMRAEG.
Canan.	Churn.	Corddi.
Cennan.	Beget.	Cenedlu.
Cat.	Cat.	Cath.
Carr.	Stone.	Careg.
Car.	Care.	Care.
Pycan (to pick).	Pick.	Pyg.
—	Peck.	Pec, pigo (to peck).
—	Peg.	Pig, pin, pinio (to peg).
Pinn (l. penna).	Pen.	Pen.
Pin (to pin) (is pinn).	Pin.	Pin, piniaw (to pin).
Gefera.	Pair.	Par, as par oadarn (pair of birds).
—	Paper.	Papyr.
Parruc.	Park.	Paire. This word is of undoubted Celtic origin.
—	Part.	Parth.
—	Place.	Plas, plas newydd (new place.)

These Anglo-Saxon words are those used and adopted after their settlement in England.

These examples are only taken at random and might be extended to at least Mr. Whittaker's three-thousand words or a volume. The following table of numbers shows the Cymric's intimate relation to Aryan, and to the English full as much as to the Anglo-Saxon.

English	Anglo-Sax.	Latin	Gaelic	Cymric	Holic Greek
One	An	Uno	An	Un	Ein
Two	Tva	Duo	Do	Daw	Duo
Three	Thri	Tri	Tri	Tri	Petor
Four	Fyvor	Quatuor	Kechair	Pedwar	Petor
Five	Fif	Quinque	Katig	Pump	Pempie
Six	Sis	Sex	Se	Chwech	Hex
Seven	Seofon	Septem	Sech	South	Hepta
Eight	Eapfa	Octo	Och	Wyth	Octo
Nine	Nigon	Novem	Noi	Naw	Ennea
Ten	Tyn	Decem	Dich	Deg	Deka
Twenty	Twentig	Vicinti	Tichid	Ugain	Ekaton
Hundred	Hundred	Centum	Ket	Cant	Chilio
Thousand	Thysard	Mille	Mile	Mil	

NOTE. — The Cymric and Greek numbers are pronounced greatly more alike than the letters will indicate them. The first in each are pronounced alike.

This table shows that all these languages

must come from the same source—the Aryan; and that the Welsh is closely connected with the Greek; and that the Anglo-Saxon and English are a greater departure from the latter than the Welsh.

The space assigned to this work compels the abandonment of the argument arising from language, and to resort to that arising from law.

That the laws of the Ancient Britons have been largely adopted in the formation of the English law—that it now breathes in and imbues it, is a matter generally admitted by the best English lawyers and scholars; and denied only by those who love Saxonism more than it deserves. The laws of slavery, as they existed among the Saxons and Britons, were a striking characteristic in the difference between them. The Saxons tolerated and protected slavery in every shape. In their piracies they were in the habit of kidnapping people on the British shores in Roman times, and selling them in the slave market on the continent. This was particularly complained of in the time of the Roman general, Theodosius, as having been done in the vicinity of London. The instance of their selling children in Roman market, taken from Deira in Northumbria, which attracted the attention of Gregory, whether those children were their own or those of captured Britons, is a noted one. History tells us that they made Bristol an offensive slave market. On the other hand, all we know of the Britons, in their triads, laws, and history, they manifested a decided spirit against slavery. The song of the Ancient Briton was full of the noble theme of liberty and freedom. The Celtic family everywhere acknowledge and contend for human rights. They contend for the brotherhood of the human race without regard to condition, or power, or authority. The Frenchman contends for their *"equality"*. The Cymro insists that *"You shall not woman the man;"* the Scotchman with equal enthusiasm asserts, *"Man is man for a'w that;"* and the Irishman, that *"everyone should enjoy and participate in the fruit of his labor and of the soil."* Thus above all other nationalities they

insist upon the common rights of humanity. Lord Mansfield is reported to have delivered noble sentiments in favor of personal liberty in the celebrated case of the negro Somerset, and said: "As soon as a man touches British soil he is free; in England one may be a villain, but not a slave; there is no such thing as a slave in England, and a human being never was considered a chattel to be sold for a price." If this noble sentiment was asserted upon the force of Saxon laws, it was a sublime falsehood; but if it was founded upon the spirit of the laws of the Ancient Britons, it was an exalted truth.

The Ancient Britons always maintained a free soil and tenancy; villainage and serfage never existed with them, except where it was carried by Saxon or Norman conquest; and gavel-kind was a favored institution in the distribution of their lands to their heirs. This institution was tenaciously retained by the people of Kent, against the Norman feudal laws, in common with other laws adopted of the Ancient Britons.

There can be no doubt, notwithstanding the Saxon conquest, that many of the larger cities retained their municipal organization and customs as they were under the Romans.⁷ They had their own magistrates, corporation and guilds; and the best English lawyers trace evidence of this to the present day. The early and constant intercourse between a portion of the Welsh and Saxons, as that of Cadwallon and Penda, that of Cadwalla and his brother Ina of Wessex with the Cymry, that of Alfred and Asser, the notoriety of the laws of Howel Dda, and the known influence of the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter the archdeacon of Oxford had in their day can leave no doubt but that the Welsh laws were well known from the earliest times to the English people; and that they had their influence upon them in the formation of their own.

⁷ Kent's Com., p. 504. Here Chancellor Kenf says: "The civil law had followed the progress of the Roman power into ancient Britain, and it was administered there by such an illustrious praetorian prefect as Papinian; and Selden thinks he was also assisted by Paulus and Ulpian. This unquestionably remained to benefit the cities and Wales, and afterwards became a part of the English common law."

Nor should it be forgotten that from early time distinguished Welshmen, as lawyers, were practicing at the English bar; among these should not be forgotten Jenkins, who in the time of Charles I produced a valuable law work, "Eight Centuries of Reports;" nor his namesake and cotemporary, Sir Leoline Jenkins, who became the father of the English admiralty law, so highly commended by Judge Story and Chancellor Kent.⁸ The ancient boundaries of districts remain, and are adopted in a great measure as the present lines of English districts and division of territories. All these considerations leave but little doubt that the ancient British laws entered largely into the formation of the English common law; and this is the growing opinion of the ablest English jurists.

The physiological characteristics of the English people, as evidence of their ethnic origin, forms one of the most puzzling subjects of investigation, as found in the books. One reason of this is that observers are liable to be deceived when going from one place to another by imagining a small difference they observe to be much greater than it really is. When actual count is made this matter frequently turns out different from what was anticipated. The English generally claim that they are a people of great muscular strength and a fair and ruddy complexion; and this is claimed to be evidence of their Saxon descent. Writings and opinions on this subject are, as has been remarked, very conflicting, and it is hard to draw a conclusion from them. Among all the various people of Teutonic or Celtic origin there is a great diversity, even in the same families, of a darker or lighter complexion, or more inclined to a black or red hair. It seems to be the order of nature that all its productions of animal and vegetable should vary and change from its parent in being lighter

or darker. It would be in vain for the English people to suppose that they are true representatives of the Saxons after a lapse of fourteen hundred years, even admitting that there were no other people in the country from whom they could have descended. The author has had no opportunity of making observations upon the subject, except as he has seen them in America. From these observations the conclusion adopted was that the Celtic were of a fairer and lighter complexion than the Teutonic people; that among the Irish, Welsh, Scotch and French people there were more persons with a fair or blonde skin and red or sandy hair than among those who claimed a Teutonic descent. And this would be what we might expect from historical account. Ancient authors represent the Celts of Gaul as "tall, fair-skinned and golden-haired;" the women as "blue-eyed, with large snowy arms," and as being a "fair, milk-white people." Mr. Arnold asserts that the modern Celts—Irish and Welsh—are both "light-haired and tall." This corresponds with our observations of them here in America.⁹ Here we may find among the Irish laborers as often as anywhere the fair skin and sandy hair; and among their women the large white arm of antiquity, who sustain the highest reputation for their virtue.

It seems to appear that the English hold the Irish too low in those qualities, which they with earnestness claim for themselves. Of the specimens exhibited here from abroad the Irish were among the foremost in their stalwart, comely form, with extraordinary muscle, without undesirable development of viscera. Such were O'Rourke, Morrissey and Heenan. Among the laborers on our public works the Irish and Germans have been fully tried, and for muscular powers and hardy endurance none excel the Irish. Now if it were possible for the English to prove their descent from the Saxon, instead of the great variety of races who have at various times taken possession of England, it is not probable they would gain much, rather than from the

⁸ 1 Kent's Com., Vol. i, p. 484. Bishop's First Book of the Law, 412, 5578. Allibone's Dict. of Authors, 993. Jenkins (David) and Jenkins (Sir Leoline), J. Joseph Story's life and correspondence, Vol. i, 227—8, 268. And in this connection it is well to remember that the English bench and bar have been frequently filled by distinguished natives of Wales, as the names of Davies, Jones, Kenyon, Powell, Wynn, Watkins, Williams, Vaughan, and these in various positions frequently repeated.

⁹ See Godwin's History of France, ch. ii, p. 34 and pp. 1 and 2. See ante, B. —, ch. —.

Celt, of whose blood they must largely partake.

The Germans have been frequently heard to assert that the English were physically a different people from them; and that the Cymry were more like the English than the Germans, and more alike in taste and genius. With the great variety of races who have possessed and occupied Britain, it is impossible, historically and physically, that the English should predominate in Teutonic blood. It is more consistent with history and nature that they should partake of the average blood of the country. The foremost people and families of all countries are constantly disappearing, and their places taken by the children of those who were oppressed and put below them. Where now are the descendants of the ancient Saxon nobility who boasted of being the descendants of Woden, and who had the right to govern by divine appointment? Where now are the descendants of great earl Godwin, or those of the first Norman nobility, or of the Mortons, or of the Montforts, or the Percys? Where were the parents of those who now occupy their positions, as the Palmertons,¹⁰ the Disraelis, the Gladstones? There is as great a chance that these are the representatives of some Celtic father who was robbed of his property and made a serf as that they are the representatives of a Saxon father who came with his battle-axe to slaughter the innocent people; take their property, and oppress their women and children. If this were not so, there would be a lack of justice in the ways of Providence; but everywhere in the course of history the children of the oppressed, in the course of time, rise up to avenge the injustice done to their fathers.

But in addition to physiological matters referred to, physiologists have adduced facts from physical examinations to prove that the English population of Britain are more Celtic than Teutonic. They show that the skull of the Teuton is a round one, and that of the Celt to be longer and a

more oblong one. The former cranium they denominate *brachycephalous*, or the round head or skull, which belongs to and distinguishes the German and Saxon; while the latter is denominated the *dolichocephalous* skull, or the oblong or oval cranium, which belongs to and distinguishes the Celtic and Cymry. Authors upon this subject prove that almost universally the former or round skull accompanies the German; while the other or oval skull accompanies the Celt. This has been observed also by London hatters, that they sell to Germans a rounder hat than to the English.

I am happy to be able to use on this subject a quotation from an American author, the very interesting and able essay of Prof. Fiske, entitled, "Are we Celts or Teutons,"¹¹ which has recently fell into my hands, which is so pertinent to my subject. Prof. Fiske says: "Now if the English are mainly a Teutonic race, the typical English skull of the present day should certainly be short and broad, like the skulls of Germans, Danes, and Dutchmen. And if among the skulls of recent British grave-yards either type exists in relatively greater numbers than among the skulls of ancient barrows, that type should be, according to the popular theory, the brachycephalic. What, then, are the facts? They are, first, that the ordinary English skull is long and narrow, like the skulls of the Welsh and other Cymry; and that usually, whenever the English skull varies from this ordinary shape, it becomes, not shorter and broader, but still longer and narrower—not more Teutonic, but more decidedly Cymric. Even a hasty glance at a crowd of people of these various races would suffice to impress upon the observer the fact that, in the shape of the head and face, the English are almost precisely like the Welsh, that they are not very widely different from the Gaelic Highlanders and Irish, that even

¹⁰ Palmerston was a half Irish Celt. His mother was a Miss Mehan. The prime ministers, we are at a loss where to find their ancestry.

¹¹ See this interesting essay in Appleton's Journal, New York, October 6th, 1869, p. 243 and the following Nos. It cites Mr. Owen Pike's book on "The English and their Origin," which I have not seen. See also a very valuable book on the same subject, Doct. Nicholas' "The Pedigree of the English People," which has just now come to my hands.

between them and the Gaelic French there is still some resemblance, but that from the Germans and Danes they are distinguished by a sharp opposition and contrast. Secondly, instead of the short-headed type having relatively increased in British graveyards, it has relatively diminished. So far as there has been any extirpation of one variety by the other, it has been the long-heads which have extirpated the short-heads."

Prof. Fiske then cites authority and incidents to prove his position, and shows that in some isolated places, where historical evidence tends to prove the presence of a larger Teutonic element, and where the people are lighter-haired, shorter, and more thick-set than the average Englishman—just there it is that the short-heads are relatively most numerous. And the Prof. concludes by saying: "Thus physiology confirms the testimony of history, and tells us that, though certain portions of England have been deeply Teutonized, the dominant physical characteristics of the people as a whole are unmistakably Celtic."

As to antiquities, both Prof. Fiske and Dr. Nicholas in his Pedigree of the English People, hold that the examinations made in both ancient and modern burying grounds in Britain and on the continent tend satisfactorily to prove their theory, that the German and Saxon skull was so uniformly the short and round skull, and that the Celtic and Cymric skull was the long and oval, as to leave no doubt of the result, and that it affords a scientific rule. Dr. Nicholas, after an extensive examination, says: "Now, it cannot well be questioned, that the prevalent form of head found in Wales, in Ireland, and in the Celtic-English districts, is *long oval*, and that the prevalent form found throughout England generally is *long oval* also. There seems to be no visible difference.

"How are we to explain this phenomenon? How have the descendants of the 'square'-headed, stern, pugnacious Saxons become in the real, as they undoubtedly always have been in the figurative sense of the word, 'long-headed'? We venture to answer, from the preceding findings of

scientific and antiquarian researches, that they have become possessors of skulls of the *Celtic type by extensive amalgamation with the Celtic race*. The eminent writer, Dr. Daniel Wilson, long ago embodied this idea in the following emphatic words: 'The insular Anglo-Saxon race in the Anglian and Saxon districts, deviates from its continental congeners, as I conceive, mainly by reason of a large intermixture of Celtic blood traceable to the inevitable intermarriage of invading colonists, chiefly male, with British women. But if the Celtic head had been naturally a short one' [a notion combated] 'the tendency of such admixture of races should have been to shorten the hybrid Anglo-Saxon skull, whereas it is essentially longer than the continental Germanic type.'¹² Although this admixture may have commenced elsewhere; "but," says Dr. Nicholas, "the process must have mainly taken place on British ground."

The history, language, law, physiology, and antiquarian researches, all concur to prove that the theory that the Ancient Britons were either slaughtered or expelled by the Saxons is and must be untrue; but that they were intermixed and amalgamated into a new race, in which the characteristics of the Celtic or Cymric race predominate over the Teutonic. In a barbarous community, personal appearance and characteristics of a race are more homogenous and striking than in that of higher civilization. The tendency of civilization is to draw other and all races to it. This was so at Athens, at Rome, and in London. It was the progress made in civilization and improvement by the Britons, which attracted the Saxons there, with the hopes of converting it by conquest to their own use. It is frequently remarked by all classes of people, that the English are the most mixed up people in the world, and that it is more especially developed in London than anywhere else. There undoubtedly are to be found the descendants of the Ancient Britons from the time of Caractacus, of Carau-

¹² Nicholas' Pedigree of the English, p. 477—⁸ Wilson's Prehistorical Annals of Scotland, Vol. i p. 275.

sus and Constantine, and of Arthur: the descendants of the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and with them pure Celts from every part of Gaul—Nustrians, Armoricans, the descendants of the ancient Cymry from the Loire, the Seine, and from Belgium: from every place and country, where the hopes of gain or plunder excited ambition.

Such are the people who now constitute the British nation, and such is their highly improved condition since the time of Henry VII. And in considering that improved condition, it will not be unprofitable to review the progress of that improved condition of the people, from the earliest period in Anglo-Saxon times to the termination of our history. First came the Saxons, after having disturbed the country as pirates and plunderers for many years, and finding that the Roman army had abandoned the country, and the people having been kept unaccustomed to military affairs, they adopted the resolution to conquer the country, and convert everything to their own use and advantage. The Saxons came principally as soldiers, and as barbarian pagans expelled the British rulers, the Christian priests, and all signs of Christianity; took for their wives the women they chose, took possession of the property as their own, and of the residue of the men, women and children made them their tenants and serfs, in the several portions of the country they successively conquered in the course of a hundred and fifty years. Thus they acquired seven or eight separate and distinct provinces, in each of which a barbarian king ruled, under the assumed right that he was the immediate descendant of their god Woden, and by divine right had authority to govern. Surrounded by a clique of his relations and descendants of Woden as his council, and nobility,¹³ who, as often as he chose met him in their assembly—the Witenagemot—who were controlled by him or not, dependent on his character and fierce-

ness, he ruled as he chose, with little or no constitutional restraints. This nobility was extremely exclusive, but fond of war, its turmoils, and barbarian enterprises. Below these was the great mass of the people, as serfs and bondmen, who were entirely cut off from holding any rank in the government, or having a freehold; except that there were a comparative few, called freemen, free to choose which of the lords they would serve, and to hold some small offices, of inferior magistrates, and municipal regulations. Such was the condition of the Saxons when the Normans came—under the hardest government in form that ever existed upon British soil.

The Normans came, and William of Normandy assumed to take possession of the government, country and people as conqueror, and he and a few of his successors, seemed to exercise dominion as conquerors pretty much as they pleased. The Saxon lords were removed, and their lands and people were transferred from the Saxon lords to Norman lords, as tenants and serfs. It was a hard government; but the same in form as the Saxons had, except they had exchanged masters. There was no improvement in the government, but the people made considerable progress in civilization—the Normans introduced many improvements. They were found of literature, courts, records and an orderly manner of doing business. They found the Saxon clergy very ignorant and gross, and removed them, and assumed to put more learned and enlightened men in their places. The people became improved in the midst of their hard government. For a number of generations the kings of England continued to be dukes of Normandy. This caused them frequently to cherish Normandy, their native home, and to neglect and oppress England. The English barons (Normans) were taxed often for the benefit of Normandy, and often they had to feel oppression under the rule of Norman officers who surrounded the throne. This produced a movement, not of the people, but of the barons against king John, which resulted in their wrenching from him the Great Charter, which was the first move-

¹³ Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, ch. iv, p. 60, who says: "To return to our Anglo-Saxon and Jewish alderman—they constituted a kind of ruling caste or tribe, all sons of Woden, perhaps anciently invested with sacerdotal functions—the priests as well as the lawgivers and leaders of the nation."

ment in favor of English liberty and a fair government. In the latter part of the next reign, Henry III, Simon de Montfort, who had become earl of Leicester, a Frenchman and a foreigner by birth, but stood high among the English nobility for his talents and capacity, took up the cause of the common people, and was the first to do so. He procured by rebellion to be summoned to parliament representatives of the counties and burgesses. This was afterwards looked upon by the English barons with jealousy as an usurpation of their rights. It was therefore a long time neglected, and parliament continued to be constituted of the barons alone. But some time between the accession of Edward I and the reign of Henry IV, the great movement in the condition of the English people was accomplished, the establishment of the house of commons as a separate body. This was the great event in the history of the English people, and in the establishment of their personal rights and liberties. It became the great ægis of British right, enterprise and freedom, and the admiration of the world. From that time the obnoxious feudal tenures began to give way, and freehold tenures in the commons began to exist. But the great advancement in all these respects, and the great progress in the establishment of laws for the protection and securing personal rights and liberties were made after the accession of Henry VII. From that time the British people have made a progress in all that constitute the welfare and happy condition of man, which have become the admiration of the other governments of Europe, and in many instances the origin and model of many of the admired institutions of America.

That house of commons has ceased to be the house of commons of England alone, but has become the house of commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and whatever there may be yet lacking, after the great progress that has been made, in the condition of the English people, and those of the United Kingdom, it is to be hoped that the house of commons will yet be the means of promoting the progress of human rights and welfare, to

the utmost verge of human wisdom, and to the whole extent of the kingdom. The progress made in modern times by the English people, in the amelioration of their condition, in every respect in relation to civilization—in relation to personal rights and government; to religion and morals; to enterprise, industry and business, is wonderful, especially when compared with that made in the slow movements of the previous thousand years, under Saxon and Norman rule; but this progress has been made, and is making, and is due more to the influence of the house of commons and an independent judiciary, than to any other of their institutions.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE CONSTITUTING THE UNITED KINGDOM.

§1—*The English People.*

The history of the people of South Britain and their government has been traced down from the earliest accessible period in history to the accession of queen Victoria; and it has been shown that the people are either Celts or Teutons, or a mixture of the two races. The English—the people of England—are the leading people of the kingdom. Circumstances have made them so. They are the descendants of those who have for centuries enjoyed the fertile and beautiful plains and valleys of the fairest island of the world; they have not been compelled to contend with the rugged and rural hills, and their sterility, of Wales or Scotland, although those rugged qualities are the means which have conferred upon those people their hardy, persevering and productive qualities. London and her advantages and surroundings are what have made the English people what they are. It has frequently been made a question as to which of those two great races do the English people belong. We have endeavored to show that they were at least as much Celtic as Teutonic—as much of the blood of the Ancient Britons as of the Saxons; and greatly mixed of other foreign races, so that the English are very much a composite race, in which the Celtic blood

is as prominent, at least, as the Teutonic—that the modern Englishman and the pure descendant of the Ancient Britons are more alike and nearer approach each other than the Englishman and German.

Upon that question the English themselves are much divided—one party, with the liberality that characterizes the seeker after truth, look upon it as a matter of science, justice and truth, and come to a conclusion accordingly, without reference to a preconceived sentiment of idle notions or feelings. The other party, among whom the most strenuous and decided will be those who know nothing of their origin, their family and ancestry, who are but of yesterday, will contend that they are of pure Saxon blood—that their ancestors were freemen from that neck of land lying between the Baltic and the ocean; they say that “for the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself, to the one country which bore the name of England, now called Sleswick.” That ancestor was “the free-necked man, whose long hair floated over a neck that never bent to a lord.”¹ For the proof of this they refer to Tacitus’ Germania, and to the most distant and unconnected matters to support an unfounded hypothesis. Tacitus’ Germania was a romantic history, written more with a view to recommend a hardy and rustic life to the Romans than an accurate history of the Germans. Like Xenophon’s Institutes of Cyrus, it was intended more to effect a reformation and a ruder age at home than a truthful history of its subject. However accurate Tacitus was as to the real Germans in South Germany, he can be no authority for the character of the Saxons who came to Britain. Tacitus wrote four hundred years before the latter time. In the meantime Germany was utterly convulsed and overrun by wars and the emigration of various people through it; the Huns, the Goths, Vandals, Selaves, and all sorts of people, convulsing and uprooting the very existence and formation of society; and that was before Woden and

his terrible religion and warlike principles had affected the “people of Sleswick.”

Whatever may have been the condition of the Saxons in their original home, history develops what they were soon after their settlement in Britain. They came under leaders who claimed to be immediate descendants of Woden, and probably, as warriors and priests, claimed they had a right by divine authority to command and control. These became kings in the several districts they conquered, and their relatives became the nobles to whom the land was distributed; and the mass of followers became their tenants. None were nobles except the descendants of Woden, and every day the distance between them and the great mass of the people became greater, and more oppressive and tyrannical. “A large portion of the population,” says Palgrave,² “consisted either of slaves, or of churls, or villains, who were compelled to till the ground for the benefit of their masters. Mercia never became compact. The population was greatly mixed; the Britons approached nearly to the numbers of the English.” There can be no doubt that the great mass of the Anglo-Saxon people were serfs and slaves, as well as those who were Saxons by descent and those Britons who were made such by the conquest. This lower class was constantly increasing by birth from the condition of their parents, by being prisoners of war, by conviction of crime, by being unable to pay their debts or fines, and many other causes by which men, by Saxon laws, were made slaves and serfs.”³ Slavery and serfage continued to be the condition of the great body of the Anglo-Saxon people at the time the Normans came, and the landed property and the condition of the people

² Palgrave’s Anglo-Sax., ch. iii. p. 50.

¹ Green’s History of the English People, p. 40. It is singular that this history, otherwise so good, should be so frequently filled with this unfounded conceit.

³ Kemble, in his Saxons in England, Vol. 2d. p. 13, says: “The kings of Wessex and Mercia, both of whom were in continual hostility with the Welsh, nevertheless exercised sovereign rights over numerous Welsh population dispersed throughout their dominions.” As authority to show that the great body of the Loegrian Britons were taken in and swallowed up amidst the Saxons, Palgrave (p. 40) says: “The Romanized Britons of Loegria appear to have united more readily to their invaders.” Authorities to show that the Ancient Britons must have united in some condition with the invading Saxons are abundant.

were at once transferred from the Saxon aristocracy to the Normans, so that the people did not change condition, but only the lords or masters they served.

This state of things continued to be the condition of the Anglo-Saxon people, without hardly a change, until after the reign of Edward III. The prerogative of the king was undefined and unlimited, and when in the hands of an able and vigorous sovereign, the exercise of his powers was absolute. He was accounted the source of all law and justice; the person in whom was vested the title of all land, and those in possession held as tenants to him; he was the source of all offices and honors; could pardon what offenses he chose, and take what property he found necessary for the support of the crown. The nobility were the hereditary officers of the crown, and his council and advisers, when he pleased to desire any; and only when the government was in the hands of a weak king, or when the crown was vacant, did they dare to interfere with the majesty of the king. But they were the great tenants of the landed property under the king, and as earls held certain districts as lords over the under tenants and serfs. This nobility, in comparison with the whole body of the population, were few, with whose rank and class the people were entirely excluded, and had no control over the laws and action of the government, which was entirely in the hands of the king and nobility. There was a smaller class of the people, between the nobility and serfs, called freemen, who were generally a landless people and generally free to choose what lord they would serve. These, under the control of the nobility, discharged the duties of the police and offices of the county, and held a county council called the *falk-gemot*; and even from these humble positions the great mass of the people were excluded. The freemen held or assisted in holding the inferior county courts. Such was the humble condition of the Anglo-Saxon people before the time of William the Conqueror, and such it continued until after the time of Edward III, and perhaps that of Henry VII, as we shall hereafter see.

William the Conqueror assumed to take the sovereignty of England in accordance with the will and devise of Edward the Confessor, and as a near relative and heir to the crown. He pretended to govern according to the constitution and customs which governed Edward, his predecessor. The nobility and their estates, and tenants and serfs, remained the same, until transferred to the Norman lords on account of forfeiture for rebellion against him. In this we see no essential change in the form of the government or constitution—only a severe application of its rules and discipline by the Conqueror. His own nobles and officers took the place of the Saxons: the great nobles of the crown, when called to advise and counsel with the sovereign, their meeting instead of being called the *witenagemot*, was called the council or parliament.

Thus the English government continued until after the reign of Edward III, except that a movement of the Norman nobility in the reign of John wrenched from the crown the Great Charter, which was afterwards very imperfectly observed, and often re-enacted by force; and the ineffectual attempt of Montfort, in the reign of Henry III, to establish a representation of the commons in parliament, was then an utter failure.

The reign of Edward III was a true representation of the character of the government and constitution as it existed under the administration of strong men who were kings, in both Saxon and Norman times. The people felt the hand of a strong man and government, but were conscious of no violation of the constitution, only there was an effort manifested to reform and improve it.

This clearly appears from Hume and other historians of the times of Edward III. "He took no steps of moment," says Hume, "without consulting his parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures. The parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former times; and

even the house of commons, depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of some weight in the constitution."⁴

In that progressive improvement of the constitution and law, was now the enactment of a statute, defining and limiting the causes of high treason, which before was left to vague and uncertain construction—almost anything that the king and his officers might be pleased to call treason against the crown. This statute⁵ reduced treason to three heads: conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without application to parliament; and this continues to be the law of England to this day.

It is singular to find in all the old histories of England the enactment of good laws for the purpose of restraining the crown and its officers from violating personal rights and liberties, which were by subsequent administrations entirely disregarded, for the king by the constitution could at any time pardon, and grant indulgence upon the faith of it. "Edward," says Hume, "granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter; and these concessions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties. But the contrary presumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been in general somewhat arbitrary, and if the Great Charter had not been frequently violated, the parliament would never have applied for these frequent confirmations, which could add no force to a deed regularly observed, and which could serve no other purpose than to prevent the contrary precedents from turning into a rule and acquire authority. It was indeed the effect of the irregular government during those ages,—hence that general clause, so frequently in old acts of parliament, that the statutes enacted

by the king's progenitors should be observed,—a precaution which, if we did not consider the circumstances of the times, might appear absurd and ridiculous. The frequent confirmations in general terms of the privileges of the church proceeded from the same cause."

"It is a clause in one of Edward's statutes, 'that no man, of what estate or condition soever, shall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due process of the law.' This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause in the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why then is the clause so anxiously, and, as we may think, so superfluously repeated? Plainly, because there had been some late infringement of it, which gave umbrage to the commons."

It was a common thing at that time, and their constitution permitted it, for the officers of the king to exercise what was then called the right of *perveyance*, that is, to take such goods and provisions as the king needed, from anyone, and giving such tallies therefor as they pleased. And in the like manner the king, in building or repairing his castle, instead of engaging workmen by contract and wages assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, "as if he had been levying an army." Parliament in Edward III's time greatly remonstrated and protested against such measures as arbitrary and unjust, though according to usages and prerogatives of the crown. But in that day but little was substantially done beyond mere remonstrance, to restrain such arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings and privileges of the crown.

In reviewing these matters, Hume says:⁶ "They mistake, indeed, very much the genius of this reign, who imagine that it was not extremely arbitrary. All the high prerogatives of the crown were to the full extent exerted in it; but what gave some consolation, and promised in time some re-

⁴ Hume's Hist. Eng., Vol. 2, p. 267.

⁵ 25 Edward III, ch. ii. Hume's Hist. Eng., p. 267.

⁶ English History, Vol. ii, p. 219.

rief to the people, they were always complained of by the commons: such as the dispensing power; the extension of the forests; erecting monopolies; exacting loans; stopping justice by particular warrants; pressing men and ships into the public service; levying arbitrary and exorbitant fines; extending the authority of the privy council or star chamber to the decision of private causes; enlarging the powers of the mareschal's and other arbitrary courts; imprisoning members for freedom of speech in parliament; obliging people without any rule to send recruits of men and arms, archers, and hoblers to the army."⁷

* * * * "The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. He replied to the remonstrance made by the commons against it, that the imposition had been exacted from great necessity, and had been assented to by the prelates, earls, barons, and some of the commons. When the parliament desired that a law might be enacted for the punishment of such as levied these arbitrary impositions, he refused compliance."

This shows that there was then no fixed or established constitutional rule or principle securing and protecting personal freedom and liberty from the arbitrary measures of the crown or state, but that the commons were then laboring to establish them; and it is perfectly apparent to every candid mind that all those great and fundamental principles of law and constitution, which every Briton now appeals to for the protection of his freedom and liberties, are those which, by the exertions of the house of commons and the English people, have been, since that time, wrenched from the old constitution and prerogatives of the crown. It is not the old constitution or laws of Saxon or Norman times that the modern Briton may boast of as his established personal freedom and liberties; but it is what he now finds them to be, as es-

tablished in modern times by the exertions and merits of the house of commons.

Again we cite Hume, who has studied this subject well: "There is not a reign among those of the ancient English monarchs which deserves more to be studied than that of Edward III, nor one where the domestic transactions will better discover the true genius of the kind of mixed government which was then established in England. The struggles with regard to the validity and authority of the Great Charter were now over; the king was acknowledged to lie under some limitation; Edward himself was a prince of great capacity. * * * sensible that nothing could be more essential to his interest than to keep on good terms with his people; yet, on the whole, it appears that the government at least was only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, or bounded by any certain undisputed rights, which in practice were regularly observed. The king conducted himself by one set of principles, the barons by another, the commons by a third, the clergy by a fourth. All these systems of government were opposite and incompatible; each of them prevailed in its turn, as incidents were favorable to it; a great prince rendered the monarchical power predominant; the weakness of a king gave reins to the aristocracy; a superstitious age saw the clergy triumphant; the people, for whom chiefly government was instituted, and who chiefly deserve consideration, were the weakest of the whole. But the commons, little obnoxious to any other order, though they sunk under the violence of tempests, silently reared their head in more peaceable times; and while the storm was brewing were courted by all sides, and thus received still some accession to their privileges, or, at worst, some confirmation of them."⁸

This powerful monarch was followed by a feeble one, his grandson, Richard II, whose reign was greatly disturbed by the rising of the people to throw off their bondage, and of the nobles in various party schemes of ambition. From the death of

⁷ Hume cites his unquestionable authorities for every one of these instances; and they were undoubtedly ancient prerogatives of the English government. Where, then, were the ancient constitutional freedom and liberty of the subject or man? All this has been acquired by the English in modern times, and did not exist in their ancient laws and government under either the Saxon or Norman rule.

⁸ 2 Hume Hist. Eng., p. 277-8.

Edward III to that of Richard III, a period of one hundred and ten years, during which transpired the terrible war of the conflict between the houses of Lancaster and York, or the white and red roses, there was a continual conflict and turmoil of either the nobles in a civil war of mad strife and ambition, or of the vain efforts of the people in endeavoring to acquire a reasonable degree of freedom and political liberty. The period was characteristic of the English nobility during the time of the Saxon and Norman rule. The exception to this was during the reign of Henry V, distinguished by his long wars, in his vain endeavors to conquer France, which began with the renowned battle of Azincourt, and terminated with the revulsion produced by the Maid of Orleans. During the period there transpired two notable risings of the people in a vain endeavor to improve their condition and relieve themselves of their feudal bondage.

Whenever the government was in weak hands, or the barons in civil war with the king, it was then that the people took resolution to establish their rights and liberties. Richard II, at his accession, was only twelve years of age, and during his minority the lords in power acting as regents, at the head of whom was the young king's uncle, the duke of Lancaster, proceeded with very arbitrary measures in levying and collecting taxes. The house of commons had been but recently formed into a separate house, and but very imperfectly understood their rights and powers or their proper mode of proceedings; and the power and influence of the sovereign and the barons carried everything as they chose, and according to their interest, and against the interest and welfare of the people. The house was so unaccustomed to their duties and ignorant of them that they never appointed a speaker to preside over their deliberations until a few years had passed of the reign, when for the first time they elected Peter de la Mare their speaker. The commons then began to acquire courage, and demand various measures for the interest and protection of the people. Among other things they presented a peti-

tion to the king, praying him to check the prevailing custom among the barons of forming illegal confederacies and supporting each other as well as men of inferior rank, in the violation of law and justice.⁹ To this the king returned a gracious reply, but it was probably attended with doubtful compliance. But to another petition of the commons, that they be permitted to participate with lords in the appointment of ministers of the crown during the king's minority, he refused compliance, for the great barons claimed this privilege for themselves.

At this time the people were much aroused to a sense of their hardship and injustice. They found the laws so arranged as to protect and continue the favored few in their fortunate condition, and to keep the mass in their lowly and unjust position. If taxes were to be raised they were relatively levied more severely on the poor than on the wealthy; poll tax was evidently so, and frequently the tax on property was levied *pro rata* on the nobility lighter than on the commons. Although all this was just as it had been for ages, under the Saxon government as well as that of the Normans, yet the enlightenment of the age gave the people a better conception and understanding of the inequality and injustice of their condition. This induced the commons, or common people, as Hume says,¹⁰ "to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry had so long imposed upon them." This induced a man called John Ball to lecture the people upon the injustice and hardship of their condition and the evils of their government. This brought down upon him the ire and hatred of the nobility, who represented him as a low and seditious fellow, and incarcerated him, for the reason that he demonstrated to the people "their equal right to liberty and to all the good of nature, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandizement of a

9 2 Hume's History of England, p. 286.

10 2 Hume's Eng. History, p. 283.

few insolent rulers"¹¹ If John Ball had lived in a more enlightened time he might, perhaps, have passed for a John Bright and as a patriot and statesman.

The two remarkable risings of the people during that period were that of Wat Tyler in the reign of Richard II, and that known as that of Jack Cade in the reign of Henry VI. These are characteristic and disclose the form of government under which the English lived. The former transpired while Richard II was only about sixteen years of age, and while he manifested some spirit and capacity, which gave the people some hopes of his administration, which utterly failed them in the future course of his turbulent and unfortunate reign. From the history of that time we can very conclusively draw the inference that the great mass of the English people were in a most hopeless and degraded condition; and that the nobility, who were almost entirely of a Norman descent, were proud, haughty and oppressive towards the untitled and laboring people. The great body of the inhabitants began to feel most keenly the unhappy and oppressive manner that the feudal laws had placed and still held them; while the nobility, with a cold and selfish indifference to the rights or sufferings of others who were not of their class, were still tenacious of holding them in their unhappy condition. It was a time when the people felt the oppression and tyranny of the Roman church and its bigoted theology, as well as the evils of their political condition, and brought the efforts of Wycliff in favor of a reformation in religion, as well as that of Wat Tyler for the just liberties of the people. The crown always claimed and exercised the prerogative of levying and raising the necessary taxes for the support of the government, and taking such property as the king stood in need of for his maintenance. Frequently a poll tax was raised which fell as heavy on the poor man as on the wealthy. The rent and exactions of

the nobles fell upon the mass of the people with an iron grasp under the feudal laws, which were felt with more severity than that of the crown, because they were more general.

The people of all classes now began to feel the exactions and oppressions of the government and nobles, but felt themselves powerless in remedying them. They began to feel and understand their feudal condition more sensitively than their ancestors, and more anxious to place them on a just basis. They broke out in songs and pamphlets, in the rude English of the period, against the exactions of the government, the oppressions of the princes and nobles, and these were the predecessors of Milton, Burke and Junius. They complained not only of the government, but also of the church and clergy, who, instead of the love of the gospel, "*for wealth worked them woe. God do hate, for now is tyme.*" "*Now reigneth pride, and covetise is counted wise, and lechery without shame, and gluttony without blame.*" But government and nobles looked upon these invectives of the people as the mere complaints of the commons and peasantry with contempt, and with a determination to hold on to what they considered to be their birth-right and interest. They represented the claims of the people as the ignorant demands of the peasantry, and looked upon their feudal condition, hard as it might be, to be the rightful position between the peasant and the property holder; the leaders of the revolt against the oppression and for a reform received from their privileged class the contemptuous appellations of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler and John Ball, who probably by nature were men entitled to our veneration and remembrance as patriots and heroes. The nobles, however, represented these as the allies of Wycliff and the church reformers, and the natural enemies of religion, and thus injured that reformation.

In the summer of A. D. 1381 the people of the southeastern counties of Essex and Kent felt these political wrongs so sensibly that they arose in mass to demand their liberation from their serfdom and to be re-

¹¹ Froissart, who this time visited England, (see his history, B. ii, ch. 74,) represents the personal slavery as more general in England than in any other country in Europe.

stored to their natural freedom.

The people of Essex in immense numbers passed over the Thames to their brethren in Kent, who were also rising under the just excitement of their cause, and uniting, they entered the city of Canterbury, where they were joyfully admitted by their oppressed brethren there, and liberated John Ball from his unjust imprisonment for his position in their cause. The Essex men were led by Jack Straw, "while a hundred thousand Kentishmen gathered round Wat Tyler, a soldier who had served in the French wars, and who was at once recognized as the head of the insurrection." These marched upon London, and in the meantime the counties north and west of the metropolis, even as far west as Somerset, in like manner rose to demand their rights and freedom. Tyler and his associates arrived at London in an immense body of able-bodied men, who had they been armed and accustomed to handle them, the government and the nobility would have been but as the chaff before wind. But as it was they excited great consternation among their enemies; and the duke of Lancaster, the ostensible head of the government and aristocracy, fled before the popular hatred over the border and took refuge in Scotland.¹² As they proceeded, the whole population joined them; and the nobles were paralyzed with consternation and fear. The people conducted themselves in an astonishingly orderly manner, committing no depredation, and declaring that their only object was to abolish their oppression and establish their liberty. They declared proudly that they "were only seekers of truth, justice, and no thieves and robbers." They manifested their spite only against the stewards of their lords, and the records and evidences of their thralldom. They declared that their whole object was to have a conference with the king, and have him set them free and discharge them from their serfdom.

Before the insurgents entered London the barons did all they could to prevent

the interview they asked for, or to delay it. At length the king came to a conference with his people outside of the city. He was a boy of only sixteen, but he with unexpected courage rode up to them and gallantly said: "I am your king and lord, good people, what will ye?" They replied: "We will that you free us forever, us and our lands; and that we never be named or held for serfs." The king readily and frankly replied: "I grant it;" and he bade them to return to their homes, and pledging himself at once to issue charters of freedom and amnesty to all. This unexpected demand and generous reply, called forth from the people a hearty shout of joy, with the hopes and assurance that their bondage and troubles were all over. A large number of clerks were employed all day in writing letters of freedom and pardon, to those who desired them, as fast as they could be written; and with these the masses greatly dispersed to their homes. With such a charter from his king in his hands, one of these brave men returned to St. Albans and demanded of the abbot that the town and its people, which the abbey held as tenants, should now be liberated from their serfage.

This liberation of the people was very objectionable and distasteful to the nobility, who at once proceeded to obstruct and overthrow what the king had promised. "What," said they, "is life to us if we are to lose our inheritance?" They thought that if the people were to be made free, so that they could no longer wrench from them whatever they chose to demand, that life itself was of no account to them. Such tyrannical ascendancy had the aristocracy of England acquired over its people, and to such a degraded condition had the commons been placed, and so had they been for centuries. Even some of the Saxon nobility had consented to become serfs to the Norman lords rather than contend for their position. These lords were every day disappearing, and their places occupied by the children of serfs of a former day. Even some of the lords of the present day are the immediate descendants of a barber, or a brewer, or some man of hum-

¹² Green's History of the English People, p. 266.

ons were the serfs. But whether Saxons or Britons, they were the great body of the English people from whom those of the present day derive their lineage; there is a greater probability that some of the present nobility of England derive their origin from Wat Tyler or some of his men, rather than from Warwick or Percy. But undoubtedly, as we have attempted to show, the great body of English people were the common descendants of both the Saxons and the Ancient Britons alike, for we know, at least, that many of the Anglo-Saxon nobility voluntarily became serfs to the Norman lords; and perhaps some of them again may have, in the ways of Providence, risen again from their serfage to the surface of the English nobility. The truth is that the English are a composite people to the greatest extent of the word; they owe their origin, their liberties, laws, language and present greatness, not so much to Scheswick¹⁴ or to the Saxons, but to what came in common from the Saxon pirate, the Romanized Briton, the barbarian Dane and Norwegian, the civilized and improved Normans, and immigration by them invited from all parts of Southwestern France, and since then some Dutchmen who came with William III. and a few Germans with George I; and we are informed that recently one member of parliament was a native of Armenia. The descendants of all these, since the death of Richard III, have combined as one people to make England what she is, and to produce whatever there is that is great and glorious, in her constitution, laws and freedom, in her enterprise, commerce and manufactures, and in whatever has elevated Britain to the head of the civilized world.

In producing this result England has gathered her jewels from every part of Great Britain and Ireland; from Celtic origin more than from the Teutonic. Men from Wales, Scotland and Ireland have occupied and distinguished every place and position in the English government and institutions, and have contributed their full share to her prosperity, wealth and renown.

Her Indian empire was acquired under the management of a Welshman; a Scotchman¹⁵ restored it from a fatal rebellion; while in parliament and out of it Irishmen have added to her celebrity and glory.

The great change that took place in the condition and character of the English people, about the close of the fifteenth century, is obvious to every candid student of history; and no epoch can be placed in that change so well and palpable as the accession of Henry VII. And he, in a great measure, may be assigned as the cause of it. Let the student examine well the character and characteristics of the Saxons as developed in history, from their first appearance in Britain to the epoch stated, and an obvious change appears afterwards. These characteristics are thus summed up by Hume, a historian very favorable to Saxon pretensions: "With regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, we can say little, but that they were in general a rude, uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in mechanical arts, untamed to submission under laws and government, addicted to intemperance, riot and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later period; and their want of humanity in all their history. Even the Norman historians, notwithstanding the low state of the arts in their own country, speak of them as barbarians when they mention the invasion made upon them by the duke of Normandy. The conquest put the people in a situation of receiving slowly, from abroad, the rudiments of science and cultivation, and of correcting their rough and licentious manners."¹⁶ Private robbery

¹⁵ Clive and Campbell.

¹⁶ Hume's History of England, 177-142. In reading this assertion of the want of fidelity and humanity, brings to our memory their frequent treachery to the Britons, the massacre of the Danes, the treacherous assassination of Ethelbert, king of East Angles, by Offa and his queen, when their guest and soliciting their daughter, and like instances.

When the Norman historians represent the quantity of plate and valuable articles taken in England, it should be remembered that it was the property of the nobility, wratched from the laborers of commons and serfs.

and violence against person and property was a common complaint against the Anglo-Saxons in all ages; and that would necessarily be expected of them, as the natural result of their habits of war and violence—it was the moral spirit that Wodenism had instilled into them, which Christianity was unable to eradicate.¹⁷

In tracing the change wrought in the English people, from the time of Edward III to that of Elizabeth, we see that it culminated with the death of Richard III. The change was from the rule of the Plantagenet to that of the Tudor. The former had acquired the true characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns; war, violence, selfishness, were the predominant features of their times, especially from the death of Edward III to that of Richard, a period considerable over a hundred years. Edward IV and Richard were especially warlike, cruel and heartless. Richard on the last morning of his life, in going the rounds of his encampment, found a man asleep on his post, and immediately, without a word, gave him a mortal stab with his dagger; in afterwards speaking of it, he said, with a cold, sarcastic indifference: "I found the man asleep, and left him so." The character of the sovereign with singular and unaccountable facility insinuates itself into that of the people; and though the people may labor against it, yet that of the sovereign will predominate with the government.

In Henry Tudor this spirit was materially changed—the candid historians of that time, and since, have assured us so. He was born and brought up at Pembroke

castle, until he was fourteen years of age, surrounded by his native Cymry, their manners and sentiments, and under the tuition of an excellent widowed mother. He was then sent to Eaton school where he finished his education. At London he met his mother's relative, Henry VI, who was so pleased with the youth, and his sprightly and comely appearance, that he predicted his destiny.¹⁸ After being educated some years in England, he incurred the jealousy of Edward IV, who attempts to imprison him. He escaped to Brittany, and after various trials and romantic escapes, he was brought to the throne of England, chastened by adversity, but a true Briton in heart and lineage. Though a brave man and a true soldier, he introduced into England a new regime, the true interest and welfare of the country, the cultivation of peace and its arts. He cultivated the interest and prosperity of the people, rather than the peculiar welfare of the nobility; like his countrymen generally, he loved the interest of humanity rather than that of the selected few; therefore feudalism greatly declined during his reign, and individual freehold and property greatly increased. This is thus sustained by the historians. Hume says:¹⁹ "The reign of Henry VII was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home and honorable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state; he depressed the former exorbitant powers of the nobility. * * * * He loved peace without fearing war; he discovered

¹⁷ Hume, 472-3. *Ibid.* p. 13. "The leaders and their military companions were maintained by the labors of their slaves, or by the weaker and less warlike part of their community. * * * All the refined arts of life were unknown." *Ibid.* 174-5. "The barons were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers and ruffians of all kinds, and no law could be executed against these criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promise in parliament that they would not avow, retain or support any felon or breaker of the law; yet this engagement, which we may wonder to see exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The commons make continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other disorders, which, they say, were becoming numberless in every part of the kingdom, and which they always ascribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great." (2 Hume, p. 272-7, and 324) and this was in the time of Edward III.

¹⁸ Bacon, in his history of Henry VII, alludes to this as well as Shakpeare in Henry VI, Act IV, Scene VI, where we find:

"King Hen. My Lord of Somerset, what youth is that,

Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

Som.—"My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.

K. Hen.—Come hither, England's hope, [Lays his hand on his head] If secret powers

Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,

This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss,

His looks are full of peaceful majesty,

His head by nature formed to wear a crown,

His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself

Likely in time to bless a regal throne.

Make much of him, my lords, for this is he

Must help you more than you are hurt by me."

¹⁹ 3 English History, p. 67. See also Bacon's Henry VIII. II Pictorial English History, B. vi, ch. vii, p. 868. "The trading classes were growing rich under the strong rule of the Tudors," says Froude in his History of England, Vol. i, p. 40.

no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs or in the day of battle; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy." But the great service rendered by Henry to his country was his perseverance in his peace policy, which enabled the people, under his encouragement, to organize trade, commerce and manufactories; as well as by the destruction of the feudal system, which transferred a large portion of the landed property from the aristocracy to the commons and yeomen; which in reality is the foundation, at this day, of the greatness and prosperity of the English and the British nation, which could not have occurred under the state of things which existed previous to the Tudors.

The historians who have taught that "we must look to Sleswick for fatherland and old England, from whence came the English people, and everything they now possess or that is worthy," are leading the student of history astray, with myth and fable, and ignore the evident truth of history. He who teaches that England is indebted to the Teutonic race for what exalts her and elevates her position, and that the Celtic race are but her menials and serfs, to whom she owes nothing for her position, is not only teaching what is false without fairly examining the subject, but doing himself injustice; but still greater injustice to the larger portion of the people who constitute the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, who are equally its citizens and its pride, and upon whom she depends, in common, for her safety from conflict and peril.

The truth is we are not to look back to the people or the barbarous times, which brought upon all Europe the barbarity and revulsion in civilization, which characterized the dark ages, for what now so distinguishes Great Britain; for that is the work of the composite people we have demonstrated—the production of British soil in modern times—a new development of human affairs, unconnected with its pretended source in Sleswick.

Another class of historians,²⁰ larger and more truthful and candid, place the question of the ethnic character and origin of the English people where we have placed it. Prof. Creasy²¹ says: "Our English nation is the combined product of several populations. The Saxon element is the most important, and may be treated as the chief one; but, besides this, there is the British, there is the Danish, and there is the Norman element. Each of these four elements of our national character has largely modified the rest, and our national institutions. It is not until we reach the period when these elements were thoroughly fused and blended together, that the history of the English can be properly said to begin. This period is the thirteenth century. It was then, and not until then, that our nationality was complete. By nationality is meant the joint result of unity as to race, language, and institutions." And equally strong upon this subject is Lord Macaulay, who says:²² "Here commences the history of the English nation. The history of the previous events is the history of wrongs inflicted and sustained by various tribes, which included all who dwelt on English ground, and which regarded each other with aversion such as has scarcely ever existed between communities separated by physical barriers. For even the mutual animosity of countries at war with each other is languid when compared with the animosity of nations which, morally separated, are yet locally intermingled. In no country has the enmity of race been carried farther than in England. In no country has that enmity been more completely effaced. * * * * Then it was that the great English people was formed, the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers became emphatically islanders, islanders not merely in geographical position but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners. Then first appeared with distinctness that constitution which

²⁰ Among these we would name Prof. Creasy, Lord Macaulay and Prof. Arnold.

²¹ English Constitution, ch. ii, p. 12.

²² 1 Macaulay's English History, ch. i, p. 12.

has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity—that constitution of which all other free constitutions in the world are copies, and which, in spite of some defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any political society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that the house of commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the old or in the new world, held its first sittings. Then it was that the common law rose to the dignity of science, and rapidly became a not unworthy rival of the imperial jurisprudence. * * * * Early in the fourteenth century the amalgamation of the races was all but complete; and it was soon made manifest, by signs not to be mistaken, that a people inferior to none existing in the world had been formed by the mixture of three branches of the great Teutonic family with each other, and with the aboriginal Britons.”

This beginning of the modern English nation may be more properly placed at the death of Richard III. at Bosworth, than at any former period; for then it was that the old Norman and Plantagenet dynasty expired, with their love of war, commotion and tyranny; and then arose in their place, under the Tudors, the cultivation of peace and home affairs. Then arose civil enterprises, manufactures and commerce; the more decided cultivation of literature, science and art; and then was a period distinguished in English history for a galaxy of such eminent men as Moore, Cromwell, Woolsey, Coke, Bacon, Ben. Johnson and Shakespeare. It was with the Tudors that the transition took place from the old to the new of the national affairs; and then commenced that career in English history which marks a course of new events as characteristic of the English and the common property of the whole nation. This is apparent as the great epoch, when we compare what England was before with what Great Britain and Ireland, as a common country, have become since. That was the obvious turning point between the rule of the Saxons with the Woden aristocracy; the iron rule of the Norman with

feudal lordships on the one hand, and the ameliorated condition of modern Englishmen, with a just and more liberal rule to all classes of men, founded upon benevolence and good will to common humanity. This is apparent when we look at the great change in the condition of the great mass of English people in the time of Richard II and that of Elizabeth.

It has been shown that the English people so far as they derived their origin from the Saxons were of the Teutonic race, and so far as derived from other sources were Celtic; for the Ancient Britons—the Cymry of both Britain and Armorica, which included a large portion of France and Normandy, the Irish and the Scots were almost exclusively Celts, and the Normans principally so, with decided antipathies against the Teutons or Saxons. The English must be descendants of one or the other of these two great races—the Teuton or the Celt—or they are composed of a mixture and amalgamation of the two. It is thought that it has been fully shown that they were of this composite race in which the Celtic characteristics prevailed over the Teutonic.²³ When the characteristics of these races are severally contrasted, as analyzed and inducted from the best authorities, it is seen that they more readily agree with the Celtic than the Teutonic; that the Welshman, the Scotchman, the Irishman, or the Armorican Frenchman, with the like educational advantage, approaches nearer the English gentleman than the Teuton. And first, let us see

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEUTON.

1. *Physiological character.* With regard to the complexion, color of the hair and eyes, as compared with the Celt, they are doubtful, and the best of authors disagree.²⁴ The head round, or square, or angular; the body inclined to be corpulent and flabby. Though we find many small men, they are generally tall and heavy bodied; bones large, “feet often large, even clumsy when compared with the Celtic variety.”

²³ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

²⁴ See ante, B. —, ch. —. See the Remarks on Bishop Percy's introduction to Mallet's *Northern Antiquity*, Bohn's Lib., p. 33.

With both variety the legs are generally straight; the exceptions are, in the Teutons, they bow out, in the Celts the exceptions are the lock-kneed. These exceptions are not more frequent with one people than the other.

2. *Psychological character.* The Teuton are slower, and sometimes called stolid, and that slowness may sometimes produce greater accuracy; but not as brilliant for witticism as the Celtic variety, nor for taste²⁵ in literature or the arts. The Teuton will expend a great deal upon his barn in architecture and ornaments, while he neglects his house; the Celt will apply his means with better taste as to propriety in reference to the object—he would be apt to think that ornamental architecture would appear with more propriety on his house than on his barn.

The Teuton proper it is said, is more self-indulgent—more given to their appetites—eat, drink and smoke to excess. We find this to be asserted by most of the English historians, from the Norman conquest down to recent times;²⁷ We read of the Saxons “unbuckling at their meals,” which, I believe, is not true to the same degree with the Celt. The Saxons were slower in literature, and with superstition devoted to the objects of war. The Teuton is slower

to anger; but when his anger is raised, it becomes terrific and ungovernable; it becomes a frenzy, and strikes wherever it may happen—friend or foe. His cold, deliberate action renders him less sympathetic and charitable, and will apply his governing principles—his self-interest—to even the demands of near relatives, friends, or the patriotic objects of public interest. All Teutonic people, and especially the Saxons, maintained slavery as a cherished institution, either as serfs or slaves, and the latter in its most hideous forms; and in this condition was held the great body of the English people, until it became extinct under the Tudors. The slave system of the Southern States was only a continuance of the Anglo-Saxon laws upon that subject, only it was confined to persons of African descent.

THE CELTIC CHARACTERISTICS.

1. *Physiological character.* As remarked in relation to the Teuton, it is almost impossible to reconcile the books, between the two races, as to complexion, hair, color, and stature. But according to my observation in America, where only I have seen and judge of them, there is but little difference in stature; there are tall, or short, or small persons found in both races—the Teuton is the oftenest found with a bulky body. As to a well formed person, you will find it among the Irish as often as in any people. As to complexion and color of hair, although the dark and the light complexion and hair prevail differently in different families in both races, and the dark is oftener met with than the fair, yet among the Celts from the British Islands we oftener meet with red, auburn or light hair, and the fair or white complexion—the blonde—than in the Teutonic race. In the Irish female we often see the fair complexion, as described by the Romans in her Gallic ancestors.²⁸

In the formation of the skull the Celts are distinguished by an oval head, while the Teuton is either round or square; in their general conformation they are less angular

²⁵ Arnold's Celtic Literature.

²⁶ In passing through Pennsylvania, the traveler will see in the Teutonic districts this misapplication of archæological taste. An English lady, writing from Germany to *Fraser's Magazine*, (and copied in N. Y. Herald, October, 1875) with great fervor in favor of what he found in Germany still questions the German capacity for objects of taste. She says, “German dress has no originality and no life.”

* * * Of the harmony (of colors) or well chosen low-toned tints, of unity of effect in the corresponding shades of groves, parades and boulevards, or the judicious juxtaposition of dark and light, of a dark color on a sober background, the ordinary German knows nothing. * * * Perhaps in no country's dress so much talked of as in Germany, with so little result. * * * Turners of the most eccentric colors and arrangement are always *en vogue*. * * * Perhaps the English lady is doing the Germans injustice in matters of taste and harmony of colors; but in America we often hear busy and incongruous colors spoken of as *Deutsch* fashions.

²⁷ See Kemble's Saxons in England, Vol. I, ch. xiii. “The antrope, the serfs.” Kemble, without his learning to the Saxons, sufficiently shows the hard condition of the body of the Anglo-Saxons. “The slave is the absolute property of his lord, a chattel to be disposed of at his lord's pleasure.” * * * If he be guilty of wrong, he cannot make compensation, for he can have no property of his own, save his skin; that his skin must pay for him and the lash be his bitter portion. Kemble, *Ibid.*, p. 209-10.

²⁸ See IV New American Cyclopædia. Tit. Celts, p. 683. Ante, B. —, ch. —.

than the Teuton. It has been often claimed that the Celt is less strong and muscular than the Teutonic race, but it is believed that this has been contradicted by scientific tests.²⁹ In America the two great immigrating classes are the German and the Irish; the first as the representative of the Teuton, and the latter as that of the Celt. These have competed on our canals and railroads for hardiness and endurance, and universally the palm is conceded to the Irish. They endure hard labor as well, and accomplish as much, as any people.

2. *Psychological character.* "Quickness of perception, great powers of combination, application, love of equality, [human rights independent of self,] of society, of amusement, of glory; want of caution,"³⁰ and subject to sympathy in the demands of relatives, or friends, or patriotism, which the Teuton's love of self would avoid. "Distinguished for gallantry, fine blandishing manners and external politeness; irascible"—soon offended and easily reconciled. Usually they are good mechanics, and distinguished for taste in architecture, poetry and music. And as Tacitus described the Britons,—easily governed when well treated,—indignant at injuries and intolerant of oppression; ready in adopting the improvement and progress of civilization, even from the conquering Romans. They are distinguished for style and taste in literature,³¹ and distinguished as mechanics and artists in every profession in which the arts are applicable.

Mr. Arnold sums up the difference of characteristics of the two races thus: "The Germanic genius has steadiness as its main basis, with commonness and humdrum for its defect, fidelity to nature for its excellence. The Celtic genius, sentiment, as its main basis, with love of beauty, charm, and spirituality for its excellence, ineffectualness and self-will for its defect." The Saxon is said to be dull and slow, but true to nature and to fact. The Celt is dis-

tinguished for sentiment, ardor and sympathy; "quick to feel impressions, and feeling them very strongly; his sensibility gives him a peculiarly near and intimate feeling of nature and the life of nature. The same sensibility made him full of reverence and enthusiasm for genius, learning, and the things of the mind; *to be a bard, freed a man*—that is a characteristic stroke of this generous and ennobling ardor of theirs, which no race has ever shown more strongly."

But what most distinguishes these two great races from each other, is the care with which the Teuton attends to his own interest, with a cold indifference to the demands of sympathy or affection. His personal interest is always first, and sympathy for others seldom leads him from it. What he has made up his mind to do, his heart is seldom in the way of his accomplishing it. He will, therefore, oftener succeed as a banker, for sympathy does not lead him from his interest; and when he is led into crime, his heart will not likely shrink from its horror.

I have never seen these two great races to judge of them, except as I have seen them in America; beyond that I have depended upon books for my evidence. With both nationalities, as found here, I have been well acquainted, and have had warm friends in both. What has been said as the peculiarity of each, is the result as drawn from the extremes of each, as found more fully developed in the one race than in the other; but it is rather the exception than the rule, when found equally developed in the other race. The good qualities of each are predominant, and place them ahead of every other race. In the comparison between these two, the greatest and best races of the human family, both have their striking good qualities, with their concomitant and counteracting evil ones. Enemies are too apt wilfully to exaggerate and expose the evil qualities of their adversaries without noticing the concurring good quality in mitigation. Both are distinguished for great industry and perseverance; have accomplished great things—in the arts, law, religion, literature, science and civilization,

²⁹ See ante, B. —, ch. —. Also Prof. Fiske's Essay.

³⁰ See the introduction to Mallet's Antiquities, Bohn's Lib., p. 34

³¹ See Prof. Arnold's Essay on Celtic Literature.

but the Celt has led in the way. Slower and later the German Teuton has brought up the rear with a mighty force. The father of Frederick the Great remained characterized in his courts and institutions, by the rude civilization of the passed ages, until Frederick himself adopted an improved civilization from Celtic France; and reformed Prussian literature by the aid of the genius and learning of Voltaire.

No injustice or disrespect is intended to the English people, by claiming them to be thus a composite variety of the human family—deriving their origin as well from the Romanized Briton as from the piratical and barbarous Saxon—from the Celtic as well as the Teutonic family; that the true characteristics of the English have been formed in recent times by this union; and that they are rather Anglo-Britons than Anglo-Saxons. The Saxons progressed slowly, making a foot-hold in one district after another, until in the course of a hundred years they obtained possession of South-eastern England. First, subjugated the Lloegrian Cymry, who received the Saxons with less fierce resistance than the Cambrian Cymry, and who, the ancient writers say, all became Saxons.³² In this slow process the Saxons took possession of the rural districts, converted the property to their own use; being an army of soldiers, they had few or no women, and took such women of the British population as they chose for wives, the rest they converted into serfs to cultivate the land. They were unacquainted with city life, and only sought possession of the rural districts.³³ The large cities, as London, York, Winchester, Bath and Exeter, they despised, and which they neither destroyed nor took, but made them free towns, and subjected them to terms of furnishing for them clothing and other manufactured articles as were indispensable for them. Thus the cities became stipen-

daries and tributaries to them; the citizens of the towns became useful people and serviceable to the Saxons, and their existence suffered as free towns, but subject to Saxon rule as stipendaries, preserving many of their customs and *gylds*³⁴ to this day—they and their children becoming Saxons in the very humble condition in which they were found in Wat Tyler's time, and of those citizens of Canterbury and London who joyfully admitted Wat and his people within their town. They were all subject to the rule of Saxon nobility—earls, all of a caste as descendants of Woden. The only city we have any account of their having destroyed was Anderida;³⁵ and the reason given for destroying it and its people was because the citizens made such determined resistance, and gave them so much trouble in taking it.

In the course of this progress of the formation of the characteristics of the modern English, the candid student of history will perceive numerous instances where the Saxons came in contact with Ancient Britons, to receive a portion of their character and nature, as well in modern times as in those when they took their wives from among the Britons. There was the league between Cadwalla and Penda;³⁶ the accession of another Cadwalla and his brother, Ina, to the throne of Wessex; the intercourse between Asser and Alfred the Great; the influence that Geoffrey of Monmouth and his countryman, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, had upon English literature; the intercourse which made Henry Tudor and Oliver Cromwell the descendants of Welshmen and Cymry. This intercourse became more intimate after the coming of the Normans, for they considered the Cymry their relatives in race and affinity.

But between two people, thus constantly coming in contact with each other, there must be a constant admission and accretion of laws and customs which eludes the casual observer. For instance, the Saxons

³² See ante, B. —, ch. —.

³³ See Kemble's Saxons in England, B. ii, ch. vii, p. 202-340. N. B. The student should well inquire if Kemble does not, in the midst of valuable materials by him collected, grossly misrepresent the condition of the Britons at the time of the Saxon conquest, and the importance of their towns. It is apparent that he writes with great prejudice and unfairness against them.

³⁴ Kemble, *Ibid*, p. 309.

³⁵ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

³⁶ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

by their Salic law and custom excluded the female from the inheritance in land, and consequently from a participation in the government. On the death of Cenwalch, king of Wessex, Saxburga, his widow, claimed the sovereignty, "but the proud barbarians of Wessex disdained even the government of wisdom in the form of a woman."³⁷ The rule was, therefore, assumed by the nobility during the interregnum. This Salic law was introduced into France by the Franks, and has always prevailed there, as it had also prevailed in England until the time of the Tudors. But with the Britons this rule did not prevail. In the absence of male heirs, the nearest female relative claimed, and was allowed, as in the case of Boadecia and others. But in Tudor's time Celtic law and principles had so far instigated themselves into the English as to overcome the Salic law, so far as to enable Mary and Elizabeth to become queens and sovereigns. Many other British laws and customs have become, silently, the laws and customs of England unobserved. It is now impossible to tell how much of British, Cymric or Celtic laws and customs have thus become the common law of England; or how much of the blood of the Ancient Britons flows in English veins; but we know it predominates.³⁸ A large number of the very able English jurists claim that much of the common law is derived from ancient British sources.³⁹

§2.—*The Cymry or Welsh.*

It has already been shown how important a part of Western Europe the Cymry once occupied. It was all the northwestern and central part of Gaul—Armorica and Belgium; all Britain, except the far north, and

the north of Ireland; leaving the Gaels to occupy the south of France, the northwestern highlands of Scotland, the south of Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Even after the Saxons had obtained possession of the southeastern part of Britain, in the time of Ethelred, A. D. 866, the Cymry, under various names, included and were in possession of the promontory of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, Strath-Clyde—the most of Scotland except the northwest—and the north of Ireland. Then what has become of them? They have been absorbed and amalgamated with people of other names, so that their descendants are found some among the English, some with the Scotch, and some in Ireland; and perhaps occupying a large, if not the largest, portion of all those nationalities. The Gaels were, probably, in possession of Britain before the Cymry. The former retired to the north, and were probably the Caledonians. When the Romans came many of the Cymry, as Britons, too hostile to the Romans to become their subject, and too fond of personal liberty, retired to Scotland and became known as Picts. Other Cymric Britons in the like manner retired before the Roman and Saxons to Ireland, and there in the northeast of Ireland became known as the Scots; who in after times passed over to Scotland, conferring upon it their name, and uniting with the Picts and Cymry of Strath-Clyde formed the kingdom of Scotland. The Scots, therefore, are, by history and the remains of their ancient language, essentially the descendants of the Cymry and Ancient Britons.¹ There are so many things in history and antiquities which produce evidence to prove that the inhabitants of all these countries originated in the same race and people, that there can be no rational doubt on the subject.

As to the Cymry who remained in France, Michelet, the author of the history of France, has much reduced my labors, by what he has said upon the subject. When the Cymry came to France the elder Celts

³⁷ 1 Turner's *Ang-Sax.*, B. III, ch. viii, p. 252 (A. D. 672). Henry of Huntingdon, p. 61. Florence of Worcester, p. 23.

³⁸ The student who wishes to see more fully how much the Celtic or Cymric characteristics prevail in the English, let him examine Prof. M. Arnold's "The Study of Celtic Literature." Mr. Arnold repeats with approbation these words of Monsieur Edwards: "And so it turns out that an Englishman who now thinks himself sprung from the Saxons or the Normans is often in reality the descendant of the Britons."

³⁹ See Spence's *Equity*.

¹ See ante, B. —, ch. —. See also 2 Kemble's *Saxons in England*, p. 4, as to the occurrence of the name Aber annexed to places in Wales and Scotland.

yielded to them the possession of all the north-west of Gaul, and Chartres became their centre, and Auvergne that of the former. In Cæsar's time, the Cymric tribe known as the Venetians were fast building up a new civilization, and possessed a commerce and a navy which astonished Cæsar—the archetype of modern British navy—and for a while held the Romans in check; but that heartless and ruthless warrior almost exterminated so promising an opposition to Roman ambition. After that time this extensive possession became contracted and absorbed in other varieties of modern France, so that they had become, when Michelet wrote, confined to Armorica or Brittany. This historian imagines to view them, when he wrote, from the high lands at the head of the Loire and the Seine, and says: "Two countries slope towards each other, and form but one valley, you may say, of which the straits of Dover are the bottom. On this side are the Seine and Paris; on that, London and the Thames. But England presents to France that portion of her which is German, keeping behind her the Celts of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. France, on the contrary, backed by her Germanic provinces, opposes her Celtic front to England. Each country views the other on its most hostile side."²

"It is here, however, that we wish to begin our study of France;—the Celtic province, the eldest born of the monarchy, claims our first glance. * * * * Brittany, poor and hard, extends from her fields of quartz and of schist from the slate quarries near Brest, to those of Angers. * * * The Breton tongue does not begin at Rennes even, but about Elven, Pontivy, Londeac, and Chatelandren. Thence, as far as Cape Finisterre, it is true Brittany—the more unlike the French than it is like the Gaul, and would have slipped us more than once, had we not held it grasped, as if in a vice, between four French cities of rough and decisive character—Nantes and St. Malo, Rennes and Brest."

"And yet this poor old province has

saved us more than once. Often when our country has been held at bay and been at the point of despair, Breton heads and breasts have been found harder than the stranger's sword. When the Normans were ravaging with impunity our coasts and rivers, the Breton Nomenoe was the first to resist. The English were repulsed in the fourteenth century by Duguesclin; in the fifteenth, by Richemont; and in the seventeenth, were chased through every sea by Duguay-Trouin. The wars of religions and those of political liberty present no more purely and innocently glorious names than Lanone's, and that of Lalour d' Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic. The story runs, that it was a native of Nantes who uttered the last exclamation heard at Waterloo—"The guard dies, but does not surrender!"

"The Breton character is that of untamable resistance, and of blind, obstinate, intrepid opposition,—for instance, Moreau, the opponent of Bonaparte. In history of philosophy and literature, this character is still more plainly evidenced. The Briton Pelagius, who infused stoicism into Christianity, and was the first churchman who uplifted his voice in behalf of human liberty, was succeeded by the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. Each of these three gave the impetus to the philosophy of his own age. * * * * This spirit of opposition, which is natural to Brittany, manifested itself in the last century and in ours, by two apparently contradictory facts. The same part of Brittany, (St. Malo, Dinan, and St. Brienc,) which, in Louis the fifteenth's day, produced the unbelievers Duclos, Maupertuis, and Lamettrie, has given birth in our own time to the poet and to the orator of Catholicism, to Chateaubriand and to La Mennais."

Abelard led the way in literature, and Descartes in philosophy, just as Geoffrey of Monmouth had preceded them in history and romantic literature in Britain and modern Europe. And just as Pelagius had led for individual responsibility and independence in religion in the east, so did Roger Williams lead the way for freedom and liberty of conscience in the west.

² 1 Michelet's Hist. France, B. iii, p. 149.

What Michelet has said of the general character of the Bretons is equally true of the Cymry of Wales and the Ancient Britons. They are distinguished for their industry, indomitable perseverance, and individual freedom. Never was a conquest so slow in its accomplishments, as either that of the Romans or Saxons; and neither would have succeeded had they not been continually recruited from the continent. Armorica—Brittany—was first settled by the Cymry, before their emigration to Britain; but during the Roman times there were frequent emigrations back again from Britain to Brittany, and after that a continual interchange and emigration of people from one to the other. Originally the two people were identical; but after a separation of so many centuries, there is but an astonishingly slight difference in character or their native language³—both people are distinguished for their early cultivation of Christianity and literature.

The Cymry of Britain, at the time of the departure of the Roman army and the coming of the Saxons, were a numerous people, occupying the whole of Britain from the southern channel to the highlands of Scotland, having a population of at least three millions of people, with numerous cities and a highly cultivated country. When conquered by the Romans, during the reigns of Claudius and Nero, they were a civilized people, possessing a learned body of men,⁴ their instructors in religion, morals and science; having a considerable commerce with Gaul and other portions of the Roman empire—coined money, and cultivated many of the arts. Until conquered, and resistance to the power and experience of the Romans had become desperate and hopeless, they made a noble defense for their independence and freedom. After submission, they made rapid progress in adopting Roman arts and science to

that of their own, in becoming a Christian people and in taking Roman civilization. The Romans encouraged them to do so, and kept them engrossed in the arts of peace as a means of securing them from a rebellion, and to enable them to pay their tribute, taxes and stipends. They were strictly prohibited from engaging in war or any military exercises, which was exclusively reserved for the Roman army. They thus were rendered incapable of that military defense against the Saxons which had been so conspicuous in their ancestors against the Romans. In the meantime, for about four hundred years, the Romans studiously cultivated their local and tribal division and distinction, until union and national concentration had been eradicated as far as Roman discipline could make it. When the Saxons came to conquer, not like the Romans to cultivate, to tax and draw tribute, but with barbarian instincts, to rob, plunder and destroy, they found the Britons unaccustomed to military affairs, and without union and care for each other, as was eminently the case with their ancestors in the time of Caractacus and Galgacus.

The conquest of the Britons by the Saxons, at the time, was inevitable. War was their profession and religion; and as pagan barbarians they applied it with heartless cruelty to take from others whatever they chose to apply to their own use, while, unlike the Romans, they were incapable of conferring any benefit to civilization or humanity. They practiced upon the Britons those very barbaric cruelties of which the Saxons so bitterly complained as being practiced upon themselves three hundred years later by the Danes. So slow, but inevitable, is natural justice in her retribution. But the Britons were then the people of peace, having exclusively cultivated it for four centuries. In the meantime different sections of the island had become strangers to each other; the Lloegrians had become in some measure strangers to the Cambrians; the Cumbrians had forgotten their relation to the people of Kent; and national unity and sympathy was lost in Roman policy and injustice. Cumbria

³ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

⁴ See Mr. Arnold's "The Study of Celtic Literature, No. II, where he says: "We have the most weighty and explicit testimony—Strabo, Caesar's, Lucan's—that this race once possessed a special, profound, spiritual discipline, that they were wiser than their neighbors." Lucan's words are singularly clear and strong, and serve well to stand as a landmark in this controversy.

or Strath Clyde knew but little of Kent, and cared as little when informed that Hengist and his soldiers had taken possession of an island in Kent, or a margin of its sea shore, they thought it of no consequence to them. But after the lapse of a hundred years, when various positions upon the sea shore had been taken and new native population had grown up, it had then become too late to remedy the evil. When the Saxons then began to extend their possessions, Arthur rallied the Britons and after a terrible battle gave them a memorable defeat at Baden hill. That was so severe that no further conquest was attempted for thirty or perhaps fifty years. Then the Saxons had become permanently fixed in their sea shore margin, and a large portion of their population natives of the soil. It was thought that it was safe and less cruel to let them remain there. In the meantime Arthur was called, by a sense of duty, to aid his relatives in Armorica. He was detained there five years. When he returned he found his sovereignty betrayed and usurped by a relative, and a civil war ensued, in which the great Arthur lost his life. The Saxons took advantage of this unfortunate event, and by their disposition to war and conquest, their increase of native population upon the fertile lands in England, and constant accession of soldiers from the continent, the conquest became inevitable.

The barbaric invasion of the Roman empire by the people of the north overturned the civilization of the age, and everything which supported it; commerce was annihilated; all civil and intelligent intercourse between nations was stopped, and Western Europe was relapsing into its native barbarism—Christianity expelled from that part of Britain now known as England, and revolting paganism and rude barbarity established in its stead. Wherever the Saxons went a new and rude system of landed property was established—a feudalism which placed the land in the possession of the nobility—a caste, the exclusive descendants of Woden—the alderman, who ruled and controlled everything under the Saxon

kings.⁵ These ruled with hateful despotism over the free Britons when conquered, as their serfs, and over the landless townsmen, burgesses or citizens, as their stipendiaries. But the Welsh, with the true characteristics of the Briton and Cymry, yielded slowly, with fierce opposition to the invaders and their injustice; it required over two hundred years before they conquered west of the central ridge, and eight centuries before its final completion under Edward I. During all that time the process of absorbing the Ancient Britons in the Saxon race was going on and forming a new English race by the composition of the two. The Ancient Britons, thus absorbed, first became Saxons and subsequently English, but the change of name or language did not change the natural characteristics or blood of the race, but conferred them upon the Saxons, who thereby became Englishmen instead of Saxons.

During all that time the Cymry of Wales, as far as it was possible under the circumstances, kept up their literature and arts; their towns and improvements.⁶ This is evidenced by Asser's life of Alfred, by the writings of Giraldus, Nennius, Geoffrey, and other Welshmen of the age, as well as their own national poets or bards and prose writers, which in these respects put them ahead of any nation of Western Europe. This is also proved by the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, who, after being educated at Paris, visited Wales in the reign of Henry II, and was surprised to find at Cær-

5 See Kemble's Saxons in England, Vol. ii, p. 132. In Kent, he says: "If there were aldermen at all they were comprised in the great caste of earls or nobles by birth." He was inseparable from the shire, and was really "at the head of the justice of the county." Ibid. p. 137. Kemble says: "Possession of land in the district was the indispensable condition of enjoying the privileges and exercising the rights of a freeman." Ibid. Vol. i, p. 88, also 122. It is singular with what complacency Kemble speaks of the Saxon institutions of slavery and the wrong and violence by which men are made slaves and kept so by birth, "and yield to a yoke which they could not shake off, and commend themselves to the protection of a lord," as though these were in the order of Providence and not that of selfish man. Ibid. 184. See also the article Towns, Vol. ii, p. 262.

6 See Giraldus' Cambrensis, as to his account of the condition in which he found the Welsh, in the twelfth century, in possession of Carleon on the Usk and other towns, and their extraordinary architecture.

leon on the Usk still preserved the Roman style of architecture, buildings of great merit, literature, music, and a surprising degree of Christian civilization; while in the same time in England the buildings and roads of the Roman age were permitted to go to ruin and decay. Still by the continual war wrought upon them by Saxons and Normans—frequent raids in which their towns were burned, their property taken or destroyed, and their people slaughtered. It is strange that they were able to hold out so long against such wrongs and barbarous warfare. But that determination and perseverance was characteristic of the race, as it is now of the British people; and this characteristic has increased in the English people since the Norman conquest in consequence of greater admixture of Ancient British blood, as we see it evidenced by the instances of the Tudors, Oliver Cromwell, Clive, Sir Thomas Picton, and others, so well established cases in English history.

With all the hostilities and adversities with which the Ancient Britons were surrounded it is marvelous that during those dark ages—those barbarian times—the Cymry were able to retain and keep up their Christianity, literature and civilization to the extent they did. It is a wonder that those wars and savagery did not overwhelm and subvert those qualities in those ancient people, as it did in the rest of Europe. But they did not have that effect: in a lull of those Saxon wars the Cymry, in the seventh century, broke out anew in a revival of their literature and concomitant improvement; and again in the twelfth century, placing them in these respects ahead of all the nations of Western Europe.⁷ But that continual war upon

them at length destroyed their cities, deteriorated their civilization and reduced the country to poverty, of which they have since recovered.

Nations, as well as individuals, are social persons, and liable to take from each other their good or bad customs or examples. Of course while the Cymry were surrounded by the evils of the dark ages, and deteriorating their condition, some of the evil customs of the barbarians insinuated themselves upon the Cymry, of which they had been previously exempt. In the laws of Howell I do we find some traces of *cyho gwynyl*—the price of compensation fixed to be paid for a crime or injury, by the Saxons and all the northern barbarians. But that was contrary to their former laws. Another barbarous custom was common among them, perhaps more so among those upon the continent than with the Saxons in England. And this was when a political aspirant had obtained the possession of an opponent or adversary, he would destroy his capacity for further opposition, by blinding him, by burning his eyes with hot metals. This barbarous and cruel custom was commonly practiced by both the Saxons and the Normans, of which history gives us numerous instances. When some Cambrian prince attempted to follow so bad an example, the act was so reprobated by his countrymen, as cruel and disgraceful, that he was driven into exile. But what the Cymry most opposed and resisted was the whole system of the feudal land laws; so very different from their own and the Roman land laws, and so very oppressive upon the tenants and lower class of people.

After the conquest of Wales, and especially after the accession of the Tudors, the people of the principality were probably treated by the English government as kindly⁸ as ever fell to the lot of any con-

⁷ See Prof. Arnold's Essay on Celtic Literature. Also Thierry's Norman Conquest. "The literature," he says, "that the Normans brought with them to the country which they were to subjugate, the people of the north, had long been in a state of great existence" (Vol. I, p. 53). "Hence the extraordinary remembrance of being, in the hands of the poets, whose books were so full of poetry they had so powerful an impress of enthusiasm and conviction that, once translated into other languages, they became most attractive reading for foreigners, and the theme upon which the romance writers of the middle ages most frequently constructed their fictions." Ibid., Vol. II, p. 193. And this was also the case with Geoffrey's History of the Britons.

⁸ See 2 Thierry's Hist. Norman Conquest, p. 293, which says: "Henry VIII, while he allowed the Welsh, whom Henry VII, his father, had ennobled for services rendered to his person, to retain the Norman titles of earls, barons and baronets, treated, like his predecessors, the mass of the people as a conquered nation, at once feared and disliked, and undertook to debase the ancient customs of the Cambrians, the remnant of their social state, and even their language." This, I think, must be a mistake, that any of the Tudors treated the Welsh people harshly,

quered people : and they are now fast becoming English in language, custom, and habits. They have, from early times, furnished for England numerous distinguished men, who were either natives of the principality or their immediate descendants. Some of these have already been named : but there are numerous others who are deserving of it, who in their biographies, are credited as Englishmen : as for instance, " Price Richard, English clergyman, moralist and philosopher, born in Glanmorgan-shire." Many such Welshmen, are only known as Englishmen, but who were either born in Wales, or the descendants of those who were. Those who were the direct descendants of the ancient Britons, who at the Conquest of England, became Saxons, we of course know nothing about. Of numerous Welshmen who have thus become distinguished, we can only instance a few :— as Howell, who early in the Tudor times distinguished himself as an English prose-writer and traveller ; Edward Lohuyd, author of British Archæology ; Sir William Jones ; Inigo Jones, the renowned Architect ; Pritchard, the distinguished ethnologist ; Thomas Johnes, M. P., and the publisher of Froissart's history ; Sir G. C. Lewis, eminently distinguished as a statesman, an author, and as a very learned man.

It is vain to attempt to mention the names of all Welshmen who deserve to be noticed here ; but from early times there has been a constant stream of emigration from Wales to England, until Welsh names prevail all over England, and known as the descendants of the Ancient Britons.

A portion of the English historians in their opposition to the race, have asserted a number of matters of which the Welsh, as the descendants of the Ancient Britons, and Cymry, were incapable of performing. Among these were their incapacity for naval affairs and seafaring life : another was their incapacity to organize a central

and consolidated government, on the account of discensious and divisions among themselves. Mr. F. Palgrave in his interesting history of the Anglo-Saxons, says :—" The Cymric Britons, though they lived in an Island, had no boats or vessels, except *coracles*, framed of slight ribs of wood, covered with hides. These frail barks are still used by the Welsh fishermen on the Wye ; and it may be remarked that the Celtic tribes in general have never taken to the sea, whilst the Teutonic seem always to have enjoyed the dangers of the ocean. But the valor of the Britons was displayed on land : they were brave and sturdy warriors, and when they went forth to combat, they rode in chariots." ⁹ And again :—" If the Britons had made common cause, the Romans might not have prevailed against them : but the insular tribes or nations were divided and disunited ; envious of each other, and when one tribe was conquered, the others delighted in the misfortunes of their contrymen, and then the same fate befel them in their turn."

Now is this a fair representation of the characteristics of the Cymry, when compared with other nationalities ? Is the Welshman incapable of any other naval affair than a *coracle* ? Because they have ingenuity to build a coricle, is that an evidence that they could not build a seventy-four ? I apprehend that the whole history of the Britons and Cymry is a refutation of these imputations. The ancient Venetians of Armorica, were the same people as the Britons, and both people united in the great naval battle against Cæsar ; and the Ancient Briton as well as the modern Welshman always made as apt a seaman and mechanic as any other people. We are informed that the Saxons after their settlement in England soon lost their acquaintance with a sea-faring life, and naval affairs ; so that when they were attacked by the Danes, they were wholly unable to meet them at sea. Alfred was determined to build a navy to meet them on that element. Southey ¹⁰ informs us that Alfred in

as did some of their predecessors ; but the idea arose from Henry VIII's great desire that the Welsh should adopt the English language, at least for the common transaction of business, and thereby assimilate the whole country as one.—Neo-Briton. This, undoubtedly, would be the common interest of all. But my information is that the nation was kindly treated by all the Tudors.

⁹ History of the Anglo-Saxons, ch. i, p. 4.

¹⁰ In his History of the British Navy.

the pursuit of this object sent to Wales to procure mechanics skilled in building sea-vessels. And we are also informed that when the emperor Constantius was engaged in rebuilding a city in Gaul, he sent for the Britons as mechanics to accomplish his object. The Ancient Britons and their descendants have ever been distinguished as apt and skillful mechanics, and sailors; and as such none more distinguished than the people of Brittany and Wales.¹¹

As to the other imputation against the Cymry, that they were subject to dissensions and divisions; we may say that it was no more than the common frailty of human nature, common to the Saxons as well as the Welsh. It is observable in the history of all nations, that their enemies take advantages of any division or dissension in order to promote their own interest. This was always practised, as their most successful policy, by the Romans and Saxons. To promote, and take advantage of a division; "to divide and conquer,"—has ever been with all people a diplomatic policy; and if this operated unfavorably with the Welsh, we find abundant instances of civil war and divisions among the Saxons, as well as with the Cymry; which assisted the conquest of the Danes and the Normans over the Saxons, as those foibles aided the Romans and Saxons in their conquest over the Britons: but nowhere do we find so deplorable an instance of the kind as the Saxon Tostig against Harold in favor of the Norman. But the secret of the success of the Romans and Saxons, was the ability of both of these invaders to constantly recruit their armies from the continent, as they were decimated by the Britons, while the latter had no such resource to fill up their slaughtered ranks, nor do we, at all, admit that the Cymry were less capable of political organization than the Teutons; but they were more disposed to confederation while the latter were, perhaps, more disposed to

consolidation and concentration. The Ancient Britons appear to have favored the preservation of their several ancient states, for the security and protection of each individual rights and freedom, and securing a greater degree of freedom from central oppression and exactions. Like ancient Greece, and modern Switzerland, and the United States, they preferred a federal union, rather than a consolidated government: if they had been permitted to prosper under their own government, unmolested by Roman or Saxon invaders, they would have perfected a general government for the union under the pendragonate, which would have regulated and controlled all general, national, and foreign matters; while it left to the management of each individual state the conduct of its own domestic affairs. That they were capable of perfecting all this, if they had not been interfered with, from abroad, we are assured by their history, and the great men they have in all ages produced, from Caractacus to Glendower; and by the executive talents manifested by their descendants, in the Tudors, and Oliver Cromwell.

But it is not at home alone that the Cymry have been able to exhibit some of their excellent qualities. In America they and their descendants have occupied a distinguished position in every department of human affairs. They were with the first settlers of Virginia and New England. There were a number among the emigrants in the Mayflower. Either as natives of Wales or their immediate descendants, we find the names of distinguished individuals in every state of the Union—from Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the far west. Among the numerous persons who claim such descent from the Ancient Britons we may mention the names of Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, Rhode Island, and the first to insist upon the doctrine in America, so common to his race, the right of every one to exercise the freedom of conscience in matters of religion; Jonathan Edwards, the distinguished divine and logician. Daniel Webster, the great constitutional lawyer and orator. William Floyd, of New York, one of the

¹¹ In one of the recent numbers of Harper's Magazine we have an illustrated account of the great steamships from New York to Liverpool, in which an interesting account is given of one steam passenger vessel, commanded by Capt. Price, a native of Swansea, whose skill and responsibility in the command of his steamship required the mind and the executive talent of an emperor.

signers of the declaration of independence, and who occupied various positions of responsibility, military and civil. Among the people of New York the distinguished men of this race are numerous, from which may be selected the names of Frances Lewis, Morgan Lewis, Edwin D. Morgan, and the late Chief Justice Jones of New York city, as well as that of William H. Seward, the late distinguished Secretary of State of the United States, all of whom have been eminently distinguished and been honored in important places, as governor of the state, or senators in congress, or as judges and jurists.

In the like manner may the descendants of the Cymry in Pennsylvania be enumerated: William Penn, the founder of the state, either from his claiming to be a descendant of the Ancient Britons of Devon and Cornwall, or some other reason, always favored the Welsh immigrants with partiality, and a number of settlements of them in his colony, especially those in Chester and Delaware counties. Of the distinguished men of Pennsylvania who were Cymry, either by birth or descent, may be specially mentioned Robert Morris, the distinguished treasurer and financier of the revolution; General Anthony Wayne, Ellis Lewis, an eminent jurist and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Enoch Lewis, a celebrated mathematician, and numerous others. But in Virginia and the South they are equally numerous and distinguished, as Thomas Jefferson, the late President of the United States; John Marshall, the very eminent Chief Justice; Benjamin Watkins Leigh, who was so eminent as a jurist that he was looked upon by the court and bar as an oracle; nor should we omit to name Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, and father of William H. Harrison, late President of the United States; nor to name General—— Thomas, so distinguished in the late war.

But throughout the United States we find numerous people of great eminence and distinction, who with pride claim their descent from Cymric ancestors. Of such here were fourteen who signed the declar-

ation of independence; twenty or more were among the most distinguished military officers of the revolution; congress has always had a large share of them; they have been eminent in every profession, and in every vocation of life and especially distinguished as ingenious and skillful mechanics and artists. They are too numerous to be enumerated here.

§3—*The Scots.*

No people present a more interesting history to the world than that of Scotland. In the midst of the cold of a northern climate, and the adverse soil of her rugged hills and mountains, her people have ever labored to improve and progress, and they present to us the most striking instances of noble efforts of patriotism, religion and literature—of a country never entirely conquered by her powerful enemies, the Romans, Saxons or Normans, and under every adversity, with energy and resolution, maintained its independence and freedom. In the midst of such adversities and hostilities have these people industriously labored their progress and improvements, from their rude and rugged beginning, until now they present a country and people as highly cultivated and interesting as any of the more favored parts of Europe. Every age has produced its interesting incidents. Who does not sympathize with Galgacus and his people? with Wallace and Robert Bruce and their patriots? or the honest faithfulness which enabled Flora Macdonald to depend upon the honor of her people in the protection of Charles the Pretender, in the midst of thousands to whom the secret was known? And so has every age manifested its ability and genius in literature and poetry in common with their Celtic origin. It commences with Ossian¹ in the third century, whose poetry, in its modern garb, "carried in the last century this vein like a flood of lava through Europe;" and after making all allowance for objections, "there will still be left a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in

¹ Giles, in his History of the Ancient Britons, puts Ossian in the time of Caraneus, and refers to him as Caron.

it, which has brought it into contact with the genius of the nations of modern Europe, and enriched its poetry."² Since then the Scots have shed a glory over every department of literature; while in Robert Burns and Hugh Miller we have instances of genius surprising the world with productions so far above their opportunities.

It is not with the rulers and government that I now intend to deal, but with the people and their character. In ancient times the Britons called the north part of the island, now Scotland, Albion; and the Romans afterwards called it Caledonia, and the people Caledonians. We have already intimated the opinion that Britain was first settled by the Gauls—the Gaels; and that after the Cymry came they withdrew to the north, and eventually became fixed in the highlands of Northwestern Scotland and in the south and west of Ireland. When the Romans, under the auspices of the emperor Claudius, came, the Cymric Britons, who resisted a submission to the Roman conquerors, withdrew into Scotland, and afterwards became known as the Picts. The remains of their language, and other evidence of antiquity, prove to us that they were Cymry, fleeing from Roman dominion and oppression. North of the Roman wall, in the valley of the Tyne, the Romans never acquired but a temporary and limited dominion, and the continual warfare waged by the Romans against the people kept them in a rude and but partially civilized condition, retaining their druids and bards, and their love for literature and poetry, which was specially developed in Ossian. At a later period another emigration of the Cymry obtained possession of the south part of Scotland, and established their dominion of Strath-Clyde and Bernecia, the former on the west and the latter on the east. In the course of the Roman conquest, other Cymric Britons, fleeing from their enemies and oppressors, fled to the northeast part of Ireland, and there, by some unaccountable fortune, became known as Scots. Subsequently, perhaps some time in the fifth century, the Scots, or a

principal part of them, emigrated to Western Scotland, principally in Argyleshire, and eventually conferred upon the country their own name.

These several people—the Gaels of the northwest, the Picts of the east, the Scots of the west, and the people of Strath-Clyde and Bernecia in the south, are the founders and ancestors of the present people of Scotland. They were essentially Celts, and, with the exception of the Gaels of the northwest, were Cymric Britons. Before the Romans finally left Britain, and while Western Europe was settling down into that barbarian darkness which soon overcame it, the Ancient Britons were making extraordinary exertion to prevail against it, and to preserve their Christian religion, their learning and civilization. This is amply proved by the history of the learned Pelagius, Gildas, Nennius, St. David and Asser, as well as the extraordinary exertion made by the people, by the aid of bishop Germanus, to expel what they considered a heresy in their religion, not by persecution, but by argument and reason. That effort, notwithstanding its very adverse times, produced many good and learned men, among whom were St. David and St. Patrick. This effort, like the last gleam of the sun before the coming of a dark night, pervaded Western Britain, Ireland and Scotland. Previous to the fifth century Christianity had been propagated in Ireland and Scotland. About A. D. 432 St. Patrick, as a missionary, gave a new impetus to Christianity in Ireland, whose disciples earnestly engaged in spreading their holy religion to every part of Ireland and Scotland.³ This had previously prevailed to some extent in Scotland, but now a new force was to be given to its mission. With this intention St. Columba, one of those who had been inspired by the example and teaching of St. Patrick, earnestly embarked from his native country to carry to the people of Scotland the glad tidings in a more efficacious manner. He was kindly received by the king of the

² Prof. Arnold's Essay, No. iv, of Study of Celtic Literature.

³ See Bede's History, B. iii, ch. 4. Previous to Columba, St. Ninias, a native of North Wales, had carried Christianity to the South Picts and converted them.

Picts; and the little island of Hi, since known as Iona, was given to him to establish his holy mission.

About the year 546 Columba commenced his operation at Iona, which was now to become the holy island of Scotland; and a new zeal and efficacy was given to Christianity among the Picts and Scots. Soon all Scotland became the land of a devoted Christian people, and Iona and its monastery became the most holy place of their devotion. This in a great measure will account for the reason why England and the Saxons were not troubled by raids of the Picts and Scots, as the Britons had previously been. In A. D. 617, upon the death of Ethelfrith, the fierce king of Northumbria, Edwin came to the throne by the expulsion of the minor heirs, the infant ethlings, Osric and Eanfrid, who fled for protection to the Scots and Picts, as exiles, where they were kindly cared for and Christianized. After a reign of seventeen years, Edwin was slain in battle, and the young princes returned and were restored to the throne of their ancestors, but soon renounced their Christianity. "Soon after that," says Bede, "Cadwalla, king of the Britons, slew them both, through the righteous vengeance of Heaven," for their apostacy from the Christian doctrine they had been taught among the Scots. Then came to that throne Oswald, who had been educated and taught Christianity among the Picts and Scots, sent and obtained from thence the services of a Christian priest who had been educated at Iona, whose name was Aidan, and who was very successful in the conversion of the Saxons of Northumbria, and became their bishop. At that time, and to a much later period, the Christianity which prevailed in the west—in Wales, Scotland and Ireland—was that which was taught and prevailed in Britain before the departure of the Romans and the coming of the Saxons; and the Roman priests who afterwards came to the country greatly opposed them, though they found no objection to their Christian doctrines, but only complained that they did not observe the right day for Easter, or the proper mode of tonsure, which is very

good evidence that these Celtic priests were very good and sound Christians. Thus commenced Christian faith and doctrine in Scotland, long before any missionary of the Roman church was sent to them.

The next great event in the history of Scotland and her people was the union of the Scots and Picts under one government, which eventuated in the union of the whole country as one people—the Scots. About the year 836 Kenneth McAlpin came to the sovereignty of the Scots. The Picts at that time had been reduced from the position of the most powerful people of the country to an inferior condition, by war and civil contention, and with all there was a disputed succession. Kenneth claimed the sovereignty of the Picts by virtue of his descent in the female line. Right or wrong, his claim succeeded, and the two people became one—the Picts became absorbed in the Scots, and the name soon became obsolete. The probability is that it never was their true and favored name, but given to them by their enemies, as the name of Welsh has been given to the Cymry, or that of Yankee has been applied to the people of the northern section of the United States. They were undoubtedly Cymry, as already stated. In numbers they were the largest portion of the people. This union made the Scots powerful, and all other names and distinctions were submerged in theirs, as the general name of the people of the whole country. In the meantime the people made great progress in their position as Christians, and for their learning and intelligence. As of old their bards furnished them poetry and learning. Columbinus and others passed over to the continent as missionaries from Scotland, and were considered among the most learned and celebrated divines of the age; among others Erigena, or Joannes Scotus, or Dan Scotus, may be mentioned as one of the most learned and scholastic men of his day. He was received in France and other countries of Europe as the most learned and intellectual man of the age.

From the time of the union of the Scots and Picts to the conquest of England by William of Normandy, all Scotland gradu-

ally came under the dominion of the Scots. For a long time the South—Strath-Clyde and Bernecia—were independent British kingdoms or principalities, but between A. D. 950 and 1016 these were united to the Scots. From that time the southern limits of Scotland became fixed by a line from the Solway Firth, by the Cheviot hills to the mouth of the Tweed. North of that line there is no just pretension of any conquest or rule of any other people than the Ancient Britons and Scots, having a permanent dominion over the country. Conquest was attempted by the Romans, the Saxons, the Dapes or Scandinavians, and the Normans, but in every instance their subjugation was only temporary and limited. The claim of some historians that the Northumbrians had extended their conquest north, over Northern Bernecia, along the Forth, to include Edinburgh and Midlothian, is founded on no better facts of history. If it be true that Edwin of Northumbria took possession of this territory north of the Tweed, and improved Edinburgh and gave to it his name, it was an old British town, and his dominion there must have been, like the rest, only temporary and furtive. Edwin's dominion and operations were more to the south and west; and the subsequent history of his successor, Oswald, in his intercourse with the Scots, and sending to them for Aidan to come and teach them Christianity, forbids the idea that such Northumbrian conquest was anything more than temporary; or that the conquest of the territory was a permanent and settled part of English dominion. It is true that in a number of instances their enemies made conquest, obtained tribute and acknowledgement of fealty over some portion of their territory, but it was temporary and soon reverted. The country, as a permanent matter, has always been under the dominion of the Ancient Britons or the Scots. The claim of the Scots that they and their country have never been permanently conquered, and their present union with England is the result of fair negotiation and reciprocal concession, is better sustained by historical facts than in favor of any other coun-

try.

It is, therefore, claimed that the people of Scotland are essentially the descendants of the Ancient Britons and Scots; and on the other hand, the claim, sometimes set up, that the people of the Scottish low-lands are essentially Teutonic, is equally untrue. If that had been the case, it would have been inevitably England, under the numerous and strenuous efforts made by the monarchs of England to conquer and possess it; but at all times the great bulk of the people were strenuously against this; and in favor of Scotland, independence and freedom. It is true that occasionally, and perhaps frequently, single Roman, or Saxon or Scandinavian, or Norman, or Frenchman, as exiles or adventurers settled among them, and were hospitably received by them; but they soon merged into Scots, and left their descendants with Scottish mothers, and no one knows how often their blood has been crossed by Celtic parents. But this is frequently ignored by those who know not, or forget, who their ancestors were. This the historian Lord Macaulay attempted to do, but was justly rebuked by the truthful Hugh Miller, as he deserved to be.⁴ This occasional admixture of foreign blood by fathers of whom but little is known beyond their names, with a more ready introduction of new fashions, with the more genial climate and fertility of the soil of the lowlands, has in the course of time, developed a perceptible difference between the highland and the lowland Scot. But essentially, in their personal, their high character for genius and intellectual capacity, they are uniformly one and the same people, partaking strongly of the character of the Ancient Britons. As the highlanders adopt the customs of and language of the lowlanders, their common identity of moral and ethnic character strongly appears; and leaves nothing to divide them, except progress in modern civilization; or to distinguish them from the best of the British people.⁵

⁴ See Hugh Miller's Pamphlet addressed to Lord Macaulay.

⁵ See Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. ii, p. 318. He says: "Civilization, which makes rapid progress

What has particularly distinguished the Scots, as a people and nationality, since the Norman conquest, is their great and patriotic efforts that they have ever made to preserve their independence and freedom: which has become so striking a part of history, and so vividly calls to memory the names of Wallace and Bruce, and link them with other venerable British names as Caractacus and Galgacus, Arthur, and Glendower. But these have been faintly delineated in our previous history: but what is now intended, is to call the attention of the reader to the striking character and conduct of the Scots, in relation to their patriotic efforts in favor of independence and freedom in matters of religion, within our modern period. During the five hundred years that transpired from the commencement of the Saxon period, to that of the Normans, that extraordinary efforts made by the Britons to promote literature, religion, and learning, at the close of the Roman dominion in Britain, which produced the efforts of St. David and Taliesin in Wales, St. Patrick in Ireland, and St. Columba in Scotland, and subsequently sent forth Aidan and Scotus to teach and Christianize England and Europe,⁶ was almost extinguished by the barbarity and ignorance of that dark age, produced by the invasion and wars of the Saxons, the Danes, and the Scandinavians, which almost annihilated that rising civilization, and cut off all connection with its eastern origin.⁷ That much efforts were made by these ancient people, is too true to be controverted, and too strongly supported by the evidence of the remains of literature, to be doubted. Yet, during that dark and troubled period, the people of Scotland struggled, against insurmountable difficulties, to preserve and improve their condition, as a continued list of men of great genius and learning proves; and their ancient universities are witnesses of the interest that these people have ever taken

in literature and learning from the earliest time to the present day; and fully demonstrate their capacity and genius for it, under trying difficulties, and the most adverse circumstances. The Scots have, in the midst of modern progress, distinguished themselves as foremost in every branch of literature, science, and philosophy,⁸ and that too, when surrounded by difficulties and adversities. In proportion to their population, no people ever excelled them in the progress they have made towards a high order of civilization. This development is not only in literature and science, but in every branch of industry and manufactures. Their skill and industry is known throughout the world: of which their flourishing and prosperous cities, are its finest; which has rendered Edinburgh, in its beauty, taste, and in its improvement of rugged nature, one of the most interesting cities of modern Europe. All this development is more attributable to the genius, taste, and industry of their Ancient British origin, than to any characteristic of Saxon or Teutonic origin, as Sir Walter Scott, Hugh Miller, and Robert Burns, bear ample testimony.

The same state of things which existed during the Saxon period, which so retarded the progress of Scotland, the barbarian war which so effectually surrounded them in gloom and darkness, continued during the Norman period, with but little variation. Edward I and III made strenuous effort to conquer the country, and brought all the power and resources of England against them: but the united patriotism and gallantry of the Scots eventually prevailed, even against every effort of the English monarchs to divide them and conquer. Those wars were destructive and cruel: it was a war of plunder and devastation.⁹ Cities and houses were laid in

among all the branches of the Scottish population, has now penetrated beyond the lowland towns into the highlands." If that were true thirty years ago, how much more must it be so now?

⁶ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

⁷ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

⁸ On this see Vol. xiv. New American Cyclopædia, Title Scotland, for an interesting paragraph on this subject, including the names of distinguished Scotchmen in every branch of learning and science.

⁹ H. Buckle's Hist. Civil., p. 132, who says: "In 1200 the English entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed; and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants. They then marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin, and so completely desolated the country that the Scotch, flying to the mountains and stripped of their all, had

ashes; and the people impoverished by the destruction of their property: still they preserved their independence and freedom. These attempts at conquest by the Norman dynasty were constant and insidious; which with its rugged soil and climate kept the country in perpetual poverty. "The darling object of the English," says Prof. Buckle,¹⁰ "was to subject the Scotch; and if any thing could increase the disgrace of so base an enterprise, it would be that, having undertaken it, they ignominiously failed." Though in those days, these invaders engaged in such crimes and ignominy as though it was with them a religious duty. But with the Tudors came the policy of peace, and a better sense of Christian duty, and the rights of one people. With that policy a better auspices came to both countries; and Scotland with her industry and enterprise pursued a steady course of improvement, from that day to the present. During the dark ages, Scotland, was particularly, and more than any other country, isolated, and surrounded by enemies of every kind, which either prevented or retarded their progress in civilization. What they wanted was peace, in order to enable their industry and perseverance to work out their own civilization: which came with the Tudors, more apparently than any other point in their history.

Prof. Buckle unjustly as I think, attributes the slow progress that the Scots made during the dark ages, to their intellectual characteristics; because their method of reasoning was *deductive* instead of *inductive*. His error in this assertion, if true, was in attributing this peculiarity he discovered, to the characteristic of the race or nation, instead of the circumstances with which they were surrounded, and the isolated situation in which they existed. Isolation, and exclusion from the outside world, and the great source of general intelligence, tends

to the deductive method of reasoning, rather than the inductive. A race that is a religious and conservative people, are more apt to reason by deduction from what surrounds them—their venerable laws, customs, and dogmas; than an erratic, light and changeable people, who run at once for every thing new. People who live in cities, such as London is, or Rome, or Athens, were, who came in contact with strangers and the outside world, and enjoy the advantage of the information of whatever is passing in it, will more readily reason by inductive, than those who are isolated from such advantages, even through their natural capacity, mind, and intellect, were equally capable for either mode of reasoning. Mr. Buckle wrote his history of civilization forty or fifty years ago; and perhaps his materials were a great deal older: if he were to write of them in the present day, perhaps his views of the capacity of the Scots, would have been different.¹¹ But on the whole, Mr. Buckle is disposed to do justice to the intellectual character of the Scots, as he could not otherwise do: but to the people generally as, "in practical matters, not only industrious and provident, but singularly shrewd." But his prejudice against the Scotch people is founded in his opposition to the priestly influence that the Scotch clergy had over their people; that necessarily would lead to a deductive mode of reasoning; for whenever a dogma or any principle or law is fixed as an established law, all reasoning upon that subject must necessarily be of the deductive, and not of the inductive mode of reasoning, for these exclude all outside matters as heresies; and compelled to reason from within, and deduce all inferences from what is already established, and not permitted to resort to new or untried matters, or to draw by induction from the outside to prove or test the truth: but must adhere to established principles; and when these are wrong or established in error, error must still be in the reason or conclusion deduced from them. It is true, that this is in violation of

no resource left but to wage from their native fastnesses a war similar to that which their ancient ancestors conducted against the Romans." See also ante, 125—7, *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Prof. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, Vol. ii. p. 132.

¹¹ See his *i* Vol., p. 177.

the Baconian mode of reason or logic; but it is more often to be attributed, when common to a people, to the circumstances by which they are surrounded, than to their national characteristic or that of their race: and especially so as to the Scots, who are so eminently distinguished for their intellectual capacity.

I have said that the Scots were distinguished for their religion and conservative character; and this is eminently so with all the people who derive their origin from the Ancient Britons—they desire to adhere to their religious, and to their position, and not fly in haste to that which is new, until satisfied of their error, or convinced of the truth of the new. This is confessedly so of all the old British Celts. This is strikingly so with all the people, as their descendants, along the western part of Britain, from Devonshire to the northeast of Scotland. The Welsh, with all, have always been distinguished for their adherence to the right and liberty of the freedom of opinion and conscience. Perhaps the Scots have not been equally distinguished in preserving the right and freedom of conscience: but the doctrine inculcated upon this subject in the Triads were not equally known to the Scots. But at all events, the Scots have ever been among the foremost people in all reform and reformation of the church. They were staunch Catholic, until convinced of the errors and corruption of the church, and then they became equally as staunch Protestants. It is very questionable whether the Scots were obnoxious to the charge made against them by Mr. Buckle, of being priest ridden, more than any other religious people of that day. Their clergy were their most learned body of men of that time, and were therefore entitled to their veneration and confidence; that in some instance may have been abused, as they have in most instances where much confidence and power have been conferred upon them. But that is rather to be attributed to the unfortunate failings common to human nature, rather than to the perversity of any particular people or race.

The Scots became Protestants from the

very earliest period in that movement, and were among the most radical reformers of the abuses of the Roman church, and established the Presbyterian organization of their church with a view of keeping it within the simplicity and purity of the original Christian church, and giving no temptation, for ambition or covetousness, for those high in the confidence of their church. Whatever grounds there were for Mr. Buckle's charges against the Scottish clergy, and the superstition of the people in the old Catholic church, it is probable he would have withheld his censure, had he witnessed the patriotic devotion, and the absence of all selfish interest in the Scotch clergy, manifested by them at the establishment of their free church. At that time,¹² the Scots claimed that by terms of the union, their Presbyterian church was guaranteed to be free from the powers of the British parliament, and that the various acts of power and oppression which were imposed upon the church were illegal and void. To oppose the measures, and insure free religion to the people, four hundred and seventy four of the clergy, the most eminent for piety, learning, eloquence, and usefulness, withdrew from the established church, and organized the free church of Scotland. This devoted and patriotic act of the clergy rendered the established church in a great measure paralyzed; the new church abandoned all support from the government, and relied upon the free contributions of the people. The history of the free church has generally been that of peace, and its progress has been that of prosperity and success, and is now a great power in the land, sustained and enjoyed by the people themselves, making this one of the most self-denying and patriotic movements the world has ever witnessed.

It appears, therefore, probable that Mr. Buckle has mistaken that which was produced in the Scots by their surrounding circumstances, as evidence of their ethnic or national characteristics. Without a great deal of care, travelers and philosophers are liable, if not apt, to commit this

¹² In A. D. 1843.

mistake. And it is possible, if not probable, that Prof. Arnold has committed a similar mistake in relation to the Welsh, a kindred people to the Scots, in saying: "The religion of Wales is more emotional and sentimental than English Puritanism; Romanism has indeed given way to Calvinism among the Welsh, the one superstition has supplanted the other, but the Celtic sentiment, which made the Welsh such devout Catholics, remains, and gives unction to their Methodism. Theirs is not the controversial, rationalistic, intellectual side of Protestantism, but the devout emotional, religious side."¹³ Mr. Arnold has, in his essay, done the Welsh ample justice, still I believe he has missed the intellectual character of the Welsh, as Mr. Buckle did that of the Scots. I have had no opportunity of judging of the characteristics of the Welsh, except as I have seen them in America, alongside the Teutons and other nationalities. And here we observe a striking contrast between the superstition of a German and that of a Welshman. The former has his superstition in regard to everything he does; he neither sows nor reaps, ploughs or tills, or builds a house, without inquiring what time it was in the moon; and he is equally as superstitious as to whether he turns to the right or left. The Welshman, with all his devotion and sentiment, has none of this superstition; what he has to do he does without inquiring as to the face of the moon, or which way he should turn so that he turns successfully. His Calvinism is not founded upon superstition, but upon metaphysical reason and logic, though founded, as I believe, upon false premises. The Methodists of America are generally Armenians, as the Welsh are generally Calvinistic; and I have been often surprised in listening to their polemical controversies, to witness the force and ingenuity with which the latter maintained their position. They had always a reason for the faith that was in them; it will not do to put the conclusions of Calvin, Thomas Coke and Jonathan Edwards as the result of superstition; they

are rather a refined conclusion of metaphysical logic, which among Christians is drawn from very narrow premises—some expressions of the scriptures and dogmas of the church; but those narrow premises have not only divided Christians, but the whole world, from the earliest times. Among the pagans and Mohammedans, it was destiny; among Christians, predestination and God's will. But the Ancient Britons and their descendants have ever occupied a most distinguished part in the rational and logic of the controversy, with Pelagius as the extreme of the more liberal and rational views of the different questions on the one side; and with Jonathan Edwards following St. Augustine on the other. The intellectual capacity of the Celtic race cannot be questioned, whether we refer to Brittany, Wales, Scotland or Ireland, as these in all ages have produced the foremost men in intellect and philosophy, as evidenced by the names of Pelagius, Duns Scotus, Des Cartes, Reid and Edwards, and even the grandfather of Kant was a Scotchman.

What has been said of the Welsh, that they were religious, devotional, and sentimental, is equally true of the Scots. They resemble each other more strikingly than almost any other two distinct people. They differ more in the fact that the Scots have adopted the English language as their common tongue, while the Welsh have not to the same extent, as probably it would be better if they had, and leave the Cymreig, like the Greek and Latin, a dead language, to the learned professors. This resemblance is another striking evidence of their origin from the same source. Of the Scots it has been said, which is equally true of the Welsh, that "no people have shown a more resolute determination in defence of civil and religious freedom."¹⁴ . . . "Notwithstanding the smallness of its population, Scotland has produced an array of names, eminent in literature and science, which scarcely any other nation can surpass."¹⁵

¹³ See Prof. Arnold's Essay, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, No. or part iii.

¹⁴ *New American Cyclopædia*, Vol. xiv, Title Scotland.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, and enumerates a host of great names in

A foreign historian, a Frenchman,¹⁶ kindly furnishes an appropriate conclusion to this division, and says—"when the Scots lost their religious and political enthusiasm they directed to the cultivation of literature the imaginative faculties which seems in them a last trace of their Celtic origin, as Gauls, or as Britons. Scotland is perhaps the only country of Europe where knowledge is really a popular acquirement, and where men of every class love to learn for learning's sake, without any particular motive, or any view to change their condition. . . . The number of distinguished authors of every class, since the middle of the last century, has been far greater in Scotland than in England, taking into consideration the difference of population of the two countries. It is more especially in historical composition and in narrative that the Scots excel; and we may consider this peculiar aptitude as one of the characteristic indications of their original descent; for the Irish and the Welsh are the two nations who have at greatest length and most agreeably drawn up their ancient annals."

§4—*The Irish.*

Ireland! That emerald island of perpetual verdure—that island for which nature has done so much, and lavished upon it all that renders any land beautiful and lovely, is still the land which the wickedness and avarice of man, by the means of piracy and robbery, by war and plunder, have subjected it to misery and suffering. Being placed on the outside of Europe, its solitary position rendered it the object coveted by all the neighboring countries, savage and civilized, to despoil and subjugate it—not to well govern it, but to plunder it, to render it tributary, and to tax it. This was the course pursued by the Saxons, the Danes, the Scandinavians, and finally by the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. It is no wonder then it was often the scene of oppression, misery and suffering, until modern civilization and better development of

Christianity have recently come to its relief. Still the people, by their own natures and the laws of humanity, were deserving a better fate.

It has been stated that the original inhabitants of Ireland, so far as history can determine, were a portion of the Celtic people of Gaul denominated the *Gaels* or ancient Celts, before the arrival of the *Cymry*. It is claimed that these were first visited by a colony of *Milesians*, but whether the latter were directly from *Miletus* in Asia Minor, or from a colony of theirs in Spain, is uncertain, but it is more probable to be the latter. These occupied the south of Ireland. When the Romans came to conquer Britain, many of the Ancient Britons—*Cymry* and *Lloegrians*—fled from the conquest over to Ireland, while others pressed north into Scotland; the former became known as the *Scots*, the latter the *Picts*.

The oldest historical account we have of the Scots is a map of *Ptolemy*, an Egyptian astronomer and geographer, who flourished about A. D. 160, a hundred years or more after the Roman conquest. On his map the *Scoti* are mentioned as one portion of the people;¹ and this is in sufficient time after the Roman conquest to enable them to be a portion of the Britons who fled from the Roman oppression. The Greeks called the island *Ierne*, and the Romans *Hibernia*. The Romans made no serious attempt to conquer it; but from the time of the northern barbarians, the Saxons and Scandinavians became formidable to the Roman empire, Ireland also became an object of their cupidity and annoyance in every shape of piracy, plunder and conquest. The Anglo-Saxons also made attempts upon it, but England was never able to make a permanent footing there until the time of the Norman, Henry II, about A. D. 1172. It was about eight hundred years before the latter date and about the time that the Romans finally left Britain that St. Patrick was successful in converting the people of Ireland to Christianity; but even this time historical facts and

¹⁶ every department of literature, science and enterprise.

¹⁰ 2 Thierry's Norman Conquest, p. 318.

¹ New American Cyclopædia, Title Ireland.

antiquarian objects go to prove that the Irish had made considerable progress in civilization, probably under the guidance of a body of men similar to the druids. After Patrick's time great progress was made in Christianity, learning and the arts, and they were able to send missionaries of Christianity and learning to other parts of Europe, as Columba to Scotland, and Columbanus to the continent; and as to Ereginus or Duns Scotus, one of the most learned and talented men of the middle age and patronized at Paris as the most renowned schoolman of that day, it is questioned whether he came from Ireland or Scotland; but it made no difference which, for he was in either case a representative of the same people.

From the fourth to the eighth century the people of Ireland were successful in making great progress in civilization; and it was during this period that they built those high round towers so common in various parts of Ireland, which are now and have been for a long time in ruins; and to the same period is assigned the erection of numerous castles, now also in ruins. Not only do these relics of antiquity attest to their progress in the arts, but the remains of their literature in prose, poetry and history sustain their claims to civilization. But towards the close of the eighth century that same cloud of desolation which darkened Europe cast its malignant shade over Ireland. The barbarians came also there, as Danes and Norwegians, and in the course of three hundred years did what they could to plunder and destroy the prosperity of the country, as was done in the rest of Western Europe; and all evidence of the progress that they had made—their architecture, their numerous churches and monasteries devoted to Christianity, were all, during those disastrous times, cast to ruins, and the country thrown back many centuries in its course of civilization and improvement. The barbarians came and departed, for a time, in casual and desultory expeditions to rob, plunder and destroy; the most effectual method to destroy a country and ruin a people. After a while there was more method

and design in the injuries committed by these enemies of the country. They then took various towns and held them as their own, subjecting the people in various ways to their own interest. These invaders took such possession of Dublin and other towns that at length an effort was made to expel these injurious and pestiferous invaders, and the Irish rallied under their king in chief, Brian or Boroimhe, and in 1014 a great battle ensued, memorable in the annals of Ireland as the battle of Clontarf, fought in the immediate vicinity of Dublin, in which the Irish were eminently victorious; but no success would finally prevent the return of the barbarians. In this condition of war, dilapidation of improvements and deterioration of the country, the people of Ireland remained until the time of Henry II, as above stated. In the meantime, in consequence of these invasions of the barbarians and pirates, the country and people retrograded; none could tell when an enemy would fall upon them, their houses or town laid in ashes, themselves stripped of their property, and fortunate if they barely saved their lives. Such were the misfortunes and injuries to which Ireland succumbed and to which all Western Europe, in that age of barbarian conquest, had yielded. No wonder, then, that during the three or four hundred years from the eighth century to the time of Henry II, these hostilities had reduced the Irish and their fair island to that state of semi-barbarism in which they were found and which characterized their former invaders. These had annihilated that civilization, progress and improvement which followed the mission of St. Patrick, and for three or four hundred years had so astonishingly improved the island and its people; and which would have grown up into a splendid civilization of its own if those barbarians and pagans who invaded them had permitted it. It is contrary to every principle of human progress to contend that the character of the Irish was such that the literature they had cultivated, and the learned men they had sent to Germany, France and Italy² to teach as the most

² Such men as Columbanus, Eregina, and others.

learned of the age, could not have produced in Ireland that civilization which characterized the Celts in France and elsewhere in their better days, in case they had been let alone and permitted to do so.

The history of Ireland in her happy days, when she was permitted to work out her own civilization, before the barbarian had ruined her prosperity, is thus happily and truthfully condensed, though, by an unfriendly witness to Celtic injustice. Upon the death of Edwin of Northumbria, in 634, a reaction took place with the Anglo-Saxons—Christianity was expelled and paganism restored to the Saxons in England. Then says the historian: "It was not the church of Paulinus which nerved the Christian to the struggle for the cross. Paulinus had fled from Northumbria, and the Roman church in Kent shrunk before the heathen reaction. Its place in the conversion of England was taken by missionaries from Ireland. To understand the change we must remember that before the landing of the English in Britain the Christian church comprised every country, save Germany, in Western Europe, as far as Ireland itself. The conquest of Britain by the pagan English thrust a wedge of heathendom into the heart of this great communion, and broke it into two unequal parts. On the one side Italy, Spain and Gaul, whose churches owned obedience to the See of Rome; on the other the church of Ireland. But the condition of the two portions of Western Christendom was very different. While the vigor of Christianity in Italy and Gaul and Spain was exhausted in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, which then remained unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy such as it has never known since. Christianity had been received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprung up rapidly in its train. The science and biblical knowledge which fled from the continent took refuge in famous schools which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the west. The new Christian life soon beat too strongly to brook confinement within the bounds of Ireland itself. Patrick, the first mission-

ary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling upon the Christian world. Irish missionaries labored among the Picts of the Highlands and among the Fresians of the Northern Seas. An Irish missionary, Columban, founded monasteries in Burgundy and the Apennines. The canton of St. Gall still commemorates in its name another Irish missionary before whom the spirit of flood and fell fled wailing over the waters of the Lake of Constance. For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race, that Roman and German had swept before them, had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mold the destinies of the churches of the west."³

And so, undoubtedly, it would have done if barbaric invasions and heathen conquest had not prevented and subverted it. Christianity was then under Celtic auspices, on the highway to a better and purer development in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, than the church of Rome itself afforded, and without its corruption. But, however that may be, this history of what the Irish accomplished for themselves in that age is truly evidence of what the Irish are capable of when they have a fair chance, unmolested by rude invaders. How completely too, does this history refute the usual assertion of Irish enemies, and Celt haters, that the Irish by character and nature were savages and incapable of civilization and refinement: and this should remind the Anglo-Saxons of the character that the Normans gave them, when similarly situated, by the injustice and oppression put upon them by the Norman conquest. Man is the creature of circumstances, and it makes great difference with him whether he is in the ascendance of the ruler, or in the depressed condition of an oppressed and injured subject. But this is a lesson too often forgotten by the former class.

The prosperity of Ireland, just described,

3 Green's History of the English People, p. 57—8.

continued for more than two hundred and fifty years, and it is supposed that it was the Anglo-Saxons who first disturbed it. In 683, Egfrid, king of Northumbria, sent his general, with an army, into Ireland; and, says Bede,⁴ "miserably wasted that harmless nation, which had always been most friendly to the English." The ravages committed by this expedition, were most disastrous, for they not only plundered and destroyed a large tract of the country, but wantonly destroyed an innumerable number of churches and monasteries. On the return of the army, the king, elated with its success, made an expedition against the Scots, who led him into an ambush, where he was slain with the greatest part of his army. "He refused to listen," says Bede, "to the advice of his friends, not to attack the Scots, who had done him no harm." Some time after this, the Danes and Northmen, and other pirates and freebooters, commenced their depredations on Ireland, and continued them until they had reduced the unfortunate country into that deplorable condition in which Henry II found it. This monarch, like his kinsman of that age, sought every opportunity of war upon the neighboring people, to plunder and subject them, thought the Irish, a proper subject for his purpose, he obtained the sanction of Pope Hadrian IV, for his wicked purposes. This alliance between the king and the Pope, was under the pretence of civilizing the Irish, and bringing them in subjection to the Romish Church. Notwithstanding this authority of the Pope, the king delayed the expedition for some years on account of his engagement elsewhere. In the meantime, one of the provincial kings of Ireland had been expelled, as he probably deserved, by the name of Dermot. He came over to Britain, soliciting aid to recover his lost possession. He engaged in the enterprise two of those Norman wolves, who had been preying upon Wales in the same manner. The one, Richard de Clare, as Earl of Pembroke, and the other, Robert Fitz Stephens, constable of Cardigan. These collected a

small force of their retainers, and passed over to Ireland for a conquest. They were successful as they were unwelcome and unexpected to the Christian people of Ireland. Dermot profited by his betrayal and treachery to his country; and it was accomplished by the same policy always pursued by the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans, and by every plundering scamp from that time to this: to aid the exile and disaffected, and thereby divide the people and conquer them. This success of his men excited the jealousy of Henry, and he repaired thither in person, with additional force. He soon succeeded in establishing his authority satisfactorily in the southeast part of Ireland, from Dublin to Cork; and returned to England, leaving his dominion in Ireland in the hands of Richard de Clare, known as "Strong-bow." From this time Ireland was never able to extricate itself, from either the clutches of England, or those of the Church of Rome. Their hollow pretence that it was their object to civilize and improve the Irish, only renders their conduct more hypocritical and wicked. Ireland stood in no need of their aid for that purpose; the people by their genius and talents were able to do that for themselves: and raise themselves again to their former high position as to Christianity and civilization, in case they were let alone by their enemies, who came solely to plunder them, and to raise taxes and tribute. From that time Ireland became the field for every poor politician or nobleman to seek a fortune for himself, and plunder and gain for his government. During the existence of the Norman dynasty, the Irish endured hard government with little or no change, with continual oppression and injustice.

The English government were continually sending people to Ireland to become their rulers, to take from them their property and land; and to impose upon them as their feudal lords and holders of manors. Previous to this conquest, the land belonged in common to the tribe, and its products went to the tenants, except what was granted to the chiefs for their support. When the Anglo-Saxons and Normans came, the land was taken under feudal ten-

4 B. iv, ch. 26, p. 223.

ures, divided up into manors and granted to the feudal lords. This change was terribly oppressive upon the Irish people; and this change their oppressors pretended was civilization, and that their former just and humane laws were mere savage customs: and this judicious and just discrimination between one and the other system of laws, has pretty generally been kept up ever since. But such discrimination and justice are what is generally given by the conqueror to his subjects,—that justice given by the wolf to the lamb.

The English army was kept up in Ireland to enforce these oppressions and exactions. From time to time large emigrations from England, Wales, and Scotland were encouraged to settle in Ireland, and large tracts of land, taken from the native proprietors, was conferred upon them; and every opportunity and advantage taken to use the weak, the traitorous, and the faithless against their own country. During the Norman rule this hard and oppressive government was kept upon them, and the consequent uneasiness, remonstrance, and war; and there remained for the unhappy people little or no peace or justice. The Anglo-Saxons were now aiding the Normans in fixing upon the Irish that very system of oppression, rapine, and plunder which they themselves endured and complained of, against the Normans at the time of the conquest; much the same charges of savage ignorance, and want of refinement made against them.

Upon the death of Richard III, and the accession of Tudor, the Irish during his dynasty experienced somewhat a better day and government. It was the policy of the Tudors to cultivate peace and conciliation, instead of that of power and oppression. Henry Tudor had witnessed and experienced in his native land—in Wales, where he was born and reared—the difference between the two systems, and accordingly sympathized upon the subject. He wished, as far as possible, for each country to govern itself under the union, and work out its own salvation. But this did not suit the avarice and ambition of the Anglo-Norman lords, by whom he was surround-

ed. When Henry, to conciliate the natives of Ireland, had appointed the Earl of Desmond, a native, his Lord Deputy of Ireland, a number of his retainers, who expected it for themselves or friends, remonstrated, and, as usual, urged the assumed vicious character of the Irish, and the necessity of a strong and oppressive government there. "Why," said they, "if Desmond is appointed he will rule as he pleases, and all Ireland cannot govern him." But Henry was not to be driven from his policy and wisdom, chastened by experience in adversity, and answered the caviling by saying: "If all Ireland cannot govern Desmond, then Desmond shall govern all Ireland."

After the death of Elizabeth, the Tudor policy was neglected, and the old Anglo-Norman policy revived for the government of Ireland. James I. and Charles I., alike oppressed the people of the Green Island. These monarchs favored Protestantism with peculiar notions of their own; they favored Presbyterianism, and opposed if not hated Catholicism, and were determined to enforce their views in matters of religion, as well as their power in matters of civil government, upon the Irish. This rendered matters still worse, for their oppression still continued, and it gave them another occasion to oppose and hate the English. The Catholic priests took advantage of it, and made their people the more intensified Catholics than ever. They would say to them: "These English, Scotch, and Welsh came here only to rob and oppress you; they not only rob you of your property, but would deprive you of your religion; they not only strip you of your property, but deprive you of your hopes of heaven. They are your most deadly enemies, both in this world and that which is to come. We are your friends; and though you are here injured and oppressed, we will lead you to that world which is full of peace, love, and justice." These made the Catholics more numerous, and intensified their opposition and hatred of the English government.

In the fore part of the reign of Charles I., that extraordinary man and tyrant,

Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a man of great ability, genius, and executive talent, but with all, embodied as much tyranny as was ever embraced by any proud and haughty vice-gerent. He was rude and overbearing, but eloquent and winning when he chose to be; and had as little sympathy for humanity as any Saxon ever brought to rule over his fellow man. He went to Ireland, and his system of government, both at home and in Ireland, he denominated "thorough;" that is, it was thorough in producing oppression and implicit obedience. Though he possessed eloquence, he was a rough and rude man; yet he could be plausible, hypocritical, and pretentious. He once, in his early life, assumed to be a leading republican, but when he found he could not win his sovereign, he became the most devoted loyalist; but his wavering principles, his love of power and tyranny eventually brought his head to the block, as it might well do for every such politician. In Ireland he organized a most *thorough* government of absolute power, with a regular army and a due system of revenue for its support; by means of which he brought all Ireland in subjection to English rule, which probably was never before attained. Up to about this time the rule in Ireland was divided between the then English conquest and the jurisdiction of the native government. The extent of the former was denominated "within the pale;" which at various times greatly varied, dependent upon the vigor with which the government was able to maintain itself. This produced a continual conflict, and consequent disturbance between the people and their foreign government; that was so organized as to subserve the interests of the English government, and those sent them to rule, and not that of Ireland and its people. This kept up continual animosity and prejudice between the people and those who governed them; and utterly forbid any reconciliation between them: as is ever the case in any government thus administered.

At several times and occasions the English government, under strong prejudice

and antipathies against the Irish people, attempted to produce a change of character by colonizing it with English, Scots and Welsh, and for this purpose land was taken, confiscated and applied, under pretense of rebellion or sedition, and the native inhabitants removed or slaughtered in such districts. Instead of conciliation and peace, it became a strife and conflict between the races. It had the appearance of an attempt to exterminate the Celt, and supply his place with what was denominated Anglo-Saxon. But the object of these measures was not always a success. Frequently the colonist, under the observation of so much oppression and injustice, became more of a Celt than English; and sympathized with the sufferer. In the time of Richard II., laws were passed to prevent such changes and sympathies against the government. They forbade any man of English blood to adopt the Irish language, name, or dress. It was treason for such person to marry a person of Irish blood; and it then seemed almost as though at that time, the Irish were not entitled to the principles of humanity. But these cruel times passed off as intolerable, and the law became a dead letter. After a while the English complained, that instead of their being able to make the Irish as English, the English there were becoming Irish, in customs, manners, and language. Even this was the case with the great Anglo-Norman families, who had become the lords of the land, as the Geraldines, the Fitz Stephens, and the De Veres, and others, were becoming Irish, and adopting Irish names, as McPhillips, McMahan, or McWilliams; while the natives were resisting that oppression, which sought to compel them to become what the enemies were. They were elements that could have easily been molded into fusion and consolidation by benefits and kindness; but would be resisted when attempted in blind haste, by compulsion. This was characteristic of the Celts, if not that of the best part of the human race. The Britons, Tacitus represents, readily adopted the improvements and civilization of the Romans, when kindly treated; easily led, but hard to be

driven. There was a hostile difference between the principles of conquest of the Romans and that of the Anglo-Saxons: the former always permitted their conquered people to retain for themselves their laws, customs, and language; and govern themselves in local matters, so they submitted to their sovereignty as the necessary paramount rule; and peaceably pay their tribute and taxes. But the Anglo-Saxons everywhere required a hasty change of laws, customs, and language. This produced an irreconcilable hostility, especially when the unjust and oppressive feudal laws were proposed, instead of the equitable and humane Irish tenure laws, which, in feudal tenures, were so very objectionable, and long since abandoned by the English themselves; but everything Irish was then, by the prejudices of the Anglo-Saxons, denominated, "savage." These unfavorable operations of the government kept up a hostility, instead of creating an assimilation and fusion between the two races. The fact that the old Anglo-Saxon settlers were becoming Irish, was strong evidence in favor of the latter, that they possessed something favorable and inviting in their character; for the tendency of mankind is to adopt that which is an improvement, instead of that which is a deterioration. These Anglo-Saxons were attracted by the gentleness of character and sociability of the natives, and felt an irresistible tendency to assimilate with the conquered; to become Irish, and to adopt their manners, language, and dress. They admitted the Irish to their society and confidence, and acquired a taste for their songs and poetry. As was often the case, that the Anglo-Saxon conquerors and settlers were becoming assimilated to the conquered. All this the English government, and their officers in Ireland, looked upon as being very objectionable; and denominated it, a *degeneration*. They adopted strenuous measures and laws to counteract it, and required a substitution of the English language and dress, and even a change in the cut of the hair. A non-compliance with these severe and arbitrary measures were severely punished. Such laws and meas-

ures were not at all times equally adopted and rigorously enforced: dependent upon the character of the times, and that of the viceroys and officers sent them to rule. Sometimes even the severity and tyranny of the laws caused them to be disregarded, and rendered them obsolete. The very rigor of these laws tended to produce a different result from that which they were intended.

The reign of the Tudors had been generally more favorable to the Irish, though that of Henry VIII was here, as elsewhere, that of a master spirit. He introduced Protestantism into Ireland with as much quiet and submission as elsewhere; and the rule of the Catholic church and the monasteries were as completely subverted to the interest of the Reformation in Ireland as in England: and it is probable that had the Anglo-Saxon government continued to have been kind and conciliatory to the Irish, they would have as decidedly adopted Protestantism as they had in Scotland and England. But subsequent severity aggravated the hostility and opposition of Ireland to the Anglo-Saxon rule; and by that means Catholicism was revived and fixed in the minds of the people as their only friend and hope; when under a more parental and conciliatory government it would have been otherwise.

During Cromwell's time the people of Ireland became uneasy, and divided upon the questions which divided and agitated the English. Cromwell came to Ireland with a large veteran army, and, with his usual vigor and cruel measures, reduced the island to his subjection. The effect of these measures had but a few years to pass over before they were greatly aggravated by the war there, between James II and William III. This war was principally founded upon matters of religion, and the Catholic elements rallied around James, as those of the government and Protestantism did around William; and this involved them in a fierce war, exciting the irrepressible questions of patriotism, conquest and religion. The war and circumstances were unfavorable to the Irish, as it might be expected, with the power that William con-

trolled, with his veteran troops, against the inexperienced and undisciplined Irish. These untoward events for the unhappy island, only increased their irreconcilable hostilities, in which was involved the exciting questions of patriotism and religion, and established the unhappy party division of Catholics and Orangemen. This produced an intense opposition and hatred between the parties; and gave the Catholics a better opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the Irish, especially the lower class, and satisfy them that the English were their inveterate enemies; and the Catholic church their true and only friend, upon whom alone they could build any hopes for the future, either in this world, or that to come. This gave the Catholic priests a wonderful command over the people, which, under the circumstances, was not to be wondered at, but should be considered as their natural consequences, instead of its being a national characteristic, or that of the race.

From the time of the war of the English Restoration to that of A. D. 1798 and 1803,—from the battle of the Boyne to the defeat of the Dublin insurrection, in the latter year,—a period of one hundred and twelve years, Ireland endured every degree of political wrong and mismanagement, which would or could degrade and discourage a people: a bad government, political disfranchisement and oppression, and religious intolerance. If the country, during that time, were unable to exhibit the improvement and progress that characterized the rest of the British empire, it is not so much to be wondered, as that Irish industry, perseverance, and endurance enabled them to survive it. It made but little difference with Ireland whether its unfortunate government were in the hands of the expiring house of Stuart, or that of the Guelphs, the Irish was sure to receive no other care or protection, but such as is rendered by the wolf to the flock. The insurrection of the latter years referred to, was brought about by the hopes the people had of relieving themselves of so intolerable a government, and thus secure their independence and freedom. This was excited

by the success of the American revolution⁵ and the inspiration of the French revolution. France and Spain were ever encouraging such insurrection, with the promise of efficient aid, but always deceived them with an insufficient support, which only brought the unfortunate island into further difficulties, and the people left to meet and battle the consequent misfortunes by themselves. The result was that, for this long time the state of the country and government was going from bad to worse, until all was controlled by the English government from abroad, and a few Anglo-Irish Protestant families at home; while four-fifths of the inhabitants were entirely excluded from all participation in the government. While they were thus robbed of their freedom, everything was done to subject their interest, labor, and commerce to that of England.

The unhappy condition of the country is thus described by no unfriendly hand to Anglo-Saxon rule:⁶ "The history of Ireland, from its conquest by William III, up to this time, is one which no Englishman can recall, without shame. Since the surrender of Limerick, every Catholic Irishman, and there were five Catholics to every Protestant, had been treated as a stranger and a foreigner in his own country. The members of parliament, the magistracy, all corporate officers in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Catholics. Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the successive revolts of the island, and oppressive laws forced even these few, with few exceptions, to profess Protestantism. Necessity, indeed, had brought about a practical toleration of their religion and their worship; but in all social and political matters the native Catholics, in other words, the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water, to their Protestant masters, who still looked on themselves as mere settlers, who boasted of their Scotch

⁵ Green's History of the English People, p. 772.

or English extraction, and who regarded the name of Irishman as an insult. But small as was this Protestant body, one-half of it fared little better as far as power was concerned, than the Catholics; for the Presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the Ulster settlers, were shut out by law from all civil, military, and municipal offices. The administration and justice of the country were thus kept rigidly in the hands of members of the Established Church, a body which comprised about one-twelfth of the population of the island; while its government was practically monopolized by a few great Protestant landowners." Such was the condition of the Irish people until after the union of 1801; and if it be asked, why did not the people rebel and throw off such oppressive and unjust a government? one may as well ask, why the Anglo-Saxons did not do so to the oppressive Norman government? or the Britons that of the Saxon, or Roman? There are many reasons: the robber succeeds to rob his victim because he takes him unawares or unprepared. The hopes of the invaders are always greater than those who act on the defensive; and their preparation and discipline are always greater: then they are always supported and reinforced from whence they came, or they are not successful; and when once successful they possess greatly the advantage to retain their possession. These matters are regulated by fixed and inevitable laws of nature; and not that a just God favors one people more than another, or that he uses these horrible wars and oppressions to accomplish any of his just purposes. These are the works of a wicked and unjust man, and he alone is responsible for them; and a just and righteous God will bring them to a retribution, according to fixed laws and the ways of Providence.

The interference of the English government with the progress and prosperity of Ireland was not only with its political and social happiness, but also with its industry and economical prosperity. Laws were passed to compel the Irish people to change their industrious pursuits, to abandon certain enterprises or manufactures, so that

they might not come in competition with English interest. Thus was Ireland, for a long time, kept in a slavish subordinate condition to the interest of their masters; and this will fully account for the low and humble condition in which a large portion of the Irish people have been found: out of which under a more liberal and righteous government, and fairer opportunities, these active and industrious people are fast retrieving themselves, both at home and abroad.

In the course of time there arose a minister of the English government, who had studied, and well understood, the action and character of the Irish government; and was determined, as far as lay in his power, to correct it. This was William Pitt, the younger. He was determined to give peace, and conciliation to the people of Ireland with a just and good government. One of his first objects was to bring about an universal toleration in matters of religion, and emancipate the Catholic; but when this came to the ears of George III, his stupid and bigoted head forbade it. Although he was, therefore, unable to accomplish all he intended for the good government and conciliation of Ireland, he did much. While the rule of the island was confined to the persons and party in whose hands it was then confided, Pitt had no confidence in a fair and honest legislation of the Irish parliament; he, therefore, produced measures by which that parliament was abolished, and both countries united under one government and parliament; and the whole country, England, Scotland, and Ireland, was declared to be united in one Union, and denominated the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; each having a proportion of members in the House of Commons,—their common parliament, and each country subject only to a fair proportion of the common taxation necessary for the support of the whole. This was a beneficent measure for Ireland, and the whole country; it made parliament not the parliament of England only, but that of the United Kingdom: that of Ireland as well as of England and Scotland; and it gave hopes to Ireland, with its large representa-

tion in parliament, that they would eventually be able to obtain a good government, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity. This was accomplished in 1801; and since that time much has been done to improve the government, and improve the condition of the Irish people. The Catholics have been emancipated; the Church of England has been separated from the government, and placed on the same principles of right as other churches: thus giving a general toleration in matters of religion; and the people generally enfranchised as those of England.

While England had thus entirely changed her mode and principles of governing Ireland, the Irish people had been so ruthlessly treated, by a bad government and oppressive tyranny, that they had lost all faith in English justice, and hopes of any better government from it, that the patriotic people continued their efforts for independence and freedom. These efforts were led by some of the best men of Ireland, and with talent and skill; but the English government anticipated the movement before it was matured. It culminated in 1803, and the patriots were effectually defeated in battle at Vinegar Hill, near Wexford; which involved the death or exile of many of the best men of Ireland, among whom were Robert Emmett and his family, and others,—as talented and patriotic as are to be found in any country; but the powers and resources of England were against them, and their conquest was inevitable.

But now, since Ireland is admitted into the Union, upon equal terms with the other countries, with the assurance they are to have conciliation and justice instead of war, oppression, and injustice, it may and must be the true and inevitable interest of the people of Ireland to cling to the Union, and insist only upon equal and even-handed justice. Let that portion of the English who so vainly pride themselves, without knowing who they are, upon being a purely Anglo-Saxon race, cease to treat Irishmen with that unjust and bigoted contempt, which "would regard the name of an Irishman as an insult," and a Celt as contemptuous. These will well bear comparison

with the character given by the Normans of the Anglo-Saxons, which they themselves admitted to be true, but excused by saying that they were habits and manners acquired from the Danes. Let such unjust national reproaches cease; and when due and just allowance is given to circumstances, there will be left much to be admired in both the Anglo-Saxons and Irish. The latter is impulsive, but his impulses are oftener for good than evil. Under the inspiration of Father Matthew, he could sacrifice his enjoyment to the cause of temperance. Under the call of the "United Irishmen," or the "Association for the Union," he would drop his antipathies and injuries for the call of duty and patriotism, any selfish interests or desires are at once sacrificed for the calls of kindred or humanity. His heart is ever open to the impulses of every good, and never hardened to the reproaches of the want of duty, or of crime. Calumny and reproaches between two such races as the Teuton and Celt,—the two best races of men—is at once an evidence in the individual of the want of a due discrimination, and a proper sense of justice. Kindness conquers them to submission, but injury and oppression rouses them to indignity. A just cause, or a good object, will induce them to drop their bigotry or resentment. The evidence of this is well told by a foreign historian:⁶ "The men whom the Irish Union acknowledged as their superior chiefs, were of various origin and religion: Arthur O'Connor, who, in the popular opinion, was descended from the last king of Ireland; Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, whose name connected him with the old Norman family of the Fitz-Geralds; Father Quigley, an Irishman by birth, and a zealous papist; Theobald Wolf-Tone, a lawyer of English origin, professing the philosophical opinions of the eighteenth century. Priests of every religion were members of the society; in general, they filled the high stations, but

⁶ Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, p. 339; founded upon the authority of Sir R. Musgrave, who was "one of the agents of the government in the troubles of 1798, and indeed prejudiced against the Irish, but his very partiality more fully confirms all the facts he relates to their advantage."

there was no jealousy among them, or distrust of the skeptical doctrines of some of their associates. They urged their parishioners to read much and variously, and to form reading clubs at the houses of the schoolmasters, or in the barns. Sometimes ministers of one religion were seen preaching in the church of another; an auditory composed half of Catholics and half of Calvinists, listening with earnest attention to the same sermon, then receiving at the church door a distribution of some political philosophical tracts." This would be a fair description of what we have frequently witnessed in free America, and such a peaceable scene is a natural production of a free and generous government; and hostility, bigotry, and oppression that of a tyrannical government.

It is, therefore, vain to contend that the Irish are incapable, as some of their enemies do, of a peaceable, civilized government, free from bigotry and lawlessness. What has been just said, and their position in America proves the contrary, and that would be the case with them, wherever a tyranny and bad government did not produce the contrary. What, to contend that such men as Burke, Sheridan, Castlereagh, O'Connell, Palmerston, and Carns, men who triumphantly led in the House of Commons; and also such men as Wellington, General Evans, Goldsmith, or Moore, are incapable of good government and of civilization and progress? That would be preposterous! But since Pitt's time there has been great progress in good government. The English people begin to see the great mistake they have committed, and the injustice they have done to unhappy Ireland. For some years the parliament of the Union have been endeavoring to reform and restore the government of Ireland to just and equitable principles, founded on Christian conciliation and peace. Not only has Ireland progressed in making such improvement in governmental and civil affairs, but in the mean time has accomplished great amelioration in the social condition of her people. In former times, by the confiscation and transfer of the real property of the country, from the natives and

resident owners, to those of Britain, in vast estates, the people and country thereby became impoverished; there was no accumulation of wealth, and the fertility of their land went to enrich other people. Out of this arose innumerable other injuries and oppressions. Of this the British parliament has become well aware, and of late with a Christian generosity have done much to relieve these just complaints. Much has been done to encourage and foster the return of the real property to actual residents; and thereby rid the country of a set of official harpies, who preyed upon the country as middle men, between the absent landlord and the unfortunate tenant. These measures are a happy relief, and efficient means in restoring the country to a natural and prosperous condition.

Besides, the British parliament, with a view of restoring to the Green Isle her just due and just capacity for improvement, have made a large appropriation for draining and reclaiming a large amount of her most fertile lands which in a state of nature were covered with water. These returns of natural rights, accompanied with such generous amends for errors and injuries past, give to the Irish a well-founded hope, after centuries of oppression and injustice, that they and their country are now restored to that happy state of prosperity and wealth that God, and a generous nature, intended for them. Not only at home, in the midst of oppression and adversity, have Irishmen sustained their capacity for the higher pursuits of civilization, as statesmen, warriors, poets, authors, and philosophers, but in foreign countries, when relieved of the former oppression of their own, have they sustained a capacity and position equal to the best; as in America, in France, and in Spain: wherever a free competition is opened to them, for the exercise of their sprightliness, their wit, their industry, and capacity for all the industrial pursuits. In America and France has their gallantry been fully tested, when at home, circumstances would not admit of a fair test: as witness the gallantry of the brigades of Irish exiles in the French service, at the bloody battle of Fontenoy: and what Christian country is there

that does not bear testimony to the merits and capacity of Irishmen, or their descendants, and their renown?

CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSION OR EPILOGUE.

In considering the history of the Ancient Britons, I was led to inquire how far their blood now formed the basis of the present population of Britain. I was surprised to find such conflicting opinions on the subject: Some with bigoted bitterness denying that the Ancient Briton or Celt formed any part of the English people; that the Celts were aliens to them in "blood and religion;" and every opportunity was taken to express their opposition to the claim and contempt for the idea. Not only was the relation denied, but the Celt was calumniated and traduced, and the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon lauded and exalted at his expense. It was this which first led me to inquire into its history as a matter of truth and science, and to ascertain its credibility and truthfulness; and my history is the result of it.

But I found upon investigation that this bigoted opinion was confined to only a class of the English people, and generally to those who knew the least upon the subject, or at least of their own lineage and extraction; for such were the least restrained in dressing up in their imagination as they pleased the virtues and greatness of their unknown or forgotten ancestors. Why people should be so very desirous of connecting their ancestry with a people whose very origin in history was that of pirates and plunderers, whose ferocious and savage habits and manners¹ were in keeping with their former residence in the swamps and wilderness at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eider—so far from the center of civilization, or, as Cæsar suggests, because so far from Rome—one is at a loss to imagine, unless it be that ignorance gives free vent to the imagination and distance adds charms to the fancy.

But why such enmity and hatred upon the subject? It is, in fact, only a question

of history,—of truth and science; and wherever that places it, let it stand, wherever that may be. It is very natural, it is true, for those who are conscious that they or their ancestors have injured another, to hate and despise those they have wronged. A robber always hates those he has robbed, and never has a good word for them; he is desirous that his robbery may, in some way, be justified, or forgotten, or excused. But the present Englishman who conceives himself to be a pure descendant of the Saxon, and of unquestioned lineage, is not at all responsible for any injury the Saxons may have done the Britons: for that is too long passed; the descendants of both nationalities have been too long commingled and intermixed, and long since have become fellow-subjects, fellow-citizens, of the same country. As to pedigree and ancestry, that has become a mere question of history and science.

But as to the term, hatred, which, if it exists, is so unjustifiable, pardon me, if I refer to a few facts to show its existence. Prof. Arnold speaks of Celtic hatred as having an undoubted existence; and to no other principle can those instances, to which we refer, be attributed. This class of Englishmen, who thus laud the Saxon and hate the Celt, are relatively few, though widely spread over the British Dominion and America,² and should, therefore, be pardoned; for this development of character may be a constitutional defect which they can no more help than insanity, for which they are not responsible. Besides the other and opposing class of Englishmen are fast increasing, as evidenced by the works of Sharon Turner, Mathew Arnold, and others.

This opposition and fanaticism has produced "a body of men in Britain and America, who, in politics and in literature proclaim the merits of the *great Anglo-Saxon* race, and foresee for it an almost universal ascendancy over the world. * * * * They call the British Empire an Anglo-Saxon empire; and the United States an

¹ See for character of the Saxons 1 Hume's History, p. 177; also ante, B. iii, ch. —.

² See New Amer. Cyclopaedia, Title, Anglo-Saxon.

Anglo-Saxon confederation;"³ and all this with little or no regard to historical facts. These usually go through a formula, as the basis of their theory, that "when the Saxons came to Britain they "slaughtered all the ancient Britons, who did not flee to the mountains of Wales," so that they had a new country free from other races; and, as the result, a pure Anglo-Saxon race. However heartless this theory may be, their conclusion would be right if their premises were true; but it is thought that it has been shown to be palpably untrue;⁴ and many of the best-informed English writers most decidedly support this latter opinion.⁵ These opponents of the British claim, and advocates of an exclusive Anglo-Saxon elements of their race, are more or less virulent in their claim. Their object seems to be to ignore, to exclude and abolish everything connected with the history of the country; they admit that the Romans were once there, but they had left: that a few of the Britons were left, but of them who did not flee, all were slaughtered and exterminated; and they were so very uncultivated and savage-like, that the Saxons were justified in the cruelty of exterminating them. All this is built up by ignoring and falsifying the facts and

circumstances of history, more glaringly than anywhere else found in the literature of our races. Gibbon has no other words for Britain or Britons, than those of degradation and despair; to the Romans she was "the last province acquired, and the first to be thrown away:" with little or no remorse, he tells us, that "the Saxons, who hated the valor of their enemies, disdained the faith of treaties, and violated without remorse, the most sacred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood: the last of the Britons, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred in the ruins of Anderida;⁶ and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon Heptarchy."⁷ Still, he reminds us that "the love of plunder was more natural than the inspiration of ambition." And every object of veneration and pride to a true Briton that may be possibly controverted, is denied them with a zest; upon any pretext or slightest evidence. Maximus, Constantine, the Briton Helena, and every one, are made natives of Spain or any place, rather than they should be the natives of Britain.

Hume, too, though usually kind to the Britons, must have a fling at them, and call them, "the abject Britons;" an epithet which should never be applied to a Briton, of whatever race he might be, especially to those brave Britons who so valiantly defended their country and freedom, from the time of Cæsar to that of Edward I; but it might still be a question whether that epithet was as applicable to the ancient Britons, as to those who, upon the event of one battle, subjected themselves to the rule of William the Norman. At least, we might suppose that a representative of the brave Scots might spare the word, "abject," as applied to the Britons, while writing the history of the Saxons.

Though such partial and unjust remarks in this connection, so frequently found in

3. Ibid, ut supra.

4. See Ante B. —. C. —. §. —.

5. Pidgeon's A. S. p. 38-40, p. 50-58; on p. 71, it is said: "The political subjugation of the country did not necessarily lead to the total expulsion of the British tribes. * * * * The British peasantry continued to dwell upon the soil, though the domain was transferred to the lords." See also Latham's *Ethnology of the British Islands*, who has fully studied this subject, and in page 259, says: "Kelts, Romans, Germans, and Scandinavians supply us with the chief elements of our population, elements which are mixed up with each other in numerous degrees of combinations; in so many, indeed, that in the case of the last three there is no approach to purity. However easy it may be, either among the Gaels of Connaught, or the Cambro-Britons of North Wales, to find a typical and genuine Kelt, the German, equally genuine and typical, whom writers love to place in contrast with him, is not to be found within the four seas, the nearest approach being the Frisians, of Friesland." "It is important, too, to remember that the mixture that has already taken place, still goes on; and as three pure sources of Keltic, without a corresponding spring of Gothic, blood are in full flow, the result is a slow but sure addition of Keltic elements to the so-called Anglo-Saxon stock, elements which are perceptible in Britain, and which are very considerable in America. The Gael or Briton who marries an English wife, transmits, on his part, a pure Keltic strain, whereas no Englishman can effect a similar infusion of Germanism, his own breed being more or less hybrid."

6. Ante, B. —. C. —.

7. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Ch. 38, Vol. I, P. 520.

English histories, still, seldom so glaringly as in Mr. Woodward's History of Wales; where, in almost every page, he calumniates the subject of his history: and why he should select such a subject, one is at a loss to guess, unless it was for the very purpose of doing so.

The object of this small class of English writers is, undoubtedly, to cut off all relation with the Ancient Britons, and form a new and independent basis of English history. Some have fallen into this error without considering well the subject, or what they were doing in following a matter of temporary fashion. Mr. Francis Palgrave, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, though admitting, abundantly, the mixture of the ancient Britons in the modern English, yet undertakes to represent that the Ancient Briton and his descendants, incapable of the necessary skill of a mechanic and mariner for a naval and sea-faring life; and that his *coracle* was the uttermost of his capacity.⁸ Whereas, both in ancient and modern history, we have abundant evidence of the Cymry's skill, in the mechanical arts and naval affairs, both in Britain and Brittany. Polybius and Cæsar allude to it. Constantius, in Gaul, sent to the Britons for skillful mechanics to build a town in his province. Southey informs us in his history of British Naval Affairs, that Alfred sent to Wales for men skilled in naval affairs and architecture, to aid him in building a navy to operate against the Danish invasion. Not long since I read a long article in Harper's New York Magazine, upon the great development of steam ships on the Atlantic, between Britain and this country; in which a great English steamer was selected for the subject, and its captain was a Captain Price, a native of Swansea, whose great responsibility, skill, and care would have been adequate to any naval command: and if thus directed would have filled the place of an Arthur, a Tudor, a Cromwell, or a Picton. There is no large town in the United States but what can produce evidence of the Cymry's mechanical skill and abilities for naval af-

fairs.

This history of Mr. Palgrave's was sent to me from Liverpool, and it contains some illustrations of its subject, and among them was a picture of Cæsar's first attempt to land in Britain. There was Cæsar, upon the deck of his vessel, directing the affair; the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, plunging into the sea, and calling upon his men to follow: the Britons valiantly rushing, with their weapons, to meet and oppose them; and men with horses and chariots, filling and exciting the scene. Under this was printed the subject of it: "Conflict between the Romans and the Saxons." This is in keeping with some of the information we get of British history. Though the picture represented a scene which transpired more than five hundred years before the Saxons came to Britain, I do not at all charge the fraud upon Mr. Palgrave; but the publication must have passed through the hands of those who knew better, but were willing that the fraud should pass, to create a false impression in the history of their country, upon the minds of those who were not so well-informed.

A very recent historian, the author of "A Short History of the English People," has given us a very good history, except his occasional labor to traduce and calumniate the Celts, and misplace the origin of the English people. He begins by excluding the Ancient Britons and Celts from having any participation in the formation of the present English people and government. He commences by saying: "For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. * * * The one country which bore the name of England, was what we now call Sleswick, a district in the heart of the peninsula which parts the Baltic from the Northern sea." Thus the Ancient Britons, as well as the Welsh, the Scotch, and the Irish are made entire aliens to the English people. He admits that "of the temper and life of these English folk in this old England we know little," and the "country was then but a wild waste of heather and sand, girt along the coast with sunless woodland, broken only on the western side by mead-

8. Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ch. 1, p. 4.

ows, which crept down to the marshes and the sea. * * * * The dwellers of this district were one of those tribes, * * * who bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of the league, the name of Englishmen." That there was but "little known," is true, but that gives the writer a chance to dress them up as Englishmen, the better; and as they might appear in his own imagination. Latham, in his *Ethnology of the British Islands*, after a most profound and learned investigation, for the locality and history of the Angli, comes to the conclusion that it is not to be found: but that it was not to be found in Sleswick, and if found anywhere, must have been south of the Elbe, in Hanover. So uncertain and doubtful did the learned author find the ethnic character of the Saxon invaders of Britain, as to their history and original country, that he says of them: "A Saxon population, considered without reference to date, locality, and similar important circumstances, may be in any or no ethnological relation to the Angle; this meaning those who are not only *Angles* in reality, but whose actions are described under the name of *Angle*. It is only when this is the case that we can be sure of our men. A Saxon may be anything, provided he be but a pirate." "An Englishman, representing as he does the *insular* Angles, and looking to the part *they* have played in the world, may, with either pride or regret, as the case may be, say that on their native soil of Germany, the Angle history is next to a nonentity." It is well for another, who pretends to write English history, to begin, by excluding all connection with it, of the Ancient Britons antecedent to the Saxon conquest; to have a subject of which so little or nothing is known: and of which anything may be said, except that they must not be pirates. Although that author thus carefully excludes the Briton from his history, yet their descendants are not so oblivious of his notice; nor does he neglect an opportunity of heaping upon them undeserved obliquity. Thus his account of the battle of Eversham, in which the great Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, met his last. The Earl saw, before the

battle began, that the conflict would be lost, and advised all that could do so to save themselves. A terrible slaughter ensued; and the author says that the Welsh who were engaged with Montfort, in his struggle for freedom, "fled like sheep," and were slaughtered in the cornfields and gardens, while fighting in company with the English, in Montfort's ranks. Welshmen, like other men, were sometimes compelled to flee, and sometimes slaughtered; but of all men they were least liable to be branded with the epithet of fleeing like sheep: and one would have supposed that the author could have spared that offensive epithet. But then it was hardly to be expected of an author who began his history of the English as he did.

But Macaulay thinks that the history of the "English nation did not begin" until modern times; not until the great charter of John had reconciled a people to each other by means of a free and just government. "The history of the preceding events," says Macaulay, "is the history of wrongs inflicted and sustained by various tribes, which, indeed all dwelt on English ground, but which regarded each other with an estimation such as has scarcely ever existed between communities separated by physical barriers. * * * * In no country has the enmity of races been carried farther than in England. In no country has that enmity been more completely effaced. The stages of the process by which the hostile elements were melted down into one homogeneous mass, are not accurately known to us. But it is certain that when John became king, the distinction between Saxon and Norman was strongly marked, and that before the end of the reign of his grandson it had almost disappeared. In the time of Richard the First, the ordinary imprecation of a Norman gentleman, was, 'May I become an Englishman?' His ordinary form of indignant denial, was, 'Do you take me for an Englishman?' The descendants of such a gentleman, one hundred years later, were proud of the English name."⁹

9. Macaulay's *Hist. England*, p. 12.

If it be true "that such enmity has been effaced," in England, and "the hostile elements melted down into one homogeneous mass," it is well, and a happy event; and a great moral and rational reform. It is what human progress and civilization should be. But it is to be feared that it was a reform that Macaulay, himself, did not always observe. Why were the Celts left out in the cold, when everything was made warm and comfortable for the Saxon and the Norman? Are the Welshmen, the Scotchmen, and the Irishmen no part of the people who constituted the nationality of the United Kingdom, or even of England itself? Are these, who constitute so large a portion of the British people, and who have done so much for the honor and glory of the "English name," to pass for nothing? To judge from Macaulay's history, one would suppose that was the case. He leaves no opportunity untouched, where he may laud the Saxon and calumniate the Celt. In telling the story of the Highlander, Macdonald of Keppoch, he represents that "Inverness was a Saxon colony among the Celts; a hive of traders and artisans in the midst of a population of loungers and plunderers: a solitary outpost of civilization in the region of barbarians." Now, this may be all true, for aught I know for a certainty, but I doubt it. If it were exclusively a Saxon colony, how came the place by the name of Inverness? Or the Celtic people by the designation of loungers and plunderers? for these always belonged to the Saxons, with the addition of that of pirates: or the place to be a hive of tradesmen and artisans? for that was more the characteristics of the Celts than the Saxons. For, from the earliest times, the Saxon was always associated with piracy and plunder; as the Celt, in general, has been that of an artisan, a laborer, and an honest man. I have no doubt the place was made up of a mixed population of Celts and Saxons; but among the industrious artisans, the majority, undoubtedly, were the Celtic-Scots. But Macaulay goes on to say, that on a Sunday in April, 1689, Keppoch and his Highlanders, in favor of King James II, attacked the town. "The

ravagers went round and round the small colony of Saxons like a troop of famished wolves round a sheep-fold. Keppoch threatened and blustered. He would come in with all of his men. He would sack the place. The burghers, in the meanwhile, mustered in arms around the market cross to listen to the oratory of the ministers. The day closed without an assault;" and the place was relieved. All this is said in the most obnoxious manner to the feelings of the Celt, and to the exaltation of the Saxon, at the expense of the former.

But it is not nationalities alone, that Lord Macaulay attacks and disparages, but carries it to individual personalities. He endeavors to rob Goldsmith and Ireland of their mutual right to his birth-place, and him of his high honor of being an Irishman and a Celt. I know not how much Saxon blood, if any, Goldsmith may have had in his veins, but have every reason to believe he was born in Ireland, of Irish parents; and his own character and generosity, and that of his brother, Henry, who was said to have been of a "thoughtless generosity of manner, and a quick and sensitive temper, though his anger was only momentary, and he never cherished resentments," marked them and their family as decidedly Celtic. Yet Macaulay asserts that Goldsmith was a Saxon;¹⁰ and with usual greed, he is claimed as an English author, born in Ireland, where all he had and all he possessed, was due to his nationality. This claim is usually made for all authors who write in English, whatever may be their blood,—Celt or Jew. In the same manner, Macaulay treats Sir Walter Scott, and says: "Yet, when Sir Walter Scott mentions Killiecrankie he seems utterly to forget that he was a Saxon, that he was of the same blood and of the same speech as Ramsay's foot and Annandale's horse. His heart swelled with triumph when he related how his own kindred had fled like hares before a smaller number of warriors of a different breed and of a different tongue."¹¹

I imagine that Sir Walter Scott knew best whether he was a Celt or Saxon; and

10. Macaulay's History, p. 239.

11. Macaulay's History, p. 291.

all we know of him shows that he rejoiced in being the former. It is also probable that in case he had lived to read Macaulay's history, he would have been as indignant at the manner in which his Celtic friends had been calumniated, as Hugh Miller was, who wrote an indignant pamphlet to his Lordship upon the subject; and reproached him of forgetting or ignoring his own lineage: and referred to his Lordship's grandfather (I think it was), who was himself a Celtic-Scott, a native of one of the islands of Western Scotland. But this was nothing more than a common circumstance in history, of a person ignoring his own lineage, and claiming to be an Englishman. This was the case with Lord Lyndhurst, who denounced the Celts as "aliens in blood and religion." This might be expected of a lord who was disposed to forget his lineage; for his grandfather's family were Irish emigrants from the county of Limerick, Ireland, to Boston, in the United States, where he himself was born.¹² How much Celtic blood there was in his veins, we are not exactly informed; but we must not be surprised if such a man should ignore that there was any.

These instances are lamentable and disgraceful enough; especially when used by a comparatively few persons, towards a great body of their fellow subjects, and citizens of a common country, who have done as much as any part of that population to support and maintain that common country's glory and renown. No battle has been fought, in which England rejoiced, from that of Cressy to Alma, but that in which the abused Celt has acted a generous and noble part, and aided Englishmen in their achievements, as the common property of a common country. What, is all that has been done by Welshmen, or Scotchmen, or Irishmen, in maintaining the rights and glory of Britain in the Spanish peninsula, in the Crimea, in India, at Waterloo itself, to pass for nothing; or to be paid for in unjust reproaches or abuse? These three Celtic nationalities have not only sustained their country in war and battle, but

added their full share to everything, in the literature, the art, and sciences, and the civil achievements, which Englishmen boast as their own, or as that of the United Kingdom. Whatever is achieved by a Celt, or whatever is written in the English language, is immediately claimed by those who have been denominated *Celt haters*, as English productions, and their authors as Englishmen. Such as Price, Prichard, Owens, Lewis, or Jones, born in Wales, or of acknowledged Welsh parents, and undoubted Celtic blood. Or such as the genius of Scotland has produced in a Scott, or a Burns, or a Hugh Miller, or a Reid. Or what the wit and genius of Ireland have produced; or the learning of a Burke, or the eloquence of a Sheridan, or a Curran, or an O'Connell, have added to the renown of the English parliament, or the courts: all will be claimed for English glory, in case they were not calumniated and traduced as Celts. This animosity exhibited by a part of the English people towards another portion of their fellow-countrymen, who, since the union, especially, have a common right and interest in whatever concerns the whole country—Great Britain and Ireland: and as such should be exempt from these. But, at least, it subjects their traducers to the application of an humble English proverb, "That it is a foul bird that befouls its own nest." With them it would be treason or heresy, for one to affirm that such men as Prichard, Howell, Sir Wm. Jones, Sir G. C. Lewis, Baxter, Vaughan, or any of the like names of a thousand, were Welshmen; or that Burke, Sheridan, Moore, or Goldsmith, were Irishmen; or that Ferguson, Reid, Campbell, Burns, or Thomson were Scotchmen, and all of them of a Celtic lineage: or to affirm that Shakspeare and Milton were the descendants of Celtic ancestors, and that their writings and peculiarities prove them such; yet this has been frequently* stated by the best of judges and critics.

Generally speaking, when an author writes in English, or speaks the English language fluently, he is claimed to be an Englishman, and is no longer reproached

12. Chamber's Encyclopedia, Tit. Lyndhurst.

with being a Celt, unless, like Sir Walter Scott, he will still insist upon being a Celt, and glory in the achievements of his countrymen. It would be greatly to the advantage of all, if the business and educational language of Great Britain and Ireland were that of the English language, for this is fast becoming the language of the world; and every gentleman of these three countries learns to speak English as though it was his mother tongue, and retains his Celtic speech as a dead language, as he does his Latin and Greek. The people of the Lowlands of Scotland, those of the country between the Severn and Offa's dyke, and those on the peninsula between Bristol and the British Channel, have long since adopted the English as their mother tongue; and this will now soon be the case under all the facilities now afforded for that purpose, with the residue of those countries. This will subserve their own interests, as well as those of the other parts of the whole country.

But this change of language does not change the blood of the race. The Africans of the United States, because they speak English only, do not become English, or their descendants, Aryans. A vast amount of people now speak the English language only, who are the descendants of the Ancient Britons, or the Celts, and these pass for English, though they are wholly unlike the Teutons; and the Germans say so, so unlike are they, that nothing is more common here than to hear the Germans talk of their desire to Germanize the English of America. The English language, and the English themselves, are the production of modern times; and there is little, or nothing, in either like the language or the people of the ancient Saxons. This is perfectly apparent when one examines the poem of *Cædmon* in the original, or read the description of the Saxons when the Normans came, or even in the time of Henry I.¹³

It was not until modern times that the English people and their language were formed. This did not take place, as Mac-

aulay says, until the various elements of which they and it are composed, were melted down into a new and homogeneous and composite individuality, wholly unlike their original elements, but retaining some traces and analogy of each. But the English is wholly unlike the original Saxon, the language of *Cædmon*. The mistake that English authors make in considering the English language to be identical with the Saxon, is in consequence of their taking the Anglo-Saxon of a later date, as that of Alfred, as evidence of what the Saxon was, originally. In the course of those four hundred years, the language had materially changed, by their intercourse with the Britons, so that the language of the Saxons had changed in the Anglo-Saxon of Alfred, and of subsequent times; but the great change in language was still at a later period: as it was with the people themselves, when they were still more mixed up with Danes and the Normans, of William the Conqueror, and the vast amount of Celtic-French who came with him. It was this amalgamation of races which formed the English people, and produced their modern language. The English language then began to grow, but did not acquire its full form, so as to be fully distinguished as the language of Milton, until about the time of Gower and Chaucer, a period of about a thousand years from the first advent of the Saxons. In the mean time there was a constant intercourse between the Saxons in Britain and the Britons themselves. The British army under Cadwallon, and that of the British-Saxons under Penda, were for a number of years united in their operations and war, at least two hundred years before Alfred's time; and that intercourse was ever kept up, as much as it was between Wessex and Northumbria. Marriages were going on between the two people, in their highest as well as in the lower ranks of their societies in their respective provinces. The Saxons generally came as single men, as warriors, and took for their wives the British women they chose. The rest of the population who married, cultivated the land, and manufactured for them. In

¹³. See ante, B. V, ch. ii. 1 Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.*, p. 11. 1 Hume, p. 246; also the Appendix 1.

this intercourse the English language was formed, wholly unlike the Saxon; and as much of it is due to the Britons as to the Saxons. London and its vicinity was its headquarters, from whence it spread out; and even in our own day the learned men of London, and the people of distant parts of England could hardly understand each other. Here, then, were found the fathers of the English language, and not among the Angles or Saxons who came from the Elbe or Eider. Instead of English being imported from thence to England and Scotland, it was London that sent it to Scotland and Friesland. It was carried into Scotland by James I, who had been educated in London, by Henry IV, and from his time, by other intercourse with the English, —and St. Boniface and other missionaries, carried it to Friesland. There is no other way of accounting for the similarity of the languages found in those three countries when the old Saxon was so totally unlike the English.¹⁴ This is my conjecture, which, upon a thorough examination, I doubt not will be so found. The contrary is only proved by taking the recent Saxon, modified by the English, as what the Saxon was, when it was brought over to England. England, English, and Anglo-Saxon are all modern names. Even the name of England was unknown until about the time of Athelstan, about four or five hundred years after the Saxons came.

Such were the materials out of which the English people and the English language have been formed; originally, principally Saxon and British, the growth of British soil, and not that of Germany. Since then, additional Celtic blood has been

constantly added to the original stock.¹⁵ First came the Danes and Norwegians, a very different people from the Saxons; and then came the Normans, an almost pure Celtic blood, whose fathers were only comparatively a few Norwegian soldiers, who by treaty took possession of Rouen, and then the government of the whole of Normandy, married native wives, and were in themselves in proportion to the Celtic population of the country, only one to several hundred: and to this disproportion they were constantly receiving additional Celtic stock by constant marriages with the people of Armorica. The Norman conquest greatly increased the Celtic stock of the English people. Since then other additions of pure Celtic blood have been made: 1. From the Welsh, as the Tudors, the Williams, the Jones, Evans, Owens, and others; 2. From the Scots, as the Stuarts, the Campbells, the Murrays, the Gordons, McLean, Macaulay, and others; 3. From the Irish, as the Burkes, the Sheridans, the O'Connell, O'Connor, and others; and then on the female line, constant additions were made, as in the case of Lord Palmerston, whose mother was a Miss Mee, or Meehan, a pure Celt. We are also informed that some years since, three young Irish ladies came from Ireland to London, by the name of Guning. They were most charming girls, and became stars in English society, and each became married to an English peer. In every such intermixture, the English are becoming more and more Celtic, for, says Latham, "The Gael or Briton who marries an English wife, transmits on his own part, a pure Celtic strain, whereas, no Englishman can effect a similar infusion of German, his own breed being more or less hybrid." "The process," says Macaulay, "by which these elements have been melted down into one homogeneous mass, are not accurately known to us." But we may conceive it is by the ordinary process that families are ordinarily formed; and that process is still going on.

Thus we may claim that the English people are not Teutons, but Britons slightly

14. Latham's *Ethnology of the British Islands*, p. 215, where it is said: "It is only certain that as early as the 9th century there were continental writers who attributed to the Germans of Britain, movements from the Island to the Continent, as far back from their own time as the 5th century. Now, later still, there were some historians who wholly reversed the order of Anglo-Saxon migration, and deduced the true Fatherland Germans from England." So that the English, or the resemblance of English in Friesland, is more to be attributed to their intercourse with London, than that the English people owe their language to the Saxons or the Frieslanders. This is a subject which needs a more thorough investigation. It is a cosmopolitan language, borrowed from every other, which the English have assimilated, and made it a new language of their own.

15. See ante note, this ch.

tinctured with the Saxon, but eminently interested in everything that is British, from the earliest time to the present day. The Germans themselves say that the English are not Teutons, but are a different breed. That difference must depend upon their intermixture with the Ancient Britons—the Celts; and the pure Celt more easily becomes an Englishman, than a German ordinarily can. This is proved by examination of their history,¹⁶ language, ethnology, and of their physiology, as well as of their cranium, taste and style. It is, therefore, not a question to be determined by prejudice or whim, but by investigation and science.

This question does not concern the British people alone; for it equally concerns us in America to be truly informed to what race of people we belong: and whatever character, morally and intellectually it may be. The Germans, of course, have a right to claim that they are pure Teutons. But they themselves claim that the people of the Low Lands, along the German or Northern Sea and Atlantic Ocean, from Brittany to the north of Norway, are not a pure Teutonic race, but a mixture of several races, as the Teutons, the Slaves, and the Cimbri. Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote in the 2d century of the Christian era, places the several tribes, occupying this whole coast, in his time, and this is the latest account we have until after the dark ages. He places the Cimbri at the very north end of the Cimbric Chersonesus, now Denmark. Of course, this was after that great body of Cimbri, who left near the mouth of the Elbe, many centuries before; and after those had left there, with the Teutons, to invade the Roman Empire, in the time of Marius. Those noticed by Ptolemy, were the remnants still left there, who became mixed and assimilated with the Danes and Norwegians, in conjunction with the Slaves; which will account for their differing so much from the Teutonic

racés. This association of the Danes and Norwegians with the Celtic people, shows that Rollo and his Normans were some mixed with the Cymric-Celts, when they first came to Normandy, and were more acceptable to the natives of Neustria.

The theory of the few *Celt-haters* among the English, has taken root with a few among us in America; and they have taken it upon trust, without an examination: and, like all such theories, it takes well because it is cheap, and formed to their hands without any study. They are taken by such bold assertions as that the English were free from any intermixture with the Britons, and borrowed nothing from their language, unless it be the word, *basket*; and that the Britons and Welsh were unacquainted with maritime affairs, and were only acquainted with their *coracles*. They either ignore or deny the fact that a great many Welshmen, whose names have been already suggested, have greatly added to English literature and English fame. The same may be said of Scotchmen and Irishmen; but then all the fame and renown thus acquired, are attributed to Englishmen. How much of English literature, or fame, or renown would be left, if all were taken from them that may be justly attributed to one or another of the sons of these three Celtic peoples? This would put it to a severe test; and under it, in the opinion of many fair critics, the works of Shakspeare and Milton would be included, as those of the descendants of the Ancient Britons, or those of Celtic origin.

This opposition to the just claims of the Celts in America, I am disposed to contest upon personal observation here, and not like that which has been said concerning the British people, which was wholly founded upon evidence deduced from history. This disfavor towards the Celt has been aided here by a few Englishmen, who have come over, and written about us in the United States. At the commencement of the late Rebellion, an Englishman came here as reporter for the London Times, whose name, I think, was Dr. Russell, who made many observations in disparagement of the Celt, and in laudation of

¹⁶. See Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons; Thierry's Hist. of the Norman Conquest; Prof. M. Arnold's Celtic Literature; Dort Nicholas' Pedigree of the English People; Mr. Owen Pike's, The English and their Origin; Prof. John Fiske's, "Are We Celts or Teutons?"

the Teuton. He spoke of, and compared those of the name of Hampden and Thurlow, I believe, when compared with the Mc's and the O's; and how much better men the former names produced than the latter. Either this or some other person, made also this statement: That the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon race were far more prosperous than the Celt; that if fifty families of each were settled in Edinburgh, under similar circumstances, a few years would find the first successful and prosperous, while the latter would be among the unprosperous and degraded. This is the substance of the statements, and it is believed they were found in the Times. The Times is not to be held responsible for the sentiments of the reporter, who alone must be responsible. I understand that the enterprising and distinguished proprietor of the Times is a Mr. Walters. I know not how this is, but, judging from the name, I would risk any odds upon the fact that Mr. Walters would find himself a descendant of the Ancient Britons; and not many generations back he would find his parentage in Wales. My observations in America would not sustain Dr. Russell in his observations and comparison between the Hampdens and the Mc's and O's.¹⁷ The Irish have been an oppressed people, compelled to seek labor and subsistence in other countries, under poverty and adversity. In very differently when they were oppressed

judging of the merits and capacity of a race, it is necessary, in order to do justice, that we should take into the account the circumstances of oppression or freedom by which such race was surrounded. Thus the Anglo-Saxons should be judged of for ages by the Normans, and the whole race—even the noblemen—becoming serfs, voluntarily, rather than bear the oppressive hand of their masters in freedom. Then the Anglo-Saxons were held in oppressive contempt, and calumniated by the Normans, in derision, as slow, ignorant, and degraded people. They would be entitled to a very different judgment when the same people became freemen, and for a long time enjoying a free government under the civilizing influences of the later English government.

Every race, Teuton as well as Celt, will occasionally show a poor, declining and degraded family, and I have seen some of these among the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons as well as among the Celts. Whether they were the descendants of the younger sons of nobility, oppressed and pushed down to lower grades, I am not for a certainty informed; but of truth we may say, "we always find the poor among us." But as to the Mc's and O's, I must say that both in the British Islands and in America they possess some of the most talented men of genius and intelligence of either country; the Irish in America have among them as prosperous and exalted families in society as any race. Among the Irish and their descendants are enumerated such men as T. A. Emmet, Charles O'Connor, Brady, Gen. Jackson, Calhoun, Greeley, A. T. Stewart, the prince of merchants, and the list may be increased to any extent. They frequently come here poor and degraded, having been for generations oppressed and robbed of the native wealth of their country, and in a few years we find some of them among the most successful and prosperous men in the country. I have now in my mind a lawyer who holds a high rank in his profession, whose parents came here quite poor, and to be employed on our canals and railroads. In 1832, while on their way, the parents were taken with the

17. Since writing this I find in Mr. Darwin's "Descent of Man," Vol. I, ch. v, p. 167, where he says: "Thus the reckless, degraded, and often vicious members of society tend to increase at a quicker rate than the provident and generally virtuous members. Or, as Mr. Greg put the case, 'The treacher, false, self-respecting, ambitious Scot, stern in his morality, spiritual in his faith, sagacious and disciplined in his intelligence, passess his best years in struggles and celibacy, marries late, and leaves few behind him. Given a land originally peopled by a thousand Saxons and a thousand Celts, and in a dozen generations five-sixths of the population would be Celts, but five-sixths of the property, of the power of the intellect, would belong to the one-sixth of the Saxons that remained. In the eternal struggle for existence, it would be the inferior and least favored race that had prevailed; and prevailed by virtue, not of its good qualities, but of its faults.'" While I concede to this article all it says in favor of the Scots, who are and must be, essentially, the descendants of the Ancient Britons, and those who so nobly fought for their independence under Galgacus; yet I must protest against its spirit as to what is said in its comparison of the Saxons and the Celts, to judge on my extensive observation in America, as being untrue, and founded in prejudice, and upon false and unwarranted classification.

cholera and died, leaving an infant child—the future lawyer—an orphan, dependent upon charitable and kind friends unknown to the parents. But the Irish infant grew up, was educated, and ranked first amongst lawyers of Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic descent. Another instance, not very unlike it, where an Irish boy was by an accidental friend selected for a West Point cadet. He made a gallant officer—one of the most distinguished and renowned of the late rebellion. Instances of this kind, where an Irish youth has made his way up in the world in the midst of the best Anglo-Saxons or Teutons, are not rare. His wit and activity often gives him a fascination. When a fair opportunity is given to him, the Irish Celt is not behind the Anglo-Saxon or Teuton in the battle of life. In my immediate neighborhood is a street a quarter of a mile in length, from the iron bridge to the depot, every family in which is an Irish family living on their own lots, with good, substantial, neat and comfortable homes, all painted, who came here about twenty-five years since poor and depressed, and compelled then to live in shanties. No people, under the circumstances, have done or can do better than these. If some of our German immigrants are better off in the world, it is because they came here under better circumstances; not that they have done or can do better under their circumstances since they have been here.

I have nothing to say against the Germans; they have great qualities and merits of their own. The Teuton and the Celt are the two best races of the world; each has his superior points and their concomitant foibles; each is very industrious and productive. The German may, as a general rule, hold on to what he gets with a more severe grip, because he is a little more selfish, the Celt a little more free and generous; but both in his way equally industrious and productive—few loafers or loungers to be found with either. But what is insisted upon is, that though the Teuton and the Celt have each their peculiar merits and good points more strikingly developed in the one than in the other. What is a striking merit in the one is only a little

less so in the other, or answered by countervailing qualities in the other, and each merit has its concomitant foible or evil; so that, upon the whole, the characteristics of the two races are pretty well balanced. The difference is more in the circumstances by which each have been surrounded. What I protest against is that neither should be calumniated or traduced by prejudice and hatred, and the one extolled at the expense of the other. Each has his peculiar merits and let him stand there. In taking the account, the fact should not be overlooked that the Irish—the extreme wing of the Celtic race—have been an oppressed and injured people by all their surrounding neighbors—the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons, the Danes and Scandinavians, the Normans and English; but happily now, in a great measure, that is being removed and a better government, guided by the principles of Christianity, humanity and justice, being extended to them. And is to be hoped that Ireland, under her better auspices, may yet recover and hold a position as she did in the sixth and seventh centuries, when she sent her missionaries and scholars to the rest of Europe.

We often see it stated in English papers, and perhaps in the Times as often as any, that America is to be a Celtic country, that a majority of the people are Celts or their descendants. It is believed that this is true, though that was undoubtedly said with a view that it should be a reproach. The immigration of French, Welsh, Scotch and Irish, and the mixture of Celtic blood in the English, render us far more Celtic than Teutonic.¹⁵ The Irish emigration alone exceeds that of the German. The German here often talks of Germanizing America, but the previous hold that the people from the British Islands had acquired renders that now impossible. It is now impossible for them to change the habits and the moral and religious feeling of fifty millions of people. Americanism is now too deeply fixed to be so eradicated or changed. Nor is it really to be desired; we have too

¹⁵ Those who doubt this let them examine Prof. Fiske's essay, "Are we Celts or Teutons," in *Appleton's Journal*, October, 1869; also, Nicholas, Pike and Arnold on the same subject.

many evidences of its moral good and prosperity for any such desire. What was not long since said by a distinguished member of the British parliament upon this subject may be appealed to as truth, and admitted by every unprejudiced observer. Mr. Bright, in speaking of the United States, said: "That great and free people, the most instructed in the world—there is not an American to be found in the New England states who cannot read and write, and there are not three men in the whole Northern states who cannot read and write, and those who cannot read and write are those who have recently come from Europe." Upon another occasion he said: "Considering the short space of time to which their history goes back, there is nothing on the face of the earth besides, and never has been, to equal the magnificent arrangement of the churches and ministers and of all the appliances which are thought necessary for a nation to teach Christianity and morality to its people. Besides all this, their economy in the annual public expenses is wonderful; and there has always existed amongst all the population an amount of comfort and prosperity and abounding plenty such as I believe no other country in the world, in any age, has displayed."

Now if it be said that this country, in the main, is a Celtic country, so be it, as I really claim it is; the Irish are numerous, as it has been already said, and outnumber the Germans. Then comes the French—Huguenots and others—all of whom stand in need of no eulogy here, are numerous and important citizens throughout the country. Then come the Scots, who from the earliest times, with their prudence, industry, talents and genius, have been adding to the wealth and prosperity of the country, as their names in brilliant numbers everywhere indicate.

It has been frequently remarked by these prejudiced writers on the subject that the Celts were incapable of being successful colonists, compared with the Teutons. This too is a great mistake, founded upon prejudice and a partial view of facts, and not making due allowance for those facts and circumstances upon which those opinions

were founded. In all the original settlements of the United States, from the first to the present time, a full share of the British emigrants were due to the Celtic family, either the Welsh, Scotch, Irish or Huguenots. This was the case with the settlement of New England and Virginia; in the Mayflower there were some Welsh people and, for aught I know, some Scotch and Irish. However that may be, it is certain that these Celtic families form a large portion of the people of every state in the Union. They gave tone and force to the sentiment which brought forth the revolution and formed the constitution.

I. The Huguenots,¹⁹ numerous refugees from the oppression of France. These were connected with the names of Nantes and Tours in France, the very home of the Cymric Celts of that country. These came and formed very important and intelligent settlements in every state from those of New England to Florida, and in the history of this country have placed high the names of Jay, Laurens, Marion, Bayard and others.

II. The Scotch, who have settled in every part of the country, and have greatly added to its fame as well as to its prosperity; they have honored every profession as well as filled with credit every place, and given us numerous names of renown, as Weatherspoon, Breckenridge, Wilson, MacLean, Scott and others, who have here sustained their well earned reputation in their native land.

III. The Irish, who are to be found in every part of the Union; distinguished for their generous sympathies, their wit and activity, as well as for talent and genius of every kind; and, notwithstanding their being calumniated and traduced by their special enemies, are admired by all who have generosity and sympathy to perceive and acknowledge the merits and energy of a people who are capable of rising so far above the misfortunes and oppressions of their race. This augurs well, that under the great reform

¹⁹ See in the *New American Cyclopædia* for this article, Vol. ix, p. 337, where a very interesting article is found of the Huguenots and their emigration to America.

that the British government appears now to be disposed to render Ireland in accordance with the policy and views of William Pitt, in return for ages of injustice, robbery and oppression, that the Irish at home will be able, as in this country, to acquire and retrieve a position in the United Kingdom to which they are entitled under the great natural gifts that Providence has bestowed upon them and their country. But it is to be hoped that they will seek their future prosperity as a member, as they now are, of the United Kingdom, under a stern demand for equal justice and humanity, instead of a chimerical reparation and dissolution.²⁰

IV. The Welsh or Cymry, though last, not least—the descendants of the Ancient Britons—have materially aided in the settlement and prosperity of the United States. They were found among the earliest immigrants to New England and Virginia. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, who himself claimed to be a descendant of the Ancient Britons who lived in Devon and other counties south and west of Bristol, had a warm side and partiality for the Welsh, and held forth every encouragement for the Welsh to settle in Pennsylvania. Large settlements of them were formed in the vicinity of Philadelphia—Chester, Delaware and other counties in the state. These became flourishing settlements, long retaining their ancient language, the Cymraeg, and became distinguished for their patriotism during the revolution. But the same course of events overtook them which has everywhere, in England and America, overtaken them and converted their descendants into an English speaking people, though priding themselves upon being of the blood and descendants of the Ancient Britons, though by strangers taken to be of English descent, and found among the most prominent people of the state, yet fully acknowledging their ancient lineage, and known by such names as Morris, Merideth, Lewis, Evans, Griffith, Merrick, Williams, and the like, who have occupied every honorable

station in every office and profession in the state and Union. Robert Morris was the great financier of the revolution; Gen. Cadwallader was known as a military man and special friend of Washington; Oliver Evans, of Philadelphia, was the first to invent and set in motion a steam carriage and steam boat.

Of these people who rendered important services during the revolution, or since, in forming the government of the several states and Union, their numbers are singularly great and their service and positions distinguished. It is said that there were fourteen of them who signed the declaration of independence, and their names are easily distinguished upon it. But in the army of the revolution their numbers are surprisingly great, as the Putnams, Morgans, Lees, Humphreys, Cadwallader, Wayne, Shelby, the hero of the King's mountain and of the Thames, the late governor of Kentucky, and numerous others might be mentioned. But it is not alone among the warriors that we find them, but amidst every profession and every position requiring intellect, industry and fidelity. New England has had many of them, and first of these should be remembered Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, who was the first to teach to the American people, in accordance with his Cymric education, to insist upon the right and freedom of individual conscience, and the right of religious liberty. To him we may add Jonathan Edwards, one of the great intellects of America; Daniel Webster, whose father was a Scotchman and his mother a Welsh woman; Morse, the geographer, and father of Morse, the inventor of the telegraph; Breese, of Utica, the father of Commodore and Judge Breese, of Illinois. But in New York they have been numerous as governors, judges, chancellors and members of Congress, as Floyd, Lewis, Morgan, Jones and others. In Virginia they have been specially distinguished, as President Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, the distinguished jurist, and the late General G. H. Thomas. We might thus go over the whole of the United States, but they become too numer-

²⁰ As to the merits of the Irish people, see ante, this chapter.

ous; but we might say that of the numerous families who claim an ancient British descent is the distinguished family of the Beechers.

As to the Welsh of America, this may be noted as a contrast between them and the German settlers, that the latter are noted for their acquisition of rich lands at any cost, while the former will accept such lands as Providence seems to throw readily into their hands and deem it their duty to improve them. While there are many instances where the Welsh have made good choice of fertile lands for their settlements, there are some instances where it has been otherwise. About the commencement of the present century an emigration came from Wales and made a settlement on the Alleghany mountains in Pennsylvania, which they first called Bula. Their settlement has since received the name of Ebensburg, and has become the capital of Cambria county. They immediately upon their settlement proceeded to erect a church and a school house. Although their place was a mountainous, hard and sterile land, their industry and perseverance made them a thriving and prosperous community. The Germans equally wondered at their choice of place and at their success. The Germans had been for ages taught by their feudal tenures to look upon the land as that of the lord of the manor, and that their interest in it to be nothing unless it was in the fertility of the land. The Welsh, however, had not generally been subjected to feudal tenures, except in those parts conquered by the Saxons before prince Llewellyn's time, and every man held his land in fee as by the civil law, and looked upon it as his home, and cultivated it with an affection for it, though it might be sterile and rugged. The feudal tenures they always opposed and fought. The Ebensburg people, therefore, when asked how they came to make choice of so rugged a place for their settlement, replied that it was more the result of accidental circumstances than of choice; that it was now the home of their affection, and as a part of God's creation they were bound to cultivate it; and wherever Providence cast to them their

lot, their industry would make it productive, even if the rock required to be pounded into tilth.

Another instance of a similar kind happened at what is now called Steuben, in the midst of the elevated hills about fifteen miles north of Utica in New York. A large settlement of Welsh people settled there in a few years after the revolutionary war. General Steuben, at the close of his services to the United States, had a tract of land given to him in Steuben, and about the close of the last century settled upon it. He soon became attached to his Welsh neighbors, who, by their honest industry and faithfulness, gained his confidence and regard. The general, by his testamentary will, devised a part of his land to a neighboring Welsh congregation, reserving ten acres of it for his own burying ground, and entrusted the care of it to the congregation; so that the Teutonic general entrusted his body and last resting place to the care and honesty of his Celtic neighbors, which trust, I believe, has been honestly and faithfully performed. The Steuben people, soon after their settlement there, by their industry, made their hilly and sterile country flourish, and became known in New York city as one of the most flourishing dairy countries in that State. Similar instances might be pointed out in other parts of the United States, but this must suffice.

In reviewing the history of the Ancient Britons, the candid student will observe and be compelled to admit how important a part the Britons occupied in ancient times, and their descendants not only in the west and north of Britain, but must also occupy in England itself. History and science prove this. No country was ever conquered by a race of the same family, as the Saxons and Britons were of the same family of the human race—the Aryan—but where the original race become an important part of the new people formed by the conquest. This is everywhere proved by history, and as apparent in England, Normandy, and in all other countries, as it is fully shown by their history, and proved by all the investigation into the present physical and moral characteristics of its

people.²¹

The course of history shows this; and though in England the Saxons, in their conquest, swallowed up that portion of the Ancient Britons in England, known as the Lloegrians, who became Anglo-Saxons;²² but the residue maintained their position in Britain until modern times, in all the west and north from the British Channel to the Cheviot Hills, the south line of Scotland; and thence all the north of Britain, which includes as the descendants of the Ancient Britons, the people of Strath-Clyde, the Picts and Scots: the latter having emigrated from Southern Britain to avoid the Romans, to the north of Ireland, and thence to Scotland; where they united with the Picts as a common people. The English from the first landing of the Saxons to the present day, have been continually forming unions with the Britons, not only by the well-known union of the two people, under Cadwallon and Penda, A. D. 633; but even earlier, by their conquest, associations, and marriages: and since by the like intercourse. The English and the English language is the development of this union, and the subsequent addition of Danes, Normans, and other emigrations from Cymric France. The British people of the present day are a new development of a race and language, the growth of British soil; partaking more of their British than of their Saxon origin. The Saxons constantly carried on their wars in which their prominent men were constantly being slaughtered; and this was especially the case in the war of the Roses: so that the old race was constantly disappearing, and a new race coming on from the midst of the people; and sometimes from its lowest ranks, so that it became difficult, if not impossible, for any one to trace his lineage to an Ancient Saxon origin.

In America the Celt and the Teuton meet upon a perfect equality as to their political, legal, and social standing; but those who are descendants from immigrants of the British Islands, exceed in overwhelm-

ing numbers those from Germany. The descendants of the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish come far nearer those of a decided English or Anglo-Saxon origin, in manners, habits, and predilections than Germans do to either. Go to the farms of the two races, and an immediate difference is perceived, in their culture and taste. While there is a striking similarity in all those from the British Islands, there is a striking difference in the Germans. The latter, everywhere, cultivate a larger stock of horses than the former people. The Germans have a larger number of horses than of neat cattle; while all the British people cultivate a larger stock of the latter: taking great pains to have a fine and choice herd and breed of neat cattle; and this is the case whether they claim to be of a Celtic or Anglo-Saxon origin.²³ There is also this difference between these two great nationalities, in their general mode and habit of thinking and acting in civil and political matters: The Teuton is generally more inclined to take care of self—his own individual interests—to the exclusion of that of others, or the public. This difference between the two races is by no means always so, for instances of the reverse are often found; but, then, it is the exception rather than the general rule. This individual and self-interest leads the Teuton people to prefer a close centralization, rather than to a federal or confederate union of the surrounding elements; and to look for his interests to be with those above him, with the hopes of arriving there himself, rather than with those in his own level, or class. The former he supports, the latter he leaves every one to take care of himself. The Celt is more inclined to sympathize with his own class, and to be charitable; to consider whatever interests man interests him. In this respect the Celt is more like the old Greek of the republic; the Teuton more like the Roman, not of the Republic, but of the imperial times of Diocletian and Constantine the Great. The former tends to build up the republic, the federal or confederate

²¹ See ante, B. —, ch. —.

²² See ante, B. —, ch. —, §.

²³ This appears also from a comparison of the enlistment upon the tax duplicates, in counties where British or German settlements prevailed.

union; and to unite the exterior and several parts, for the purpose of controlling the tyranny or oppression of the center, as we find it to have been in Ancient Greece, and now in the United States. The Teuton tends more to consolidation and centralization, as we find it now in Germany, with William as emperor, and every man a soldier. The Teuton looks to that which is above him for his interest, rather than to sympathize for those around him in his own level; concentrating his hopes in his own elevation, rather than in the common elevation of his class. "Support and protect our lord," says the Saxon, "for he protects me." But says the Cymro, "You must not unman the man." To which the Scotchman says, "Man is man for a' that." And the Irishman affirms, "Man must sympathize with man, and defend his rights and liberties upon terms of equal justice, benevolence, and humanity." The Teutonic element was manifest in the Saxon government from its origin to the Norman conquest, when all the landed property, and almost all the wealth of the country were in the hands of the sovereign and his earls, all descendants of Woden; while two-thirds, or three-fourths of the people were either slaves or serfs. Of that government the House of Lords is a lineal descendant, while the House of Commons and the Congress of the United States are the Representatives of the Celtic elements. The Teuton's supreme regard, is power, position, and wealth. The Celt, though he regards these, sympathizes still more for the individual man, and demands the greatest good for the greatest number. Still, each of these two great nationalities have their better points, and their foibles, while both are admitted to be the foremost of the world. Here, in the United States, it is but seldom that either is found traducing or calumniating the other, but admit the good qualities of each. Hatred is left for the calamities of war; but in peace, the cultivation of the amenities of friendship and amnesty. Recently a Northern man met a Southerner, who had been a general in the Confederate service; and both had been engaged against each other in the mortal

conflict of the Rebellion: but, now, the war being over, amnesty is cultivated, and no blood is spilt on account of that conflict, in hatred and revenge. The Southern general approached the Northern man, and said: "Sir, as we now have peace, let us shake hands over the bloody cavern." "No, sir:" said the other, "not over a bloody cavern, but over a free and happy country."

What has been said in relation to the relative character of the two races, has not been said in malice, but in the spirit of truth and science, in vindication of the Celt from what was conceived to be a false and unjust aspersion against them. All that is asked is that the investigation of the subject be placed upon the basis of truth and humanity. Some take it for granted that as the Saxon has conquered, that settles the question of their relative merits. But it should be remembered that conquest is often the result of the advantage that "the assailant has over those who act on the defensive;" and are constantly reinforced from their original source. It was thus that the Tartars conquered the more civilized Chinese; the barbarian Turk, the civilized Grecian; the northern barbarians, civilized Rome; and a thousand similar examples, where the result depended more upon fortuitous circumstances than upon the relative merits of the intellectual and moral qualities of the two contending races. The Turks, however, contend for the rule of success and power; but, possibly they may change their opinion on this subject, as people often have.

But, is it not true that there is, on the part of some, who claim a pure Saxon origin, often without any evidence to prove it, a sentiment of hatred? And, if so, is it not high time it should be reformed? We find it so stated in Hume, Macaulay, and others; and Prof. Arnold, in his superior essay on Celtic Literature, repeats the offensive epithet as lamentable evidence of the fact. We all know with what unrestrained energy, Lord Nelson expressed his hatred of the French; yet in the next generation, Queen Victoria and Napoleon III meet in the most cordial friendship. The

two nations coalesced as allies in the Crimean war; and like Christians forgot their animosities. Politicians will express hatred of their foreign foes, in order to gain popularity with their constituents; and a soldier may do the same, for the purpose of creating war, that he may have a field to exercise his profession, and gain fame: but they who do it against their fellow-countrymen, in time of peace, are to be pitied, for it would seem that they acted without rational motive, unless it would be a pure maliciousness.

If such unfounded and unjust opinion and sentiment were prominent, as an unalterable matter, it might be more serious and lamentable. But as a fact such sentiments and opinions are often a mere temporary whim or fashion; not founded upon substantial facts. Macaulay gives us a good instance of this. He tells us of the bitter hate and calumny once entertained against the Highland Scots, which after awhile passed away. "The English nation," says Macaulay,²⁴ "still heated by the recent conflict, breathed nothing but vengeance. The slaughter on the field of battle and on the scaffold was not sufficient to slack the public thirst for blood. The sight of the tartan inflamed the populace of London with hatred, which showed itself by unmanly outrages on defenseless captives. A political and social revolution took place through the whole Celtic region. * * * As long as there were Gaelic marauders, they had been regarded by the Saxon population as hateful vermin, who ought to be exterminated without mercy. As soon as the extermination had been accomplished, as soon as the cattle were safe, * * *

the freebooter was exalted into a hero of romance. As long as the Gaelic dress was worn, the Saxon had pronounced it hideous, ridiculous, nay, grossly indecent. Soon after it had been prohibited, they discovered that it was the most graceful drapery in Europe. The Gaelic monuments, the Gaelic usages, the Gaelic superstitions, the Gaelic verses, began to attract the learned the moment they began to disappear." * * * "At length this fashion reached a point beyond which it was not easy to proceed. The last British king who held a court in Holyrood, thought that he could not give a more striking proof of his respect for the usages which had prevailed in Scotland before the Union, than by disguising himself in what, before the Union, was considered the dress of a thief."

Thus, it appears from Macaulay, as well as others who might be quoted, that there was not much reliance to be placed upon these hates or fancied affections, for both were often the result of anything but that which was founded upon facts and justice. But now, since the Union, and since the government has made so many reforms towards an equality of justice and freedom, it is to be hoped that the people of the same government, and under an Union beneficial to all; and who are at least as much Britons as Saxons, will cease to hate, asperse, and malign each other: but respect and love that Union and people, who have, by a common effort and merit, of both Saxon and Celt, extended their rule and influence around the whole globe; so that it is not so much the hailing of the reveille as the morning sun passes in its daily course around the world; as it is that it carries with it the English language, and British freedom and civilization.

24. Macaulay's History, Vol. 3, ch. 13, p. 240.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.—ERRORS IN HISTORY.

ST. HELENA'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Truth in history is what gives to it interest and confidence; and when that is absent, history itself sinks into the fable and romance. The latter class of writings are tolerated when well written, for the reason that, when we read them we know them to be what they assume to be. But when we discover that our history is false, we feel indignant at the deception it produces. Still, errors do abound in history, and that from necessity; the frail imperfections of man, in all cases, in ascertaining the truth, and in others from his prejudices or bigotry, which disables him from investigating and ascertaining the truth, and satisfies him with the errors.

In our history we have, in several instances, pointed out the injustice done by some English writers to the Celtic race, and especially to the Cymry, by prejudices and unfounded assertions. The laboring oar at which they all labor, is the assertion that the Ancient Britons form no part of the ancestors of the present English, or impart any blood to the present inhabitants of England; for the reason, they say, that the Ancient Britons were all slaughtered or driven to Wales: or that the present inhabitants of Wales are not the descendants of the Ancient Britons. These assertions are fully and ably refuted by some of the best English historians; they also contradict each other, for one of these theories refutes the other; and the whole is the most glaring perversion of the truth of his-

tory found in the annals of any country.

These instances need not again be pointed out. They are made specially manifest in all that relates to the Celtic race, and nothing is so hostile to their antipathies as any claim of capacity or honor claimed by that gallant, but unfortunate race. Let the reader compare Tacitus, Sharon Turner, Whitaker, M. Arnold, Thierry, Michelet, and Guizot as one class of historians, with Gibbon, Macaulay, Green, Woodard, and Wright as a class on the opposite side; and he can not help but become convinced of the unwarranted prejudice and antipathies of one class of fellow-citizens against another, who are fellow-subjects of a common country, entitled to equal justice and forbearance and common rights. In the United States, after a most bloody and terrific war, between two classes of people, now that the war is over, an effort is made by all good citizens to forget and forgive their former differences, and shake hands—not over a bloody cavern, but over a free, happy, and prosperous country. Should this example be followed by that class of English writers referred to, it might be the means of restoring peace and good will to their fellow-subjects; especially now, since the whole of the British Islands have become a common country and nationality to all their people, under the renowned name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: thus giving to all the common protection and prestige of that glorious name of Briton and British.

Macaulay, Latham, and others show how great a variety of nationalities, people, and language of which the English people and their language are composed. The former author speaks of these various elements being "melted down" until they have become one nationality. Of these those of a Celtic origin form the greatest portion of the present British people. Besides the Celtic elements that entered into this composition at the first entrance of the Saxon conquest, there has been ever since a constant addition to it by immigration from Celtic countries, as from France, Normandy, Brittany, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, who have amalgamated with the Saxon until that element has been "melted down," so that the people have become more truly a British people than that of the character of their Saxon origin; and so very different from the Teutons of the continent. This idea should especially restore them to a friendship, and to liberal principles of "peace and good will," since they have become under the Union, citizens of a common country and government: that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

At present these benevolent principles prevail with a large portion of the British people, and give hope that they will soon take place of those of evil sentiments of prejudice and hatred. This disposition of hostility to races first made its special appearance in English literature, by a person of the name of Pinkerton, then a citizen of London, a little over a century since; and his antipathies have been kept up by others in the present time. By these opponents every claim set up by the Celts to their credit, has been controverted and contested, and every merit traduced, without regard to facts or history. If any of the great heroes of ancient times were claimed to be Britons, it was certain to be denied, with regret, that they were obliged to give their nationality to some other country. Thus, Gibbon, in a number of instances, denies to a number of distinguished persons the right of British nationality, where history most evidently made them such; although it is said he has generally treated the Celts

with great liberality and fairness. With special manifestation of regret that he is compelled, by facts, thus to write, he says: "The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive to the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The place of his birth, as well as the condition of his mother, Helena, have been the subjects not only of literary, but of national dispute. Notwithstanding the recent tradition which assigns to her father a British king, we are obliged to confess that Helena was the daughter of an inn-keeper; but at the same time we may defend the legality of her marriage against those who have reproached her as the concubine of Constantus."¹ And, with great *regret*, he labors to make her the daughter of an inn-keeper of Drapanum, a town of Nicomedia in Asia Minor; or that her father kept an inn at Naissus,² where, he says, it is probable that Constantine the Great was born. All that Gibbon has said upon the subject is carefully written, and is contrary to what has been written by numerous historians. We gather the following facts from Gibbon, as well as from other sources of history: In the year A. D. 270, Aurelian was made emperor. Gaul at the time was greatly overrun by the barbarians. He soon sent those two distinguished generals, Probus and Constantius, to Gaul to recover it, and restore it to the full possession of the Roman laws. This was accomplished by them in A. D. 272. At the same time Zenobia, the queen of the East, was making a successful progress against the Roman dominion; and Probus was called from his operations in Gaul, to assist Aurelian in his conquest of the Queen of the East. This was during A. D. 273; and in the same time, Constantius was left in command of Gaul, which had been reduced to submission and peace. In 274, Constantius was made governor of Mæsia, which placed him at Naissus, its capital. These facts clearly prove the improbable story of Gibbon, that Constantius in the year 273 had

1. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol I, ch. xiv, p. 143; and notes H, I, and K.

2. Naissus is not in Dacia, as Gibbon says, but in Upper Mæsia, south of the Danube.

met Helena, a daughter of an inn-keeper at Drapanum, or Naissus, and there became the father of her child, the Great Constantine: for that year he was in command of Gaul, and could not have been at either of those places: Drapanum being the greater part of a thousand miles east of Naissus, and the latter place still a far greater distance east of Constantius's residence in Gaul. The story is also refuted by its own circumstances, for it is admitted by Gibbon, and all historians, that Helena must have been legally married to Constantius, for otherwise, his divorce would not have been required. Independent of the *alibi*, it is the most improbable story in the world, that Constantius, a great Roman general, in the midst of his renown, should, upon a casual occasion, meet an inn-keeper's daughter at Drapanum, or Naissus, and actually marry her. Nothing but prejudice would enable an historian to believe so improbable a story. The best evidence is that Constantine the Great was born A. D. 274, and the most ancient historians say in Britain; and that agrees with circumstances. In 270, Constantius, the father, was sent by the Emperor Aurelian to reconquer Gaul. During 271 and '2, he was actively engaged with Probus in that mission. In 273, he was governor of the province of Gaul, and probably that year built his town of Constantins, in Gaul, a sea port on the British Channel, as stated by Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle.³ It was here, or in Britain, that Constantius Chlorus met Helena as a British princess, and married her. This also agrees with an old British history, which I, many years since, read, but which I can not now cite; but it was as reliable as any other history on the subject, which stated that that year Constantius was called from Gaul to Colchester or Camelodium, in Britain, as an arbitrator in a matter there in litigation, where he met Helena, the daughter of King Coel, of Colchester, whom he then married.⁴ This agrees with all the acknowledged facts, and all the

probabilities of the case; and leaves no acknowledged fact controverting it. All the older historians on the subject, assert Britain as the birth-place of Constantine the Great; and if he was born there, that renders it the probable nativity of his mother. They contend that the words of Constantine's panegyrist, "*Britannias illic oriundo nobilibus fecisti*," prove his birth to have been in Britain. But Gibbon, under his singular partiality, alleges that these celebrated words, "may with as much propriety be referred to the accession as to the nativity of Constantine." Then, if it may be as well referred to his nativity, as contended, then why not so refer it? The only answer is, that his prejudice forbade it.

Gibbon, in Note K to Chap. XIV, says, that there have been three places that contended for Constantine's birth-place, viz.: Britain, Naissia, and Drepanum. To the first he decidedly objects; but to the claims of the latter two, he appears to be doubtful and indifferent which should prevail. He says: "It is, indeed, probable enough that Helena's father kept an inn at Drepanum, and that Constantius might lodge there when he returned from a Persian embassy, in the reign of Aurelian. But, in the wandering life of a soldier, the place of his marriage, and the place where his children are born, have very little connection with each other." This sentence is written by Gibbon, with very little regard to his own sentiment, or that of mankind: it is, at least, heartless. But it is also against all probability. Constantius was not, during the time in question, an ambassador to Persia; nor engaged in the war against Zenobia, the Queen of the East. That was the task of Probus. From A. D. 271 to 274, Constantius was entirely engaged in Gaul; first as general, and then as governor, and, during the latter time, both Spain and Britain were also under his command. But the supposition that a Roman general of Constantius's rank and standing, upon a casual, stoppage at an inn-keeper's house, would actually take that inn-keeper's daughter; who, it is said by her enemies, was then a hostler-girl, and marry her in so public and legal a manner as to induce the

3. See this History in Bohn's Antiquarian Lib. p. 28.

4. See also "Six Old English Chronicles," in Bohn's Lib., Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 162; also Richard of Cirencester, pp. 444, 446, and 467.

necessity—in the opinion of the Emperor Diocletian—of a solemn and public divorce. The supposition is preposterous, and contrary to all morals and even Roman manners. Helena at the birth of her son, Constantine, was twenty-seven years of age, and it was eighteen years after that that she was solemnly divorced, in order that her husband might legitimately marry an emperor's daughter. If the marriage had not been so legal and notorious, it would have been better and easier to have considered Helena's marriage as illegitimate and void; and thus cut off her children as heirs, to the prejudice of the children of the second marriage.

In confirmation of this improbable story of Naissus or Drepanum, it has been alleged that Constantius was never in Britain until after it was recovered from Carausius, in 294. But this is said without any evidence, or probability, to support it. Nothing is more probable than that Constantius, while governor of Gaul, in 273, after Probus had gone east; and while it is said that both Spain and Britain were within the jurisdiction of the governor of Gaul, he may have been in Britain. Besides the history referred to, states that in that year he was called there at Colchester, upon an important arbitration, where he met Helena and married her. Besides, it is no stretch of probability to say, even if there was entire absence of evidence of his having been then in Britain, that Helena may have been married to him at his new city of Constances, where she was visiting her Cymric friends in Armorica, on whose coast the city was built.

Now, it may be asked, how came Naissus and Drepanum to be mentioned, and that Helena attended her father's stable at one or the other of those places, as a hostler-girl? These three items can be easily accounted for. It was eighteen years after the marriage when she was divorced; and it was thirteen years further, in all thirty-one years, before she was relieved from the consequences of the marriage, by the death of her husband, and the accession of her great son. During almost all of that long time she lived at Drepanum, a city of Bith-

ynia, at the eastern extremity of the sea of Marmoria. She was sent there as an eligible place for the education of her son. There she and her noble son lived many years; and Britain had become almost a forgotten country, by means of the wars then agitating Gaul and Britain, and the attachment she formed for her new home. Thus she became forgotten by her native land. During that time she was under a cloud, especially after the divorce, and before the accession of her son; she was scoffed at and derided by the members of the new court, who had taken her husband away from her. But, still, Drepanum had become to her as her dearest home on earth; and after the accession, it was ordered by Constantine, the emperor, to receive the appellation of Helenapolis, in honor of his mother. Constantine was known to have lived there while a child, and was educated there. In the minds of her enemies who little cared who she was, she acquired a new biography: the keeper of the house in which she lived, became an inn-keeper, and she herself became the former's attendant on the horses of the guests at her father's inn. During the time she was so under a cloud, there were plenty of persons at the new court, who aided in robbing her of her marriage rights, who were ready to give currency to this story.

Early in the reign of her son, and before Christianity was generally adopted by the ruling portions of the Roman people, Helena, in the enthusiasm of her Christian faith, took an early opportunity of visiting the Holy Land, and to pay her devotion to the birth-place of Christ. At Bethlehem she hastened to find the place of the stable and manger in which she acknowledged her Savior was born. This gave occasion for ridicule by the heathen Roman people, and in her case applied the term, *stabularia*;⁵ which was afterwards used in narrating the story of her early life, as evidence of its truth, and of her humble origin, by those who know nothing of her British birth,

5. This word is translated, "a tender of cattle," and was first applied to Helena in reference to her regard to the stable at Bethlehem, by her pagan enemies, and which gave occasion for the story of her having been an inn-keeper's daughter.

and Christian life: which were all forgotten in her long absence from her native home, and stories invented to cover up the injuries she had received at the hands of the emperor, in her divorce.

In the like manner, by those who were ignorant of the truth, Naissus was made the birth-place of both Constantine and his mother; and the story of her humble origin, ignorantly or maliciously repeated. It is true that Constantine may have been born there, or taken there in his infancy, for the facts of history render it doubtful whether he was born there or in Britain; for it was in 273, while Constantius was governor of Gaul, that he was married to Helena, at Colchester: and in the latter part of that year, or the fore part of the next, that Constantius went to Naissus, as governor of Mœsia, to which place Helena was brought, either before or after the birth of her renowned son.

The story of the inn-keeper was first invented with reference to Drepanum, but afterwards discovered that it did not apply there, it was transferred to Naissus by those who were utterly ignorant of the true history of St. Helena. The story was manufactured long after the death of every person whose life was concerned in it. But the only early written authority we have on the subject is that taken from the obituary eulogium of Constantine the Great: "*Britanias illic oriendo nobiliter fecisti.*" And this has always, until Gibbon's time, been applied to the emperor's birth; and it required Gibbon's partiality or prejudice to say that it applied as well to his accession.

It is true, that the birth-place and nationality of Helena are not positively established by history; but the stories of Drepanum and Naissus are inconsistent in themselves, with each other, and with other historical facts. The course of argument here pursued, the writer hopes, is fair, consistent, and truthful; and if it is not so he has been honestly deceived himself. It has been said that a writer of history should be so impartial as not to disclose his partiality or nationality. But this rule must necessarily be violated in an advocacy of this

kind; but it is hoped that this partiality has not been manifested greater than called for by the words of Gibbon.

The truth of history gives us the assurance of these facts of St. Helena. She was born A. D. 247; was married to the Emperor Constantine Chlorus, in 273, while he was general-in-chief and governor of Gaul. In 274, Constantius was governor of Mœsia, on the Danube, and made Naissus his headquarters; and then Constantine the Great was born, either in Britain or at Naissus. Soon after that, Helena and her son were sent to Drepanum, in Bithynia, in Asia Minor, among the Ionian Greeks, for the education of the son; where they lived until the divorce in 292, when Constantine was eighteen years of age. And she continued to live there until the death of her husband, Constantius the Emperor, in 307, and was succeeded by his son Constantine in Britain. Helena was then sent for by her son, the emperor, and lived with him at Trier, in Gaul, a few years; then at Rome; and then was engaged in her travels and pilgrimage in the East, in 325, where she expended in the most magnificent manner, at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, in building churches and other monuments in commemoration of early facts in the history of Christianity. Of these, the Church of the Nativity, and that of the Sepulchre were particularly distinguished, and have endured to the present day. It was assumed that she then found the true cross. But it was the place of the Nativity, and the stable, and the manger which received her special attention and veneration. This gave opportunity to the Greek heathens of her day to reproach her with the term, *stabularia* (cattle-tender), and to invent the story, that she was the daughter of an inn-keeper of Drepanum, and attended her father's stable; in which condition she was found by Constantius, on a casual journey through that place, and there married her. Helena returned from her pilgrimage in 327; and on her way to Constantinople, met her great son, the emperor, at Nicomedia, but a short distance from Drepanum, in Bithynia, and died in his arms, in the eightieth or eighty-first year of her age.

All the established events in Helena's life forbid that the stories of Drepanum and Naissus should be true. In person and acquirements, she always received the consideration of a person of personal distinction, which she could not have received if, at the time of her marriage,—twenty-seven years of age,—she had been an inn-keeper's daughter, and an attendant on the horses of the inn. At that time of life such an employment would have stamped upon her that humble characteristic for life. She was the acknowledged wife of a great and distinguished general, which, in the opinion of the Emperor Diocletian, required a divorce, in order that Constantius might marry the daughter of his colleague, Galerius; and Constantius himself always treated her as a mother worthy of his distinguished son. But the mother of no sovereign was ever more honored than Helena was by her illustrious son. Upon his accession she was sent for, and at Trier and at Rome every distinction, consideration, and bounty were conferred upon her, and she was entitled, Augusta. He conferred upon her all desirable wealth and distinction, which, in after life enabled her to gratify her Christian piety, her taste, and munificence at Jerusalem and Bethlehem. This could not have been if her manners and habits had been those of a rustic *stabularia*. In all history, Helena is generally made the native of the same place that gave birth to her distinguished son. Gibbon says that three places have been assigned to that honor: 1, Britain; 2, Drepanum; and 3, Naissus. Now, as history shows that during the year 273, Constantius was in Gaul, as governor, the story of their nativity of either of the latter places, must be false; and the logical conclusion is that the former must be true. That the birth of Constantine may have been at Naissus, is here admitted, but the marriage of Constantius and Helena must have been in Gaul or Britain, and that she was a native of one or the other countries is equally evident; and it is as probable that the marriage took place in Britain as Gaul, for Constantius as governor of Gaul governed also Britain

and Spain. As it has never been claimed that she was a native of Gaul, we may assert that she was a native of Britain, which has been claimed by so many historians.⁶

This article, up to the last paragraph but one, was written previous to 1871, when I received from Liverpool, a copy of Miss Jane Williams's History of Wales. That history was written with great care and truthfulness; with accuracy of citation to her authorities hardly to be found in any other history, which renders it a very desirable and most acceptable history of Wales. Upon reading it I found that Miss Williams had avoided laying any claim to Helena as a Briton; and I took that occasion to write to her my views of the question, and soon afterwards had the pleasure of receiving from her a very kind letter, written at London, where she then had her residence, accompanied by a manuscript of her views and authorities on the subject. This letter and manuscript are given below. They are, in hand-writing and composition, a masterly specimen of literary and scholarly attainments. In the composition of the manuscript she took the pains of a thorough examination of the books in the British Museum, on the subject of our inquiry; and the result of it is her very scholarly manuscript on the subject. It seems that this investigation again satisfied her that there was nothing in history that positively proved that Helena was a native Briton; and, giving away to the authority of Gibbon, her vivid regard for the truth forbade her liberal spirit to claim it as a fact, however strongly and repeatedly asserted in British history. But she overlooked the fact, as Gibbon himself had done, that during the years 271, '2, and 3 Constantius

⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Richard of Cirencester, Spenser's Fairy Queen. Later English historians, both lay and ecclesiastic, adopt the British nativity of Helena with zeal and force, and among them are several distinguished English bishops, until Gibbon's great authority silenced it, which rests principally upon a story told by Socrates, a historian who flourished about a century after Helena. The probability is, that he made but little or no inquiry about Helena's nativity. The language of Miss Jane Williams, in her manuscript, is certainly true: "Probably the terms, 'inn-keeper's daughter' and 'cattle-tender,' were opprobrious epithets used by the indignant heathen to vilify the Christian mother of the first Christian emperor."

was actively engaged in Gaul; the first two years in a vigorous war for the recovery of Gaul, and the last year as governor of that province, to which Britain and Spain were attached. The marriage, therefore, must have been in 273, and the birth of Constantine in 274 may have been in Britain or in Gaul; or it may have been at Naissus, where his father had been, just then, transferred as governor of Mœsia. This effectually contradicts the theories in relation to Drepanum and Naissus, and renders them ridiculously improbable; that a great general, as Constantius then really was, would, upon a casual journey, as Gibbon tells the story, stop at an inn and marry the inn-keeper's daughter;—but history proves that he could not have been there; and that he had not at that time made any journey upon a Persian embassy, or otherwise, as Gibbon suggests it. If, at the probable time of the marriage it were shown that Constantius had such a journey to perform, instead of the contrary appearing, there might be some shadow of possibility that such improbable a story might be true; otherwise, the repeated claims made by the old historians, down to Gibbon's contradiction that Helena was a British princess, is historically true, and consistent with all known facts.

In the letter and manuscript of Miss Williams, there are a few suggestions as to the evidence in this matter, which deserve notice. The fact that Constantius and his son were very popular rulers with the Britons, is as strong evidence in favor of their claim that Helena was a true Briton, as that it was founded upon a false assumption.

That the older poets and historians do not notice Helena, is not in the least strange, under the circumstances. If she was the daughter of King Coel, she was only nominally a princess; for her father was only a stipendiary king; a mere magistrate under the Roman government. The Britons of that day were divided into two nominally distinct people, and, under the Romans, in two distinct provinces: the Cymry people of the west, and the Lloegrian-Cymry of the east. The country of

the former was called Cymric, and that of the latter, Llŷgyr. The difference between them was about that between the people of New England and those of Virginia; but the intercourse between them, under the Romans, was infinitely less. The great learning of the Ancient Britons—poetry and history were with the Cymry; and none of the Lloegrian literature has come down to us. It probably all disappeared in the early barbarous times of the Saxons, which began soon after Helena's time. It is, therefore, not at all strange that her name does not appear in the poetry and history of the Ancient Cymry. They, probably, knew nothing of her, who to them would have been then considered as a foreigner.

At the ripe age of twenty-seven, Helena became the legitimate wife of Constantius. The next year she resided with her husband at Naissus, but whether her son was born there, or in Britain, before she emigrated, we do not know; for both countries claim the honor of his birth.

When Helena emigrated to Naissus, her father, Coel, may have been dead, and in those days of war, and the commencement of the Dark Ages, she may have bade Britain an eternal farewell; may have been and likely was forgotten by every one there. Soon thereafter her residence was fixed at Drepanum; and, having received a Roman education at Colchester, in Britain, was received by the Greeks of Asia Minor, as a fair Roman lady, and the wife of a great general, without inquiry as to her parentage, or the birth-place of her son: for Britain then was as unknown and strange a land to them as Nova Zembla is to us. During almost the whole of the eighteen years, from the birth of her son to her divorce, Helena resided with her son at Drepanum, as the legitimate wife of Constantius, the great Roman general, with all the appliances due to her position and rank. Though, probably, more a Roman, by education, she had now become a Greek in habits and manners; and all reference to her nativity, by herself, was neglected and unknown to all about her. The two joint emperors, Diocletian and Galerius, now

proposed to add another colleague to their number, and for that purpose, Constantius was acknowledged as worthy their choice. But Galerius insisted that he should first marry his daughter Theodosia, as means of securing him to his interest. Diocletian insisted that if the marriage should take place, there should be first a divorce procured from his lawful wife, Helena, as a decent respect to law and custom. Thus was the case of Josephine prefigured, in every respect,—as founded in political consideration, and its selfishness and recklessness. If it had not been for the literature of the day, and its rapid intercourse, Josephine's nativity in Martinique, a West India island, her parentage might be as obscure as that of Helena.

After the divorce, Helena continued to reside at Drepanum thirteen years longer, until the accession of her son as emperor, upon the death of his father. During these long years she was under a cloud, suffering every indignity from the new court; traduced by every invention; the history of her nativity neglected and forgotten; and became even indifferent to herself. The first allusion to her in history, that has survived to the present day, is found in the *Life of Constantine*, by Eusebius, written soon after the death of Constantine, which was about nine years after that of his distinguished mother. Eusebius there, without intending to say anything about her, merely says, in the most concise and unsatisfactory manner, that the mother of Constantine was born of obscure parents, in the village of Drepanum. This Eusebius was a contemporary, but considerably younger than Constantine. He was, probably, informed that Constantine and his mother resided at Drepanum, when the former was a mere child, and her nativity was unknown to him, it was said she was born of obscure parents. But later Latin historians positively deny their nativity at Drepanum, and with as little evidence, transfer the whole story of their nativity to Naissus. Gibbon, feigning to believe those unfounded and improbable stories, rejects the British nativity of Constantine and his mother, and overlooks the fact that Constantius, the

father, was in Gaul, as governor, during the year before the birth of his son; and could not have been at Drepanum or Naissus at the time of his marriage.

Miss Jane Williams is overpowered by the authority and judgment of Gibbon, in claiming Britain as the birth-place of Helena; and by her love of truth and candor, was induced to abandon it, without observing that Gibbon, in his own history, shows that Constantius was so engaged in Gaul that he could not have been at either of the places in the East, as the places of the marriage. If it could be proved that Constantius, instead of being engaged in Gaul during the years 271 and '73, was engaged in an embassy to Persia, and therefore, may have (as Gibbon says,) casually passed through Drepanum or Naissus, and married an inn-keeper's daughter, with whom he temporarily sojourned (an assumption both at once improbable and scandalous, to say the least of it), I admit that the strength of my argument is taken from me, but not overturned; and so thought all the great English historians previous to Gibbon's time, both ecclesiastical and lay, with great force and zeal.

The discrepancy pointed out by Miss Williams, between the Latin text of Henry of Huntingdon and its translation, will be satisfactorily understood by reading the translation in Bohn's edition, which gives the name of the village or city built by Constantius in Normandy (then *Armorica*), as *Constances*, which was their pronunciation of his name: which city was built by him in the year 273, the year of the marriage. The fact that this city, now in France, was built by Constantius, and so named after him, is a well-known and recognized historical truth; and these facts, in connection with others in relation to Helena's nativity, are important.

Upon a review of all the evidence within my reach, I am constrained to affirm that the weight of evidence is greatly in favor of Helena's Britanic birth, as a historical fact, independent of the fact that Constantius was a resident of Gaul, as its governor, during the year 273, the year before Constantine's birth.

The numerous errors suggested and developed in this history of St. Helena, all in the like manner followed by Gibbon in relation to other distinguished persons of British birth. It would seem that all claimed by the Britons as conferring distinction on their race, is either denied or traduced by him, where it was possible to do so; where the subject was not conclusively supported by the Greek and Latin historians; and all their errors were accepted as true. It is true that Gibbon highly eulogizes Britain; but in this respect great distinction is made in relation to truth and justice between what transpired before or after the Saxon conquest. As a special instance of this kind, we may mention that of Clemens Maximus, who eventually became a Roman emperor. Gibbon asserts that he was a Spaniard, and in no manner a Briton. The facts and history of the matter show beyond a historical doubt, that Maximus was born at Rome of British parents on both sides. When quite a young man he was placed in military service, under the great general Theodosius, in Spain. After serving there a long time, he returned and settled among his kindred in Britain, and married a princess in North Wales; where for a long time he resided, and raised a family; and many families there claim descent from him. While thus residing in Britain, he was chosen emperor of Rome. Other similar errors must be delayed for some future occasion.

The following is a part of the letter from Miss Jane Williams, so far as it refers to the subject under consideration:

"51 COLESHILL STREET, }
LONDON, S. W. }
April 18, 1872. }

'DEAR SIR:

Your interesting letter dated March 27, together with the papers enclosed, reached me on the 16th of April. It gave me very great pleasure to find that my History of Wales had traveled so far and had met with so kind a welcome, and I derived scarcely less satisfaction from the assurance that at Delaware, Ohio, after an absence of three score years and ten, the true heart of a *Cymro* is still beating warmly

towards the *hen gwlad*—

'Of fair Glamorgan, ocean's band,
Sweet margin of the sea; * * *
The beaucous shore, whose harvest lies
All sheltered from inclement skies.
Radiant with corn and vineyards sweet,
And lakes of fish and mansions neat.'

"These lines were translated by my friend, the late Mr. A. J. Johnes, of Garthmyl, Montgomeryshire, from Dafydd ab Gwilym's Address to the Summer, which was written about Chaucer's time.

"It is a pleasure also to me to communicate with a person of so much intelligence and information upon any historical topic connected with our common country. My father was a Cymro of the Cymry. I have spent the greater part of my life in Wales, and my nearest relatives reside there, but in historical researches I seek for truth alone, not for the glory of my race, though I love that dearly too. I live almost alone with my books around me, and my time is at any one's disposal to whom I can be useful.

"I should be very glad if the discovery of some old MS. or unknown medal, or forgotten monument or memorial of any sort, could prove the British birth of Helena and of Constantine. I was fond of the hypothesis, and resigned it with regret, not to the argument of a prejudiced "caviller," but to the silent evidence of my friendly and truthful books.

"The testimony of contemporary and nearly contemporary historians must, of course, prevail against the unsupported or ill supported assertions of the chroniclers of the twelfth and following centuries. I have access to the London Library, where any books can be had; and I possess a good collection of historical, poetical and religious works, besides others on botany, science and general literature, having taken delight from infancy in the acquisition of knowledge.

"Inclination would lead me to welcome fresh evidence on the subject we are now discussing; but, judging by the proofs now available, I believe that any candid and judicial mind must arrive at the decision which I have formed.

"The enclosed papers are the result of a survey of authorities made since the re-

ceipt of your interesting communication. I could quote many other books on both sides, but they would add nothing of real value either to testimony or judgment upon testimony. Indeed the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* comprises all the extant authorities on British subjects preceding the Norman Conquest, and, thanks to Lord Romilly's kindness, I possess that admirable work. * * * *

The following is Miss Williams' manuscript, which accompanied her letter:

"Spencer, in his *Fairy Queen*, justly praises the author of the *Brittania* as 'Camden the nourrice of antiquity and lantern unto late succeeding time;' and Camden, in his account of the Romans in Britain, having mentioned Constantius Chlorus, adds: 'While he was a soldier in Britain under Aurelian he married Helena, the daughter of Cœlus or Cælius, a petty prince here, and by her had Constantine the Great in Britain. For in this all writers agree with the great Baronius, (*Hist. Eccl.*) except one or two modern Greeks, who are inconsiderable and vary from one another; and a certain learned person, who grounds his dissent upon a faulty passage of J. Firmicus. Chlorus was compelled by Mecimian to divorce his wife and marry his daughter Theodora.' Gibson's Ed., 1772, Vol. i, p. 49. Camden quotes the words of St. Ambrose in praise of Helena in the same paragraph, and in various other passages throughout the *Brittania* he admits as a fact the British birth of Helena. Baronius wrote his *Annales Ecclesiastici* A. D. 1588—1607. It appears from the words of St. Ambrose that *stabularia* was a term of reproach applied to Helena on account of her erecting an edifice upon the supposed site of the sacred stable at Bethlehem. Probably the terms *inn-keeper's daughters* and *cattle keeper* were also opprobrious epithets used by indignant heathens to vilify the Christian mother of the first Christian emperor.

"William of Malmesbury discreetly says: 'I vouch nothing for the truth of long past transactions but the consonance of the time; the veracity of the relation must rest with its authors.' Preface in the first

chapter of his first book calls Helena the mother of Constantine, 'a tender of cattle' (*stabularia*). Bohn's Ed., p. 5. Matthew of Westminster repeats the particulars related by Socrates. Bohn's Trans., Vol. i, pp. 191, 192.

"Whence Richard of Cirencester, alias Bertram, derived his Hellenic information, it is not difficult to conjecture, but an intimation of doubt may be traced as an accompaniment to many of his assertions concerning this princess.

"The series of facts—that Constantius Chlorus was a popular ruler in Britain and died in Britain, that his illustrious son Constantine was here proclaimed emperor and hence proceeded on his conquering career, that Constantine's mother was highly honored by him, that she distinguished herself by signal acts of religious munificence shown more especially at Jerusalem, that she was canonized after death, and that several Cambrian princesses were called after her name, particularly Ellen, the wife of king Howel Daa, tends, I think, to show how easily the erroneous belief of Helena's British birth obtained acceptance in the Middle Ages, and how carelessly that belief was suffered to prevail until Gibbon dispelled it by passing judgment upon the evidence. The flippant sneers of Woodward are unworthy of notice.

"None of the early Welsh bards mention Helena in their poems, none of the old Welsh catalogues of saints enroll her name, none of the ancient pedigrees claim her as a Cymraes, and out of many hundred native triads only one alludes to her as born in the country, and that one is of monkish origin. Gildas, Nennius and Bede know nothing of her British blood, and the *Annales Cambriae* are equally ignorant.

The Rev. Rees Rees, in his able work on the Welsh Saints, has deliberately rejected the claims of Helena and Constantine to British birth. The Rev. Robert Williams omits their names from his *Enwogion Cymru*.

"The chronological abstract prefixed to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, under the date of A. D. 273, says: 'Constantius, afterwards emperor, surnamed Chlo-

rus, married Helena lxxii, 2; she is said to have been the daughter of Coel, king of Colchester, 702, n.' Under date of A. D. 275: 'Constantine, son of Constantius and Helena, is born about this time, lxxix, 1, 2, lxxx, 1, &c.' And under date of A. D. 292: 'Constantius repudiates Helena and espouses Theodora,' &c.

"Ex Panegyricis Veteribus, M. H. B., p. lxxix: 'O fortunata, et nunc omnibus beator terris Britannia, quae Constantinum Cæsar-
em prima vidisti.'

"Another Rhetorician hailed the ascension of Constantine in words which have been misunderstood as descriptive of British origin. The very same orator, however, used similar terms when celebrating the accession of Constantius Chlorus, who was of Illyrian birth: 'Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti.'

"At p. lxxii, 'Ex Eutropio,' Lib. vi, ch. 17: 'Verum Constantio mortuo Constantinus, ex obscuriori matrimonio ejus filius, in Britannia creatus est imperator, et in locum patris exoptatissimus moderator accessit.'

"P. 702 gives that part of the first book of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* which relates to Helena, with the following note 3 appended to the name of Coel: 'Unde hauserit Henricus tam haec, quam quae p. 703 de Londonia, et de Colcestria habet, haud constat.' Mem. Forster's translation.

"Bohn's Ed., 1853, is evidently corrupt regarding the names, for the text in the M. H. B. is: 'Condidit autem Constantiam in ea parte Galliae quae nunc vocatur Normennia, accepitque filiam regis Britannici de Colcestre,' cui nomen erat Coel scilicet Helenam, quam sanetam dicimus, et genuit ex ea Constantinum magnum.'

"Ex Paulo Orosio. Lib. v, c. 22, p. lxxx.

"Constantius vero Augustus summae mansuetudinis et civilitatis, in Britannia mortuo obiit, qui Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena creatum imperatorum Galliarum reliquit. Igitur mortuo, ut dixi, Constantio in Britannia, Constantinus imperator est creatus.'

"Lxxxi and lxxxii

"Ex Eusebio sive Hieronymo: 'Constan-

tius sextodecimo imperii anno diem obiit in Britannia Eboraci. Post quem filius ejus Constantinus ex concubina Helena procreatus regnum invadit.'

"Lxxxvii.

"Zonaras mentions the mother of Constantine merely as 'a former wife of Constantius. Beade *Chronicon sive de sex Aetatibus Saeculi*: 'Constantinus Constantii ex concubina Helena filius, in Britannia creatus imperator, regnavit annis xxx et mensibus x.'

M. H. B., 90 D.

"B. H. Ecc. Gentis Anglorum, Liber i, c. xii: 'Histemporibus Constantius qui vivente Diocletiano Galliam Hispaniamque regebat, vir summae mansuetudinis et civilitatis in Britannia morte obiit. Hic Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena creatum imperatorum Galliarum reliquit. Scribit autem Eutropius quod Constantinus in Britannia creatus imperator patri in regnum successerit.' M. H. B. 115, E.

"Bede *Hist. Eccl. Gentes Ang.*, Liber v, cap. xvi: 'Hanc Constantinus imperator eo quod ibi crux Domini ab Helena matre reperta sit, magnifico et regio construxit.'

"M. H. B., 266, C.

"The two passages from Henry of Huntingdon's *History* are given in the original Latin at p. 702 D. and p. 703 B. of the M. H. B. Throughout the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* no other mention is made of the mother of Constantine. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicle* is exiled from that invaluable treasury.

"In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius mentions and Eulogizes the father of Constantine, but avoids mentioning Helena. Socrates, who wrote in or about the year 445, gives a very particular account of her, and relates that Drepanum, once a village, having been made a city by the emperor, "was called Helenopolis after her name.—*Eccl. Hist.*, Lib. i, c. xvii.

"Bohn's *Translated Ed.*, pp. 47, 48: 'Val-esius, in a note on the passage, p. 395, says that Socrates borrowed the story from Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, L. iii, c. xxxiii.' Theodoret, who wrote soon after Socrates, about A. D. 450, devotes the xviii

chapter of his first book to her proceedings at Jerusalem, but he does not allude to her parentage or the place of her birth. Evagrius begins his history after her time. Sozomen, the contemporary of Socrates, says much of Constantine, but nothing of Helena. Philostorgius, epitomised by Photius, does not mention her.

"Besides the extracts in the M. H. B., I have carefully looked through the above which I possess in the edition published by Bohn. I have likewise examined the following various other works bearing upon the subject. Eutropius was the contemporary of Julian, and he says: "Galerius, a man of excellent moral character and skillful in military affairs, finding that Italy, by Constantius' permission, was put under his government, created two Cæsars—Maximin, whom he appointed over the East, and Severus, to whom he committed Italy. He himself resided in Illyricum. But after the death of Constantius, Constantine, his son by a wife of obscure birth, was made emperor in Britain, and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler."—Watson's Translation, L. x, §2. Ammianus Marcellinus, the soldier, and friend as well as the historian of the emperor Julian, mentions 'the town formerly known as Drepanum, but now as Helenopolis.'—Yonge's Trans., L. xxvi, c. vii, p. 425.

"The writers in Knight's English Cyclopædia weigh evidence very carefully, and their 'Biography,' Vol. iii, 'St. Helena,' on the authority of Eusebius' Life of Constantine and Hubner's *De Cruci's Dominicæ per Helenam inventione*, states that the first wife of Constantius Chlorus 'was born of obscure parents in a village called Drepanum in Bithynia, which was afterwards raised by her son Constantine to the rank of a city, under the name of Helenopolis.'—p. 342. Eusebius was the contemporary of the first Christian emperor, and would gladly have assigned royal birth to Helena Augusta if he could, for she was royal in munificence.

JANE WILLIAMS,

56 Coleshill street, London, S. W.

April 18, 1872.

NOTE II.

DATES BETWEEN 388 AND 420—32 YEARS.

There is some conflict of opinion as to the true dates of events between A. D. 388, the date of the death of Maximus, and that of A. D. 420, when it is assumed that Britain had become independent of the Roman government, and that resumed by its own people.

Mr. Sharon Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, who is, on account of his learning and his impartial fairness, entitled to a great deal of confidence and respect, places the date of the acknowledgment of the independence of Britain by Honorius, and the assumption of the government by the Britons themselves, following the death of Maximus; and previous to A. D. 410, and attempts to show that Gildas is erroneous in his chronology; and that Bede, in following him, is likewise in error. He says (B. II, Ch. VII, p. 119, n. o.): "Bede without any authority, and contrary to the literal meaning of Gildas, postpones it for about twenty years, lib. i, c. 12, and thus lays a foundation for his subsequent mistakes."

Now, I most respectfully dissent from Mr. Turner's assertion that Bede, contrary to the literal meaning of Gildas, and without any authority, postpones the events alluded to for twenty years. It is believed that the events alluded to, transpired after the death of Constantine (the Usurper), in A. D. 411, and, not depending upon the death of Maximus in 388, a period of twenty-three years. Between those two periods there are too many known events that did transpire, to admit those claimed by Turner, to have also transpired previous to A. D. 410; as he has done in his history.

The government of Maximus, from A. D. 383 to 388, was a strong one, until he passed over into Italy, and soon afterwards lost his life. During his reign of five years, his capital and seat of government was at Treves in Belgic-Gaul, much more convenient to Britain than to Spain and Southern Gaul, his southern dominion. We learn of no special complaint during Maximus's time that the northern invaders were

not well kept down. Whenever there was a strong government existing over Britain, these northern invaders were kept quiet for some time after it; but as soon as they ascertained that there was a weak or feeble government in Britain, they became troublesome, and that just in proportion as they found that government more or less feeble. After a strong government, which had forcibly repelled their invasions, they usually remained quiet for some time, until they could ascertain how feeble or inefficient the government was. Some time after the death of Maximus, the invaders from Caledonia became troublesome, and we learn that Theodosius the Great, who came into power in the West after the death of Maximus, sent Chrysanthus as his vicarius and governor of Britain.¹ He was an able and experienced administrator of public affairs, and we learn he expelled the invaders, and restored a time of peace and prosperity. Soon after this, in A. D. 395, Theodosius died, and left the empire to his two sons; to Honorius, the West, and to Arcadius, the East. Honorius was then an infant of only eleven years of age. Stilicho, the very able and successful general against the Goths, under their leader Alaric, was his guardian; who soon went to Gaul, repelling the barbarians on the Rhine, and sent an efficient force into Britain, to restore peace and order against their enemies. But in A. D. 403, Stilicho was recalled to Italy to meet another invasion of the Goths under Alaric. With him was recalled the principal part of the army in Britain. Italy was now attempted to be overrun by the united armies of the Goths and Germans, but was relieved by the victory of Stilicho at the battle of Pollentia, in A. D. 403; and the deliverance of Florence in A. D. 406. During this time the government in Gaul and Britain was neglected, and the remnant of the Roman army left there to hold

possession of their military posts, and to do police duty, became disorderly and rebellious. Notwithstanding the great body of the Roman army having been called to Italy, yet the Britons having been so long and completely under the control and government of the Romans, they did not yet dare to think of their independence, under the threatening clouds of the barbarian invasions. They deemed it at present more prudent to submit to the control of the Roman army than to incur at once the enmity and hostility of both the army and their northern enemies. They, therefore, permitted the army, as a Roman army, to control and lead without any change in the civil administration; to elect and set up a new emperor, not of Britain, but of the empire. This was in A. D. 406. "The spirit of revolt," says Gibbon, "which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived in the capricious violence of the soldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps, the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the instruments, and at length the victims of their passions." Their first choice was that of an officer in the army, said to have been their general, whose name was Marcus; but finding his ability not equal to his task, they soon deposed him, and elected another, by the name of Gratian, equally unknown; and who was equally unceremoniously deposed, and murdered. Within four months thereafter they proceeded to another election, and made choice of an officer of low grade in the ranks, by the name of Constantine, whom they elevated to the honors and dignity of Emperor of the Western Empire, as has been already stated. This man, however humble his former position may have been, proved himself to have been worthy of this choice; and proceeded with energy to discharge the duties of the position to which he had been elevated,—not as emperor, or as pendragon, or wledig of Britain, but as emperor, by the Roman soldiers, as one of the emperors of the Roman Empire. Here, probably, there was a great mistake committed; but could the people of Britain help themselves? They were not then independent; they were still

1. Mr. Turner assumes that Chrysanthus, as the vicarius of the emperor, had no right to control the military force in Britain, but was confined to the civil department. The law separating the military from the civil department did not operate on the emperor or his vicarius. The vicarius had all the powers of the emperor, and was, therefore, in this case fully governor-in-chief of Britain. The exception taken by Mr. Turner to the powers of Chrysanthus, is, therefore, believed not to be well taken.

under the control of Roman officers and soldiers, and they did not desire to elect an emperor of Britain, but of the Roman Empire; to bring Rome, if possible, under their control, and to their aid. As such Constantine proceeded to regulate the affairs of what he and his constituent soldiery claimed to be their dominion—the Western Empire. He first put the affairs of Britain in order, and the most important part of that was to put the northern frontiers in a proper state of defense, in order to secure the country from an attack from that quarter. His next object was to collect and secure a sufficient army to render his crossing over safely to Gaul; and to enforce obedience to his command while there. He collected together as many as he could of the Roman soldiers left at the various military stations in Britain; and calling to his service, as Roman soldiers, as many foreign adventurers and soldiers of fortune as possible: he then added to his ranks as many of the young men of Britain as it was possible for him to command. Having arranged for the defense and protection of Britain, he passed over the Channel to Bologne, A. D. 407, with a considerable army, calling upon the cities of Gaul to submit and observe his authority. He soon received the submission of Gaul, and obtained a decided victory over the Germans on the frontier, so as to confine them to the east side of the Rhine. He was soon able to obtain the recognition of his right and authority in Britain, Gaul and Spain; making Arles his capital and imperial residence, before A. D. 410, the year in which Alaric and his Goths sacked Rome. His success was great,² and his rule and authority as emperor was acknowledged and obeyed from the Friths of Albion to the Pillars of Hercules. But in 411, he had the misfortune to incur the enmity of both Honorius and his ablest general, Gerontius. The latter was a Briton and had been Constantine's most efficient ally in establishing his reign, and supporting his authority; but had taken irreconcilable offense because Constans, the son who had been made Cæ-

sar and ruler of Spain, had taken a favorite and next in command, instead of Gerontius, who had been the most efficient instrument in acquiring for them the possession and control of Spain. This slight and injustice was more than the gallant soldier could bear; and, possibly, they, the father and son, were convinced that their obligation to the general was greater than they were willing to sustain, and had determined that the cheapest way to pay the debt of gratitude was to dispose of him. It may, therefore, have been a question of life or death between them. Gerontius was, therefore, determined on revenge, if not on the safety of his life. He might have assumed the government of Spain himself, but he chose to place the diadem upon the head of a friend and countryman by the name of Maximus, as another emperor of that name, amidst the usurpers of that day. He then proceeded to dethrone Constantine and the son. The latter he captured and put to death, and the former he besieged at Arles. This was relieved by the appearance of the imperial forces, under the general Constantius, and the army of Gerontius declaring in favor of adhering to Rome and Honorius. This led to his romantic death in the manner already stated.

While Gerontius was besieging Arles, he negotiated with the barbarians on the Rhine to come to his aid as allies. This has been laid to his charge by unfriendly historians, as a confederation with the barbarians against Britain, his own country: but this was not so. At Arles it was doing no more than Rome and all powers at that time were doing, in employing the barbarians as allies. Whatever may be said of his conduct toward Constantine and his son, his negotiation with the barbarians could not be charged against him as treason against his own country; for it was no more than the Roman government was then in the constant practice of doing, whenever they could engage the barbarians in their service, instead of fighting them.

After Arles and Constantine were surrendered to Constantius, the most efficient Roman general, he received from Honorius and the court at Ravenna, says

² 1 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxi, p. 434. Pictorial History of England p. 50, B. 1, ch. 1.

"the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the West."³ He, undoubtedly, proceeded to restore the government of Honorius in Gaul and Britain. In considering the situation of those countries at that time it is proper to remember that Rome did not release her grasp upon these important provinces until the last moment they were able to hold on to them; nor were these provinces willing to dispense with the majesty of the Roman name and the protection of her army as long as it could be retained. This was not done in Britain until after A. D. 420, and in Gaul until A. D. 485, when Clovis, the Frank, took possession of the whole of Gaul, and the Roman army was finally withdrawn. Previous to these times whenever we learn that the Roman army was withdrawn to go where they were elsewhere demanded, it was only the great bulk of the army that could be spared; there were always enough retained to keep possession of the military stations, and to do police duty. So that when the Germans, under Radagaisus, and the Goths, under Alaric, in A. D. 406, invaded Italy,⁴ and the army in Britain was recalled, there were sufficient troops still left to preserve Roman rule, and soldiers enough in the name of the Roman army to elect Constantine emperor; and to install him in his majesty as emperor of Rome in Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In the name of Rome, Constantine and Gerontius in A. D. 408-⁵ restored Roman rule in Britain and Gaul; beat back the barbarians, and regained the dominion in Spain. After the fall of Constantine, late in A. D. 411, the general Constantius proceeded to execute the commission he received from Honorius, by reclaiming northern Gaul and Britain, in A. D. 412-⁶14. In the latter year, the Goth, Adolphus, who had, with more than romantic fortune, married Placida, the sister of Honorius, and daughter of Theodosius the Great, was installed at Narbonne in Gaul, as the faithful ally of Honorius;⁷ commissioned with Constantius to preserve the western provinces to

the Roman Empire. In A. D. 414, Adolphus, in good faith to Rome, repelled the invasion of Gaul; presented the heads of the two rebel tyrants of Gaul, Jovinus and Sabastian, to Honorius at Ravenna, as trophies and evidence at once of his faithfulness to the emperor, and the restoration of Gaul to its obedience to his brother-in-law, Honorius. He then readily accepted the proposal, says Gibbon, "of turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain; the troops of Constantius intercepting his communication with the seaports of Gaul, and greatly pressing his march towards the Pyrenees," on his way to Spain. This was in A. D. 414, with Constantius and the Roman troops in possession of the seaports of northwestern Gaul and Britain; and Gibbon assures us: "The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or action."

This agrees with the assertion of the British historians, that Britain was aided and relieved from the invasion of her enemies by the Roman army, in A. D. 414, again in 416, and finally in 418-⁷19. In the first of these three dates, the Roman army of relief was, undoubtedly under the general Constantius, who, it is said, had served much in Britain.⁸

After the death of Adolphus in Spain, in A. D. 415, he was succeeded by Wallia, another Gothic hero, as the head of these barbarian allies of Rome, in protecting their rule and dominion in Spain and Gaul. For that purpose he was established as, the faithful ally of the Romans, and bound to preserve Gaul,—in Narbonne and Aquitania, in A. D. 416-⁹19, and so continued in this position, at least during the reign of Honorius, who died in 423. And Gibbon continues to assert: "The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had re-

3. Gibbon, ch. xxxi, p. 435.

4. Gibbon, ch. xxx, p. 410.

5. Gibbon, p. 433, etc.

6. Nennius, § 27, where Constantius is referred to as one of those who had served much in Britain, but his numbers are very erroneous.

signed possession to their barbarian allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honorable rank of master-general of the imperial armies. Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors, who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the capital."

It is impossible to draw any accurate information as to the chronology of events in these times, as stated by Gildas and Nennius. Though treating of the difficulties of these unfortunate times, they confound and transpose events so that it is impossible, from them, to fix the precise time when an event happened, or their relative position. Still, we may, by the aid of other histories, fix the time when some of these events did happen. They both pass over the time from Maximus to Constantius—whom Bede calls "Count Constantius,"⁷—and then speak of events which must have happened after that event. They appear to indicate that the country "groaned for many years under the cruelty of two foreign nations, the Scots and Picts;"⁸ and "thrice were they relieved by the Romans."⁹ At one time the Roman legions came in strong force, to aid the Britons in punishing and driving away the enemy. It appears from Bede that the Romans came several times to the rescue of the country, and aided the Britons to recover the northern province, and rebuild the wall from the Frith of Forth to the Clyde. This was probably during the year 414, and again in 416, under the command and direction of Count Constantius.¹⁰

Bede describes the last of the Romans in Britain and their former relief thus: "But the former enemies, when they perceived

that the Roman soldiers were gone, immediately broke into the borders, and overran all places, and, like men mowing ripe corn, bore down all before them. Hereupon messengers are sent again to Rome, imploring aid, lest their wretched country should be utterly extirpated, and the name of a Roman province, so long renowned among them, overthrown by the cruelties of barbarous foreigners, might become utterly contemptible. A legion is accordingly sent again, and, arriving unexpectedly in autumn, made great slaughter of the enemy, obliging all those that could escape to flee beyond the sea. * * * * Then the Romans declared to the Britons that they could not for the future undertake such troublesome expeditions for their sake, advising them rather to undertake for themselves, like men, the charge of engaging their enemies, who would not prove too powerful for them, unless they were deterred by cowardice."¹¹ This is extracted from Gildas and Nennius, the latter of whom says: "Once more the Romans undertook the government of the Britons and assisted them in repelling their neighbors; and after having exhausted the country of its gold, silver, brass, honey and costly vestments, and having besides received rich gifts, they returned in great triumph to Rome."¹²

The British (Cymric) historians say in confirmation of Bede's Chronology, that after the death of Constantine, the Briton, the Roman forces returned to Britain three times, *i. e.*, in A. D. 414, 416 and 419. In an ancient book, abstracted from all the best authorities, after stating the difficulties of the times after Constantine the Briton was dethroned in Gaul, and the repeated attacks of the Picts and their allies, the Franks and Saxons, it is stated: "A council of the leading Britons was held, at which it was determined to invoke once more the interposition of the Romans, and offer them tribute and the entire submission of the country. The names of those who were deputed to carry this resolution

7. Bede, *Ecll. Hist.*, B. 1, ch. xi.

8. Gildas, §14.

9. Nennius, §30.

10. About the latter date this Constantius returned to the court at Ravenna, was married to the emperor's sister, Placidia, the widow of Adolphus, and became by her the father of him who was afterwards Valentinian III. About A. D. 421 or '22 Honorius created Constantius Augustus, but he lived only about seven months after that to enjoy his honors. See Gibbon, p. 452, ch. xxxiii. Historians say he was the last emperor who had visited Britain.

11. Bede, *Ecll. Hist.* b. 1, ch. 12.

12. Nennius, §30.

into effect were Peryf Ap Cadifor and Gronw Dda Ap Einion Lygliw. Notwithstanding the affairs of Rome could scarcely justify any expectation of assistance, yet, by the importunities of these men, they obtained a legion of troops, who returned with them to Britain, and soon destroyed or dispersed their enemies. This occurred in the year 420."¹³

This authority states the assistance rendered by the Roman army in expelling the enemy, in repairing the defenses, and encouraging the people to make arrangements to defend themselves, informing them they would be able to aid them no more, they then bade the country and people a final adieu and separation.

It was then, upon this final departure, that Honorius sent his letter to the cities of Britain, absolving them from allegiance to Rome, acknowledging their independence, and exhorting them to provide for their own defense. It was after that the Britons deemed themselves at liberty to act independent of Rome. Up to this time it was the Roman soldiers and their officers who controlled the political affairs of the country, and were in possession of the military stations. It was them who elected and set up the last emperor, or tyrant as they were called, Constantine, and he ruled the country as a Roman emperor until he was dethroned at Arles in A. D. 411, by the Roman general Constantius. It was after all these events and the acknowledgment of their independence by the emperor Honorius in A. D. 420, that the people of Britain made that noble effort in their own defense, as stated by the ancient historians and repeated by Mr. Turner.¹⁴ This agrees with Bede's Chronology, and accords with all the dates and information we have upon the subject. Still Turner and Gibbon endeavor to place the latter fact—the effort made by the Britons themselves—before 410 instead of after 420, when their independence had been acknowledged and the Roman army and all

its influences were withdrawn. This effort of Turner and Gibbon thus to establish a new chronology is contrary to Bede and all the old historians,¹⁵ and inconsistent with many of the facts narrated by Gibbon himself. Mr. Turner is a very fair and impartial historian, and there can be no question as to his honesty and truthfulness. He may be right, but the weight of evidence arising from the circumstantial facts renders the probabilities very strong against his conclusion. It is deemed that a fair and reasonable construction of the old authorities will accord with the venerable Bede.

NOTE III.

DR. THOMAS NICHOLAS' LETTER.

The following letter of Dr. Thomas Nicholas, M. A., Ph. D., F. G. S., of London, was first published in the Cardiff Principality, which sufficiently explains itself, and the author's views and hopes of this history. Dr. Nicholas was the author of "The Pedigree of the English People" and several other historical works of much scientific repute. Greatly lamented, Dr. N. departed this life, May 12th, 1878, while actively engaged in making arrangements to have this history simultaneously published on both sides of the Atlantic:

LONDON, February, 1878.

I am anxious to bring before the notice of the readers of the Principality what promises to be a remarkable work by a remarkable man, who has spent a long life and risen to great distinction in America, but as will be seen from his own narrative, is a native of the county of Glamorgan, whose "hills" and famous "vale" have sent out so many men of worth into the world. The author and the work shall be described in his own language, taken from a letter which I have recently had the

13. Translated from Rev. Theo. Evans' *Primitive Ages*, which seems to have consulted the authors, Roman and native.

14. 1 Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 126, B. 2, ch. 7.

15. Bede, Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, Smith's *Vindication of Bede's Chronology*. The author of the *Pictorial Hist. of England*, b. 1, ch. 1, p. 51, states the separation to be A. D. 420, after much examination of authorities. See also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A, 418: "The Romans left Britain." It is also said by Richard of Cirencester, p. 450, B 1, ch. 6, §42, that the wall of Antoninus, "was repaired and strengthened with eleven towers, by the general Actius." If so it must have been as late as A. D. 420.

gratification of receiving from him. Lord Aberdare, always on the alert, I imagine, to discover greatness in Welshmen of the last one hundred years, will be pleased to recognize in our author none other than the distinguished American lawyer, the Hon. T. W. Powell, the writer of "Analysis of American Law," and other works of authority in the United States. He was born eighty-one years ago, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, removed to America with his parents when four years of age, and has been a resident of Delaware, Ohio, since 1820. This is one of those cases we frequently meet with where Welshmen, subjected to new conditions and the stimulus of new ideas and impulses, exhibit great power of mental growth, and rise to celebrity. The United States is the very land where the quickening influence of education, of surrounding personal energy, of inviting opportunity, of vast fields, schemes and prizes, are fitted to seize and inspire the Celtic mind, and carry it on to culture, enterprise, and success; and one could hardly conceive of a more interesting subject for inquiry than the proportion of prominent men in America whose origin may be traced to a Celtic ancestry. Mr. Powell, in one part of his letter, has made more than an indirect allusion to this very point.

The occasion of his writing to me is thus explained:—"I hope I may be pardoned for the liberty I take in addressing you this letter, stranger to you as I am. Having recently obtained a copy of your interesting and able work, 'The Pedigree of the English People,' with which I have been so greatly pleased, I am encouraged to write to you with the hope of meeting some sympathy on the subject of my letter. I am a native of Glamorganshire, born at Bwlchgwyn, a farm near Cowbridge, September 7th, 1797, came thence with my parents to Utica, in the State of New York, in May, 1801. In 1820 I settled in this State, and have since been residing here in the practice of the law. I have thus lived a long life among the Americans, without losing my attachment to my native land. The American people have been very kind to me, often conferring upon me positions of

responsibility and trust." Mr. Powell has been a member of the Legislature, and his forensic works are referred to as authorities; his "Analysis of American Law" having pretty much the status in America, I understand, which Blackstone's "Commentaries" have in England.

Further on he says: "While engaged in the study and practice of the law I was not negligent of history, and especially of that of my native country." And here his Welsh nature met with an offence which he determined to resent. "I soon discovered that there was a class of English historians who, in the effort of elevating their own history, neglected no opportunity of traducing or ignoring the Ancient Britons. What could not be ignored was calumniated. At this I was not only surprised, but felt indignant at its injustice and illiberality. I do not know when it began, but I suppose it began with the Saxon Conquest. I first found it in Gibbon, who would speak of Britain as the last of the provinces taken, and the first to be thrown away; whereas, in truth, it was the most loved and cherished of all Rome's distant provinces. Of this class of English historians are to be arraigned with Gibbon, Hume, Macaulay, Green, Wright, and others. On the other side we may rank able historians who do justice to the Ancient Britons, as Sharon Turner, Whitaker, Thierry, M. Arnold, and others." As to the hostile side, "the vilest of them," he says, "is Woodward, who pretended to write a history of Wales, who calumniates the subject of his history on almost every page. Their bitterest hatred is to the name of Celt—that glorious name, which sheds a glory over twenty-five centuries."

This leads to the writing of the history in question. "This matter (of injustice) has induced me to study for the truth of British history, and ascertain whether this aspersion was just, or founded in prejudice and hatred. As the result of this, about a year since, I finished a manuscript history, of about the size of your 'Pedigree of the English People,' which I entitle 'The History of the Ancient Britons and their Descendants.' My history was almost com-

pleted before I had your book, and I was much gratified to find that my book was in perfect harmony with your theory and ideas. Some four years since Professor J. Fiske, of Cambridge, Mass., published a number of articles in Appleton's *Journal* (New York), entitled, 'Are We Celt or Teuton?' He often referred to your work. These articles are very valuable, and did the Celt ample justice. My book agrees with all this, and with whatever I have seen that was not prejudicial against the Celtic people. In America the Celts predominate. The American spirit is theirs. They were the authors of the Revolution, and occupy a prominent position in all the professions. Professor Rawlinson, in his edition of 'Herodotus,' vol. iii, p. 152, &c., suggests that it would be interesting to trace the migrations of the Cymry, with an antiquity of above 2,500 years, from the steppes of Asia to the mountains of Wales. This I have done in my history, by the collection of circumstantial evidence founded upon authorities, facts, and history, which leaves no doubt as to when and whence they came."

Now, it is evident that in this work a method of treatment has been adopted which had never been hitherto pursued in dealing with the earlier westward migrations of the Celtic race. Meyer marked their footprints in many places and by different routes, by means chiefly of local names—those almost ineffaceable mementoes—but much was left by him to others to complete a well-established demonstration.

Powell's "History of the Ancient Britons," although written, is not yet published, and one of his objects in writing this interesting letter was to inquire as to the means and advantages of its publication in London. I hope that it will be issued simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic, and prove the means of giving a new impulse to a study of boundless and absorbing interest. It is not a history of Wales, be it remembered, but rather a history, first, of the generic Celtic stock, which long held

battle with the nations on the Asiatic and European continents, and next, of those branches of that stock which at different times peopled Britain, and are commemorated in their main divisions in the powerful tribes or nations whom the Romans conquered and civilized, the Saxons and their confederates over-ran and incorporated, and a part of whose descendant still survive in Wales, not unmixed in blood, but prominently Celtic by reason of the retention of a Celtic speech. All must wish health and good speed to the venerable author to bring to a full completion his arduous and long elaborated work.

THOS. NICHOLAS."

NEW YORK, June 3d, 1879.

Anuerin Jones, Esq., 39 Nassau St.

DEAR SIR:—We have given Judge Powell's MSS., "The Ancient Britons," a careful reading, and bear willing testimony to the ability and painstaking research displayed in it. It is a most thorough and comprehensive as well as able work, and undoubtedly fills a vacant place.

Very Respectfully Yours,

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

Dr. Thomas Nicholas, the eminent English scholar and historian, writes me as follows, in reference to this history:

"The wide range of your work, and especially the earlier questions you have taken in hand to illustrate, viz., the original migration of the Cymric-Celt from Central Asia, and their arrival in Britain, must give the book unusual interest and importance; this early period having been left in a state of most unsatisfactory obscurity; and I shall look forward to the appearance of your disquisition upon it with earnest expectation. The Germans have alone done anything of value as yet, but the field is left almost blank for a learned Cymro to fill it up. I sincerely hope that your eminence as a forensic writer will be equalled by your achievement in the difficult branch of Ancient History."

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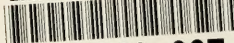
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